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From the Garden City Movement Onwards

Utopianism in British Garden Cities

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Abstract

With the publication of *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* in 1898, Ebenezer Howard gave the go-ahead to the Garden City Movement. Howard's concept of the garden city arose from his anti-capitalist critiques. Many industrial cities in the United Kingdom were facing urbanization problems, leading to the working class living in terrible circumstances in the suburban areas. This process caused a poor quality of life, housing shortages, polluted air and water and a lack of access to nature. At the same time, the countryside lacked career opportunities and a lack of (cultural) amusement. Howard proposed the garden city as a new alternative to both ways of living. A garden city would have a green character and a blooming cultural life. Surrounding greenbelts and enough job opportunities would make the city self-sustainable. The reactions to Howard's utopian ideas were mainly positive, leading to the construction of two garden cities in the United Kingdom. Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City were located close to London and offered a way of living as proposed by Howard. These projects were considered successful, leading to the establishment of the related New Town Movement. This movement eventually led to the creation of 28 new and self-sustaining towns all over the United Kingdom. Meanwhile, the two original garden cities had developed into rich commuter towns which had become too expansive for the working class population. Some of Howard's utopian ideals had slowly faded away. In January 2017, the British government announced plans to construct 17 new garden towns and villages in the United Kingdom. In this thesis it will be examined whether Howard's utopian thinking prevails in the planning documents of two of these new garden cities. An analysis of the planning documents of Harlow & Gilston Garden Town and Long Marston Airfield Garden Village will be made. Because Howard identified a contrast between the urbanized cities and the more natural countryside, the themes of 'nature' and 'the urban' will be used as the main themes. Concepts like the nature-culture divide, the social construction of nature, the right to the city and neoliberalism will be used to position and analyze these planning documents.

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Table of Contents

<u>Part I: Introduction</u>	<u>p.5</u>
- Chapter 1: Introduction	p.6
- Research Question	p.7
- Chapter 2: The Garden City Movement	p.9
- 2.1 Ebenezer Howard	p.9
- 2.2 Garden Cities of To-morrow	p.9
- 2.3 The Garden City	p.10
- 2.4 Praise and Critique	p.11
- 2.5 Continuing Influence	p.11
- Chapter 3: Literature Review	p.13
- 3.1 Utopia	p.13
- 3.2 Nature	p.14
- 3.2.1 The Nature-Culture Divide	p.15
- 3.2.2 Nature As A Social Construct	p.16
- 3.3 The Urban	p.17
- 3.3.1 The Right to the City	p.17
- 3.3.2 Neoliberalism	p.19
-3.4 Conclusions from the Literature Review	p.21
- Chapter 4: Methodology	p.22
- 4.1 Methodological Approach	p.22
- 4.1.1 Document Analysis	p.22
- 4.1.2 Literature Analysis	p.23
- 4.1.3 Discourse Analysis	p.23
- 4.1.4 Literature Review	p.24
- 4.2 Selection of Data	p.25
- 4.2.1 Selection of Literature	p.25
- 4.2.2 Selection of the Planning Documents	p.25
- 4.3 Selection of the Case Study	p.26
<u>Part II: Empirical Material</u>	<u>p.28</u>
- Chapter 5: The Two Original Garden Cities	p.29
- 5.1 Letchworth Garden City	p.29
- 5.1.1 The Building Process	p.29
- 5.1.2 Utopianism in Letchworth Garden City	p.31
- 5.2 Welwyn Garden City	p.32
- 5.2.1 The Building Process	p.32
- 5.2.2 Utopianism in Welwyn Garden City	p.33
- 5.3 Conclusion from Chapter 5	p.34
- Chapter 6: How Much Utopianism is Left?	p.35
- 6.1 Mixed Reviews	p.35
- 6.2 A Government Response	p.35
- 6.2.1 New Town Movement	p.36
- 6.3 The Reigning Middle-Class	p.36
- 6.4 Utopianism After Completion	p.37
- 6.5 New Garden Cities	p.39
- 6.6 Conclusion from Chapter 6	p.39
- Chapter 7: Harlow & Gilston Garden Town	p.40
- 7.1 The Expression of Interest	p.40
- 7.1.1 Nature	p.40

- 7.1.2 The Urban	p.41
- 7.1.3 Concluding Remarks on the Expression of Interest	p.42
- 7.2 The Vision	p.42
- 7.2.1 Nature	p.42
- 7.2.2 The Urban	p.44
- 7.2.3 Concluding Remarks on The Vision	p.45
- Chapter 8: Long Marston Airfield Garden Village	p.46
- 8.1 The Expression of Interest	p.46
- 8.1.1 Nature	p.46
- 8.1.2 The Urban	p.47
- 8.1.3 Concluding Remarks on the Expression of Interest	p.48
- 8.2 Stratford-on-Avon District Core Strategy 2011 to 2031	p.48
- 8.2.1 Nature	p.49
- 8.2.2 The Urban	p.49
- 8.2.3 Concluding Remarks on the Core Strategy	p.50
- 8.3 The Framework Masterplan	p.50
- 8.3.1 Nature	p.50
- 8.3.2 The Urban	p.51
- 8.3.3 Concluding Remarks on the Framework Masterplan	p.51
<u>Part III: Findings</u>	<u>p.52</u>
- Chapter 9: Analysis	p.53
- 9.1 Nature	p.53
- 9.1.1 The Nature-Culture Divide	p.53
- 9.1.2 Nature as a Social Construct	p.54
- 9.2 The Urban	p.56
- 9.2.1 The Right to the City	p.57
- 9.2.2 Neoliberalism	p.58
- 9.2.3 Other Remarks	p.61
- 9.3 Utopianism	p.61
- Chapter 10: Discussion	p.63
- Chapter 11: Conclusion	p.66
- Attachments	p.69
- List of References	p.76

Part I
Introduction

1. Introduction

The Garden City Movement: an influential movement on the history of urban planning. In his book *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, Ebenezer Howard describes his utopian concept of the garden city. In this garden city, the advantages of both the urban and the countryside are combined and create a new way of living. This concept is a result of his anti-capitalist critique on the urban problems of his time: cities were polluted, lacked scenery and faced bad housing conditions at high rental rates. Although cities could offer more jobs opportunities and cultural facilities, it had lost its relationship with nature. This relationship was still intact on the countryside, where it was also easier to find affordable housing. A garden city combines the advantages of both ways of living, while avoiding the disadvantages. This would offer an affordable ‘third way’ between the countryside and city that would be especially interesting for the working class. They had been hit the hardest by the poor living conditions in the industrialized cities. Through local facilities and food production, garden cities could be self-sufficient and would therefore not be dependent on the countryside or the city. Moreover, people could enjoy the beauty of nature, pure air and water, affordable quality housing and cultural entertainment (Howard, 1902).

The publication of *Garden Cities of To-morrow* has left a mark on modern urban planning and has led to the creation of several garden cities all over the world. Soon after the publication of his book, Howard established the Garden City Movement. This movement focused on the promotion and further improvements of Howard’s utopian ideals. During his lifetime, two garden cities that completely followed his ideals have been built: Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City. At the same time, many cities all over the world show the influence of Howard’s thinking.

In this thesis, the legacy of Howard’s utopian thinking will be used as an inspiration. In our neoliberal times, business and profit making seems to prevail in urban planning and we are still facing problems with urbanization. Our cities seem to be planned more and more for businesses instead of the people, leading to empty city centres at night and tense housing markets. A convincing utopian approach to urban planning where the inhabitants are

prioritised, often seems to lack. Does this mean utopian approaches like Howard's, have faded away?

Interestingly enough, the British government has released several plans to construct new garden cities in order to fight urban sprawl (McCann, 2017). In March 2016, The Department for Communities and Local Government published a document named *Locally-Led Garden Villages, Towns and Cities*, in which local district were encouraged to present plans for the construction of new garden cities all over the United Kingdom. In January 2017, seventeen new garden cities have been selected to be constructed over the coming years (Ibid., 2017). Does this mean that Howard's utopian thinking is making a comeback? And that there is still space for utopian thinking? In order to find an answer to these questions, the following research question will count as the guiding line through this thesis:

To what extent does Ebenezer Howard's utopian thinking prevail in the planning documents of the 'new garden cities' in the United Kingdom?

It will be interesting to find out whether utopian city building like Howard did over a hundred years ago, is still possible in our neoliberal times. Will these new garden cities also prioritize people over profitmaking? And will his utopian thinking about nature and the combination of the urban and the countryside be clearly visible in the realization of these new garden cities?

In order to find an answer to the research question, the first part of this thesis will further explain the Garden City Movement, its principles and the influence this movement has had. The literature review and methodology, will position this thesis. Relevant concepts, such as utopianism, the nature-culture divide, the right to the city and neoliberalism will be explained and discussed. The methodology chapter will discuss and explain the methods and materials used in this research. After that, the shift will focus to the empirical material. First, the developments of the two original garden cities, Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, will be discussed and analysed. It will also be discussed how Howard's utopian thinking has been implemented and developed. The following part discusses two of the newly

planned garden cities: Harlow & Gilston Garden Town and Long Marston Airfield Garden Village. In this section it will become clear how much of Howard's utopian ideals will be implemented into the new garden cities. After that, the data will be analysed and an answer to the research question will be found. Before the conclusion, a discussion will review the results and choices that have been made in this thesis. Finally, the conclusion will give a closing answer to the research question.

2. The Garden City Movement

The publication of *Garden Cities of To-morrow* is considered the starting point of the Garden City Movement and could be regarded a product of Howard's critiques on the capitalist society of his time. This chapter will discuss Ebenezer Howard's life, how he created the model of the garden city and the legacy of the Garden City Movement.

2.1 Ebenezer Howard

Ebenezer Howard was born in London in 1818, where he lived until he was 21. He decided to leave the city and started working on the farm of his uncle in Nebraska. This lifestyle did not suit him either, which made him decide to move to Chicago to work as a juridical reporter. Howard moved here just after the great fire of 1871, which had destroyed large parts of the business district. This had led to a regeneration of the city and a rapid suburban growth. This process, and his failed attempts to enjoy becoming a farmer, sparked his interest to further focus on new ways to improve the quality of life (Clark, 2003). Howard got even more into this subject when he moved back to England and started working at Hansard, a company responsible for the official records of Parliament. Here he found out more about social reform and human rights. Since he was working with issues regarding urban regeneration, and he had seen both the advantages and disadvantages of the urban and rural, he used most of his spare time to think about new ways of urban planning. The social problems of the 1800s inspired him to mingle with free thinkers and socialists, which eventually led to the publication of his first and only book (Ibid., 2003).

2.2 Garden Cities of To-morrow

The publication of *Garden Cities of To-morrow* could be seen as the go-ahead of the Garden City Movement. In this book, Howard introduces his utopian vision on the concept of the garden city. Being one of the earliest ecotopian urban planners, Howard's work is still considered influential and revolutionary (Anderson, 2002).

The garden city is introduced as a place where the advantages of both the city and the countryside are combined, while the disadvantages are avoided. His criticisms on the ongoing urbanization led to the creation of his model consisting of three magnets, representing the town, the countryside

and the town-country (later garden city). As shown in figure 1, Howard shows both the advantages and disadvantages of all three forms of living. In the middle of these three magnets, Howard asks his readers the question: ‘Where will the people go’ (Howard, 1902, p.17)? This is a rhetorical question, because the diagrams clearly show that the garden city combines the best of town and country, while the disadvantages are avoided (Howard, 1902).

2.3 The Garden City

In *Garden Cities of To-morrow* Howard’s critical stance towards the capitalist system of his time shines through and the garden city should offer a new way of living. Alternatively to capitalism, garden cities would create some sort of cooperative socialism. Garden cities should have around 32 000 inhabitants, while a greenbelt of agriculture surrounds the city.¹ This would make garden cities self-sufficient and autonomous. Garden cities would work as a company. This company buys a plot of land, which then will be leased out to the population. This offers cheap housing for the people and would also sustain the company financially. Howard hoped this would create a safe garden city with a great sense of community that at the same time had a blooming cultural life. The politics should be done by a civic local government, so that garden cities were governed by its own inhabitants (Howard, 1902).

Besides the model of the garden city, Howard also introduced the idea of zoning. A separation between industrial and residential areas would lead to cleaner air and water and an improvement of human health (Bonham-Carter, 1951). The implementation of greenery into the city and food production on the surroundings greenbelts would improve satisfaction and mental health

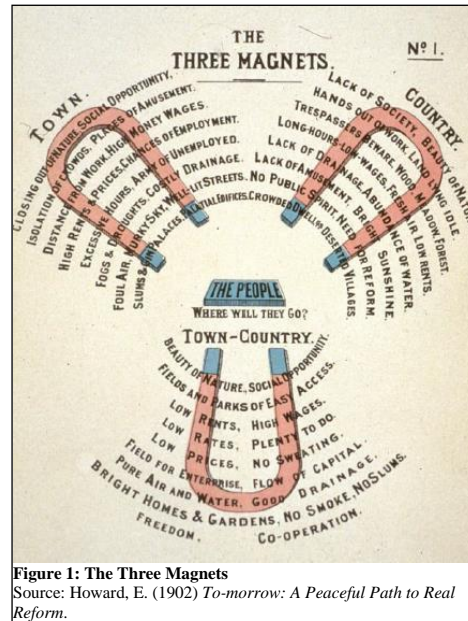


Figure 1: The Three Magnets
Source: Howard, E. (1902) *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*.

¹ See attachment 12.1

(Tizot, 2018). All in all, this would create a small society with an intense participation of the population (Bonham-Carter, 1951).

2.4 Praise and Critique

Howard's ideas generally received praise. In 1899 he founded the Garden City Association, where intrigued urban planners could discuss and improve the design of the garden city. This association also aimed to gain more attention for urban planning and mistakes of the past. The association is still active as the Town and Country Planning Association (Town and Country Planning Association, n.d.). The Arts and Crafts movement, an anti-industrial movement striving for social reform through art, appreciated Howard's ideas too. Just like the Garden City Movement, this movement idealized 'the simple life' and was heavily inspired by nature. The architects of the first garden city were both members of this movement (Holland, 2017).

Not everyone was convinced by Howard's utopian thinking. During the construction of the first garden city, urban planner A. Trystan Edwards discussed some of his concerns in *The Town Planning Review*. He wrote that Letchworth would not lead to any charm or convenience and he was critical towards the economic approach of the city. One of his main critiques was the predicted desecration of the countryside, because garden cities would take up most of the countryside. As a result, fewer people could enjoy a rural lifestyle. The other main critique was the use of different architectural styles that did not work in an urban environment. He said that 'the effect is not one of spaciousness, for every house looks as if it would like to spread itself'(Edwards, 1914,p.312). He even mentioned how people who visited Letchworth considered it as a depressing experience (Edwards, 1914).

2.5 Continuing Influence

In 1903 the building process of the first garden city, Letchworth, had started. Welwyn Garden City was founded seventeen years later (Bonham-Carter, 1951). These experiments seemed a success, which led to the creation of the New Towns Movement, which further focused on solutions for overcrowded cities in the United Kingdom (Osborn, 1942).

Howard's utopianism also gained attention outside the United Kingdom,

leading to garden cities being built in Australia, Germany and Finland. Moreover, garden neighbourhoods and the implementation of more greenery into urban planning became increasingly popular (The International Garden Institute, 2018). His influence never really disappeared, but after the 1930s the Garden City Movement lost popularity and fewer garden cities were built. However, the movement is still active as the Town and Country Planning Association and plans have been released by the British government to construct seventeen new garden cities. Howard's way of thinking seems to make a comeback.

3. Literature Review

Garden Cities of To-morrow criticizes many aspects of life in the city and on the countryside. One of Howard's main concerns was the lack of nature and the poor quality of life. The garden city would be the perfect way of living, where an urban lifestyle could be combined with the countryside, guaranteeing 'the best of both worlds'. His work is critical towards the capitalist society of his time, which had led to the industrialization and urbanization of the United Kingdom. As a result, cities were characterized by pollution, bad housing situations and a lack of green areas and clean air.

This literature review will discuss three of the main themes in *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. First, utopianism will be discussed: what is a utopia? And what has been said about utopianism? The following section will shift focus towards the second main theme: nature. It will be discussed how we perceive and experience nature. The last part of the literature review will focus on the urban. Here the right to the city and neoliberalism will be discussed and analysed.

3.1 Utopia

It has been mentioned that Ebenezer Howard's ideas were utopian, but what exactly is utopianism? The concept of utopia was first introduced by Thomas More, who wrote the novel *Utopia* in 1516. The book tells the story of a traveller who ends up on an island with a new kind of society. A group of old men governs the island, but they made sure there was no difference between rich and poor and there was some sort of socialist way of living. However, suppression and slavery were still present (Thomas More, 1516). Although writing about the perfect life was not something new, More was one of the first ones to write about income equality. This is the main reason why utopianism is named after this book (Park, 1971).

One could say that the land of Cockaigne, the imaginary land where luxury and ease are just around the corner and people could eat as much as they wanted, is a utopia as well. Luxuries were commonly owned, so that no one had to work for it. The general theme of a perfect life is one of the overarching elements present in every utopia (Cobham Brewer, 2001).

According to Lyman Tower Sargent, utopias have been described from various positions. Common ownership is just one of them. The dream of

having a socialist state is one way to achieve utopianism, but also the desire of a United States of Europe could be seen as utopian thinking. Even a complete neoliberalisation of society, which will be discussed later in this literature review, is sometimes considered a utopian dream (Sargent, 2010).

Even though every utopia focuses on a different aspect of ‘the perfect life’, there are some common themes present in every utopia. According to Henry Giroux, every form of utopianism concentrates on equality on the level of economics, politics and justice. How these three factors are executed, depends on one’s ideology (Giroux, 2010).

As became clear in the first chapter of this thesis, Ebenezer Howard’s ideas about the garden city were definitely utopian. In his work he describes a utopian city where people live harmoniously together, surrounded by nature. Contrary to many others forms of utopianism, the ideals of the Garden City Movement were realistic and had later become reality. Through the implementation of parks, green spaces and a surrounding greenbelt, people would live closer with nature and have better access to clean water and air. At the same time, garden cities would solve some of the urban problems, such as housing shortages and unemployment (Howard, 1902).

This section has explained what utopianism is, what it could look like and how Howard’s way of thinking is considered utopian. Throughout his work, two main themes can be identified: nature and the urban. These two themes will guide the rest of this literature review and will also function as the common thread throughout this thesis.

3.2 Nature

Nature plays an important role in *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. However, this book does not necessarily conceptualize nature itself. It would be interesting to look further into this concept: what is nature? How do we perceive it? And can we still speak of nature, now that most of our nature is somehow adjusted by humans? This discussion is necessary to understand the perception on nature that Howard had, because the Garden City Movement assumed a very specific, socialist perception on nature.

3.2.1. The Nature-Culture Divide

The way we perceive and experience nature can differ between people and different scientific traditions. In the light of the Garden City Movement it is

especially interesting to look at the tensions between nature and culture. Howard proposed the garden city as a new solution between life in the city, far from nature and life on the countryside in harmony with nature. This would not be the first time a clear tension between nature and culture is identified. This nature-culture divide has caused many debates and for long, it has been discussed whether we should see nature and culture as two separate entities or as a unified biotic relationship (Possamai, 2013).

According to Yrjö Haila, culture is usually considered a concept related to all human artifact. Nature is often aligned with the external environment. Culture is often seen as the agent striving for total domination over nature, while nature itself is regarded the core of catastrophes that need to be tamed by human action. Culture and nature are therefore often perceived as duelling sides. This tension between nature and culture creates two realms of reality, which is harmful and dangerous and should therefore be challenged. However, this is easier said than done, because (western) ideologies and philosophies seem to reproduce this tension (Haila, 2000). Capitalism makes it necessary for humans to interact and objectify nature to create capital, which shows how nature and culture are intertwined and part of our everyday, cultured life. Haila adds a second argument. In order to form an identity, both on the personal or cultural level, we tend to oppose and contrast ourselves with something else, an 'other'. While forming a cultural identity, nature is often used as 'the other'. This relationship is asymmetric and indirectly applies a domination over the other (Ibid., 2000).

Australian philosopher Val Plumwood further elaborates on this argument. She claims that when using tensions or oppositions, the first term is always the dominant one. This applies to oppositions such as male-female, reason-emotion and culture-nature. Historically seen, our identity is shaped through the opposition to nature, making our culture 'something'. Something else than nature (Plumwood, 1993). Cities seem to be dominant, taking the resources from the countryside in order to create capital. This is the only way cities can survive, because they do not have the natural resources themselves. The countryside needs to produce in order to make consumption by the urban population possible (Merrington, 1975).

The philosophy of historical materialism suggests that nature and culture

cannot be seen as two separate tensions, because nature has become part of our modes of production. This Marxist way of thinking reasons from the idea that history develops more through materialism than idealism. Karl Marx himself articulated this way of thinking as the materialist conception of history (Marx, 1845). This material course of history creates an unavoidable process that nature will be used to create capital:

A mode of production is a combination of key social and material elements; these elements are constant, and include labour, technology, and capital, but their interrelationships, combination, and recombination are in constant flux, leading to differing ways of making a living from nature (Robbins, 2012, p.55).

Nature has become part of our capitalist system and is used to create capital. The fact that remote forests and national parks are nowadays turned into a tourist attraction only further strengthens this point of view. A trip ‘to the wild’ can sometimes even cost money, such as parking and entry fees (Robbins, 2012).

3.2.2 Nature As A Social Construct

According to Karl Benediktsson, the results of the discussion about this dualism, is the socialization of nature. Nature has become a social construct as the result of the production of nature and the cultural constructions of the meanings we can find in nature. A more radical argument claims that there is a mutual co-construction of society and nature (Callon and Law, 1995). Nature should be seen ‘as an active agent in the strange and hybrid entanglements’ (Benediktsson, 2007, p.205). It is not just a neutral object that people use to scrawl their culture on. It is socially constructed and carries an inescapable and complex sociality (Benediktsson, 2007).

So there is support for the fact that the nature-culture divide should be questioned. We should not see them as two separate entities, because both of them are intertwined in different ways. Through our economic activities, that have taken dominance over nature, this nature has become part of our human activities and therefore starts to play a role in culture. Although Ebenezer Howard does not mention the nature-culture divide, his book

indirectly suggest this dualism: the countryside lives in close relation with nature, while the city offers most of the cultural activities. So, the city has culture, while the countryside offers nature. By combining both, a third way in the form of the garden city can be achieved. This indirectly bridges the gap between nature and culture, creating a community close to nature with enough cultural and social possibilities (Howard, 1902).

3.3 The Urban

Garden Cities of To-Morrow puts a lot of attention on nature and the implementation of greenery. However, it is not just the lack of nature in cities that Howard is writing about. He also criticizes other urban problems, such as poor housing situations and bad air quality. In the introduction of *Garden Cities of To-morrow* this concern is expressed:

Great cities tend more and more to become the graves of the physique of our race, can we wonder at it when we see the houses so foul, so squalid, so ill-drained, so vitiated by neglect and dirt (Howard, 1902, p.43)?

This quote clearly shows Howard's concern about the poor living conditions and growing urbanization in the United Kingdom. Nowadays we still face these urban problems. Poor housing situations, bad air quality and overcrowdedness are still common. These problems do not remain unquestioned within the academic world.

3.3.1 Right To The City

The right to the city is a much-debated concept within the field of Human Geography and beyond. Although Howard himself did not directly mention the right to the city, his ideas definitely cross many aspects of this concept.

Henri Lefebvre counts as one of the key figures who has written about the right to the city. He states how our capitalist and neoliberal societies are characterized by free market mechanisms, businesses and profitmaking. Money and profit seem to prevail in contemporary urban planning, leading to businesses taking over and ruling our cities. Lefebvre heavily criticized this development and writes about how we should take democratic control over our cities and try to break down the money-mindedness of urban planning. This goes further than just improving housing situations and

upgrading our neighbourhoods (Lefebvre, 2003). An urban revolution is needed, which should result in the regaining of democratic control over our cities and urban space. We should open our eyes and be critical towards the capitalist system and the neoliberalisation process that continues to go on. This neoliberalisation will only lead to a market-driven and unequal society where basic needs cannot be guaranteed for everyone. Urban life should become more than just a commodity (Ibid., 2003).

Another key figure within this field is David Harvey. He sees the right to the city as more than the individual freedom and access to urban resources. It also means the right to change cities and the way we live in these cities. There is a hidden class struggle behind the urbanization process that is going on all over the world. Urbanization may be inevitable, but we should change the way it is happening. He considers the freedom to change our cities, and ourselves, as one of the most precious human rights. But it is also one of the most neglected human rights. Housing shortages, pollutions and segregation are still common problems in many cities, which can be traced back to the capitalist, neoliberal and individualized system we live in. In order to lead the urbanization process into the right direction, collective action is needed (Harvey, 2012).

It may be hard to concretize the right to the city, but Peter Marcuse has given a clear description of his view on this concept. The right to the city entails:

The right to clean water, clean air, housing, decent sanitation, mobility, education, health care, democratic participation in decision making, etc. – the necessities for a decent life (Marcuse, 2012, p.34).

A radical democratic change will be necessary to transform our urban lifestyle and ensure the people's right to the city. Only then people will have access to (at least) the previously mentioned facilities. The fact that we still have not achieved these necessities for a decent life, can be traced back to our capitalist and neoliberal society that creates inequalities and tends to put money first (Marcuse, 2012).

Despite the fact that the right to the city was not widely known during

Howard's days, it is very likeable that Howard would agree with most of what Harvey, Marcuse and Lefebvre have said. The Garden City Movement had an anti-capitalist approach that fought against many of the mentioned urban problems. Howard would also agree that the awful living circumstances in the cities of his time, were mainly a result of capitalism. He therefore proposed some sort of cooperative socialism in garden cities, creating equal access to the needed sources. One of the key ideas of the garden city is simultaneously one of the key aspects of the right to the city: the democratic participation in decision making. Garden cities were meant to be governed by its own inhabitants (Howard, 1902).

3.3.2 Neoliberalism

As discussed before, economic liberalization and privatization has led to many urban problems. Through this neoliberalisation process, urban populations seem to lose their right to the city. We live in a time where neoliberalism takes over many aspects of our society, leading to more and more inequality.

Coming back to Lefebvre, he states that neoliberalism nowadays is one of the two leading strategies in capitalist societies (the other one being neo-dirigisme). Neoliberalism is a system that focuses on the maximization of the amount of initiative that is allowed for private enterprises, developers and bankers (Lefebvre, 2003).

In the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Ute Lehrer and Jennifer Laidley further discuss the consequences of neoliberalism on modern urban planning. Neoliberal urbanism has become market-driven and public space is slowly turning into private places, forcing out those who cannot conform to the needs of the market. The redevelopment of the Toronto Waterside area confirms this process. The idea was to refurbish the industrial waterfront side and create a new world class area where business, housing and recreation could be combined. In reality, most of the planning was done behind closed doors by private-sector actors. The result of this mega-project was a fancy new district dominated by privately owned businesses and luxury housing, forcing out the less fortunate. Similar processes can be found worldwide (Lehrer and Laidley, 2008). The article also discusses mega-projects and how they have changed.

Two types are identified.² The first type of mega-projects were built during the 1930s-1980s and were initiated and financed by the state. These projects were progress-focused, unitary and characterized by a democratization of public goods. New mega-projects from the 1980s onwards, have a more neoliberal approach. These projects can be both initiated by the state or private actors, but are mainly financed by the private sector. Most of the improvements are made in order to ensure private investments. Old mega-projects seem to focus more on the people, while the new kind of mega-projects are characterized by a neoliberal approach prioritizing the private sector (Ibid., 2008).

The building of garden cities could be seen as a mega-project. The construction of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City started before 1930, but do mainly follow the patterns of the old mega-projects. However, as will turn out later, this project was privately financed without much state involvement. Later in this thesis, it will turn out how the newly proposed garden cities will be constructed and financed.

Nowadays neoliberalism is often associated with policies where economic liberalization is applied. This includes privatization, globalization and a free trading world. The private sector seems to take over society and the economy, while the role of the government seems to decrease. It is important to note that for some a complete neoliberalisation of society is desired. However, it is impossible to call this process utopian, because neoliberalisation tends to create (economic) inequalities. However, the question remains whether our neoliberal times offer space for utopian thinking. Is it still possible to create the equal 'perfect life' that many utopias try to offer, despite the fact that we live in a time where profit making seems to prevail? If not, how is it possible that the British government has released plans to reinforce Howard's utopianism through the construction of new garden cities?

3.4 Conclusions From The Literature Review

In this chapter, relevant concepts and academic discussions have been discussed and analysed. It became clear that many believe nature has become part of our cultured life. It is used to make profit. It has also been

² See attachment 12.2

discussed how nature can be considered a social construct. The concept of the right to the city showed how new ways of thinking are needed, in order to fight urban problems caused by capitalism and neoliberalisation processes. These problems were already present in Howard's days, but still need to be solved. Even though the right to the city and neoliberalism were unknown concepts back then, it has been mentioned how Howard's utopian thinking would agree with thinkers like Lefebvre and Marcuse. All of them tried to fight the capitalist way of urban planning and proposed something better.

4. Methodology

So far, Howard's utopian thinking and the influence of the Garden City Movement have been mentioned. Relevant concepts, such as the perception on nature and the right to the city have been discussed in the literature review. This chapter focuses on methodology and will discuss the chosen research methods, the selection of data and the determination of the case study.

4.1 Methodological Approach

Within the field of social sciences there are many applicable research methods to find an answer to the research question. This thesis will make use of document analysis, discourse analysis and a literature review. This involves describing, analysing and contextualizing in order to gain in-depth insights. This thesis will therefore mainly have a qualitative approach.

4.1.1 Document Analysis

Document analysis will play an important part in this thesis and could be summarized as a systematic procedure in which documents are reviewed and evaluated. By doing so, data can be examined and interpreted, revealing underlying meanings and understandings that can be developed into empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009). According to Atkinson and Coffey, we should consider the analysed documents as produced 'social facts' that should be used in a socially organized way (Atkinson and Coffey, 1997).

The prevailing documents that are analysed in this thesis are the planning documents of the new garden cities. These documents are freely available online and contain information about the planning process and execution of the plans. These documents should show how much of Howard's utopianism prevails in the planning process of the new garden cities. Supporting documents, such as maps and legislative documents, will further clarify the plans of the new garden cities.

In order to analyse the documents in a structured way, it is important to organize the analysis into main themes (Labuschagne, 2003). Howard's thinking can be divided into a nature- and urban perspective and the analysis will therefore follow these themes. Document analysis is especially valuable for qualitative case studies like this one. Planning documents, in combination with literature and the literature review, will uncover new

understandings and will help to better understand the developments of the new garden cities (Bowen, 2009).

4.1.2 Literature Analysis

In this thesis a subdivision between the old and new garden cities will be made. Literature on the new garden cities is not widely available, because the building process has not started yet. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the available planning documents. For the two original garden cities, primary and secondary literature will be used as the main source. Planning documents are interesting and useful, but reality shows that the implementation and realization of urban planning projects may show different results than anticipated. This effect may be enlarged with utopian urban planning, since it may be so idealistic that it is hard to bring forth. To avoid this effect, this thesis will focus on what has already been said and written about the developments of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City.

Primary sources can give a clear overview of the building process and the perceptions on the two original garden cities. Journal and news articles published during the building processes are especially useful, because they discuss and sometimes criticize the construction of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. Governmental documents give more information about the valid legislations and regulations. Secondary sources play an important role too, because they can give more insight about interpretations of the Garden City Movement and discuss whether Howard's utopianism has been implemented. More contemporary literature can help to understand the developments of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City after their completion and give more room for interpretation, compared to planning documents and primary sources.

4.1.3 Discourse Analysis

Through discourse analysis, freely translated as the methodological analysis of text (Laclau and Bhaskar, 1998), sources can be understood, analysed and used to form an answer to the research question. According to Laclau and Bhaskar, four principles prevail in discourse analysis. The first principle states that we assume that grammar can carry possible objects that react as a mediator with reality. This grammar, also known as discourse, is mainly unconscious. Researchers should explore the inherent grammar that are

underlying in meaningful interferences. Secondly, a discourse analyst should realize that ‘discourse is a relational system which can be applied to any possible object’ (Laclau and Bhaskar, 1998, p.9). Discourse is more than all that has been said and written. It is a relational system that we should see as a language game. Language is overloaded with experiences and embedded in actions (Wittgenstein, 1953), which makes language highly contextual. Thirdly, we should be aware that our actions are completely inherent to discourse. Laclau and Bhaskar mention how the notion of discourse might as well be replaced with the notion of practice, because the pluralization of objects makes it impossible to remain at the constative level. Finally, we should realize that discourse theory opposes idealism. Discourse analyses threaten the category of the subject, because it is impossible to make one unit out of the plurality of subject formation (Laclau and Bhaskar, 1998).

While doing discourse analysis, we should try to step away from our own thinking and ideals, since the discourse we are analysing is already filled with someone else’s experiences, embedded actions and (political) preferences. It can therefore never be neutral (Rapley, 2011). These elements will always shine through conducted research. The discourse analyst should enter research as neutral as possible, which will make an analysis of how language is used in its context possible. However, one can never completely step away from personal points of view, because everything that is said, written or has happened, is dependent on context.

4.1.4 Literature Review

In order to avoid personal preferences prevailing in this thesis, a literature review has been added. In this literature review relevant concepts have been discussed, which helps to understand the context and to position this research. Literature reviews are useful to uncover gaps in the existing literature and creates space for interpretations (Timmins & McCabe, 2005).

Since Howard’s writing focuses mainly on nature, and his view on nature becomes fairly clear through his work, it is important to understand that there are many perceptions of nature. To understand Howard’s thinking, it is important to interpret the conception that nature has become part of our mode of production, and therefore of our human activities and culture

(Tizot, 2018). A literature review is the perfect method to create space for interpretations, discussions and deeper meanings. Through the discussion of ‘the right to the city’ and neoliberalism, a link to the contemporary has been created. This will help to understand the context in which the new garden cities will be realized.

4.2 Selection of Data

A researcher will always have to make choices regarding the selection of data. Considering the historical approach of this thesis, and the fact that it is hard to concretize utopian thinking, this thesis will follow a mainly qualitative approach.

4.2.1 Selection of Literature

Selecting literature always involves personal choices and preferences. The selection of *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* seems self-explanatory, because its publication is considered the starting point of the Garden City Movement. Secondary literature has been helpful to further interpret and understand Howard’s utopianism. Literature always involves an unavoidable subjective charge. Therefore a great amount of literature has been used, in which different appreciations of the Garden City Movement are shown. By selecting sources from different years, different authors and various perceptions on the Garden City Movement, a diverse overview could be given. For the second part of this thesis, the attention will shift towards the planning process of the new garden cities. To find out more about the process and selection of these garden cities, newspaper articles have been used. Not only do these articles give more information about this mega-project, it also discusses some of the governmental decisions that have been made. However, the main sources for the analysis of the new garden cities, are the planning documents.

4.2.2 Selection of the Planning Documents

Before the start of the building process of the new garden cities, local areas could hand in a bid in which they explained and described their plans for the realization of new garden settlements. The Department for Communities and Local Government published the document *Locally-Led Garden Villages, Towns and Cities* in 2016, in which the requirements to be considered a new garden settlements are discussed. This document has been

useful to gain knowledge about the selection and consideration of new garden settlements.

When it comes to sources for the analysis, the planning documents are considered most important. To create a useful analysis and clear comparison, comparable sources for the new garden cities of Harlow & Gilston and Long Marston have been used. In both cases, the Expression of Interest documents are analysed. These documents discussed the vision, viability and the most important practicalities of the projects. These documents were handed in as the main proposition to the British government and are expected to show the greatest ambitions. A possible return to the utopian thinking of the Garden City Movement should shine through these documents. Picking a similar document for both cases makes a clear comparison and analysis possible. In case of case of Harlow & Gilston, The Vision document counted as the second source for the analysis, because a large amount of information on the practicalities was revealed in this document. A possible return to Howard's utopianism should be visible here. In case of Long Marston a vision document was lacking, which is why the Stratford-on-Avon District Core Strategy 2011 to 2031 and The Framework Masterplan have been selected instead. These documents cover similar topics as The Vision document. All in all, these documents should show to what extent Howard's utopianism has been implemented into the plans for the new garden settlements. At the same time, the practical information shown in these documents will make a comparison between the two, but also with the two original garden cities, possible.

4.3 Selection of the Case Study

There are several garden cities in the world, but this thesis focuses on the first original garden cities in the United Kingdom: Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City. These two cities have been chosen, because Howard himself played a prominent role during the building process. Since he was born and raised in the United Kingdom, and his ideas are influenced by the Anglo-Saxon environment he had always lived in, the British garden cities would be most interesting to investigate. Moreover, the new garden cities will also be built in the United Kingdom. Due to restrictions in time and word count, this thesis will focus on only two of these new garden

settlements. This makes a comparison between the two original and two new garden settlements possible. Harlow & Gilston Garden Town and Long Marston Airfield Garden Village have been selected for the analysis, based on the availability of information and the fact that both new settlements differ in size. This difference in size would make a comparison and analysis more diverse and interesting. The term settlement is used here, because the British government makes a distinction between garden towns and garden villages.³

³ See attachment 12.3 and 12.4

Part II
Empirical Material

5. The Two Original Garden Cities

So far, the creation of the Garden City Movement and its influence have been discussed. This movement had most of its influence in the United Kingdom, which led to the construction of two garden cities: Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City.

5.1 Letchworth Garden City

With the building of Letchworth, Howard hoped the world would see that garden cities could actually work. A successful construction of the first garden city should inspire urban planners all over the world to implement the utopian ideals of the Garden City Movement.

5.1.1 The Building Process

Before the building process of Letchworth could start, financing was needed. In 1899, Howard established the Garden City Association. Three years later the Garden City Pioneer Company Ltd. was formed, which was responsible for the raising of funds and finding a suitable location for the city. Once the right plot of land had been bought, the company First Garden City Ltd. was formed, owning and operating Letchworth (Hardy, 1999). Reasons for individuals to invest in this company could be ideologic, but there were also financial advantages. In case the garden city would generate profit, the donors gained interest on their investment. A possible profit could be made through the leases paid by inhabitants and shop owners (Discover Letchworth, n.d.). The rest of the profits were repatriated to the estate (Waterford, 2015). The company organised a designing competition for the city plan. Richard Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, both part of the Arts & Crafts Movement, were chosen to design the garden city. This design followed the ideals of Howard, including the surrounding greenbelt. Just one tree was felled during the building process (Discover Letchworth, n.d.). In 1903 a railway station was opened, creating a public transport link to London (*Letchworth*, 2015).

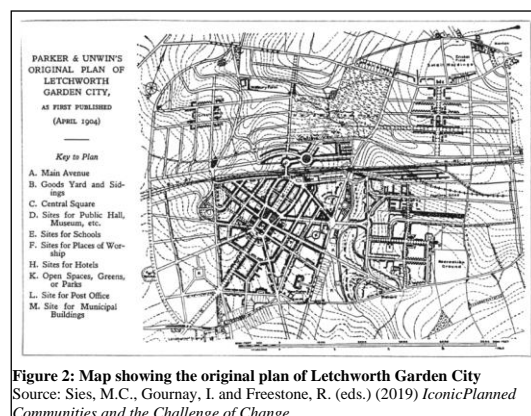


Figure 2: Map showing the original plan of Letchworth Garden City
Source: Sies, M.C., Gournay, I. and Freestone, R. (eds.) (2019) *Iconic Planned Communities and the Challenge of Change*

Although Howard acknowledged that industrialization had caused many urban problems, Letchworth was meant to be an industrial town. In the beginning the city had difficulties attracting industries and shops, but the company later managed to gain the attention from industries through low rents, large plots of lands and inexpensive housing for workers (Bonham-Carter, 1951). The company could attract a large diversity of industries, which should be a safeguard against unemployment. Most of the shops and homes were built by individuals, but it was not uncommon for individuals or building companies to lease a plot of land as an investment. The *Housing, Town Planning, &c. Act 1919* made it possible for the local government to build inexpensive housing for the workers population (Ibid., 1951).

The growth of the city occurred slowly, which was mainly due to the two world wars (Sies, Gournay and Freestone, 2019). Some of the proposed cultural venues were therefore introduced during a later stage. The Mrs Howard Memorial Hall opened in 1906 and quickly functioned as the cultural and social centre of Letchworth. A year later, the local library was housed in this building and several crafts groups met here, creating more and more cultural activities (Howard Hall, n.d.). In 1914 the Letchworth Museum & Art Gallery opened, while in 1918 the Magistrates' Court opened, responsible for smaller court cases. Many new facilities were inaugurated during the 1930s, such as two power plants, generating enough energy for the local needs. It took until 1935 before the town hall was opened. Letchworth slowly started to become an independent city (Sies, Gournay and Freestone, 2019).

During the Second World War the building of housing ceased, but the war economy let the local industry bloom. This attracted many new workers. As a result, Letchworth started to become overcrowded. After the war, more housing could be built and the population continued to grow. This expansion took up some space reserved for the surrounding greenbelt (Bonham-Carter, 1951).

After the Second World War, the New Town Movement started to gain more attention. This movement was related to the Garden City Movement and their influence had led to state-driven urban planning, aiming for the decongestion of larger cities. New towns were created all over the United

Kingdom and existing towns at strategic locations were further expanded under the *Town and Country Planning Act 1947*. It was feared that the urban planning of Letchworth would be taken over by the state, but the company managed to avoid this and could continue the way it functioned before (Sies, Gournay and Freestone, 2019).

5.1.2 Utopianism in Letchworth Garden City

Letchworth mainly attracted utopian social reformers, which led to some unique situations. Letchworth had a ban on the selling of alcohol (until 1958), Esperanto clubs met regularly and vegetarianism was significantly popular in the city (Harris, 2014). This made Letchworth a town different from others. The city planning also shows a utopian approach. Letchworth was planned in a green and spacious manner, surrounded by agricultural greenbelts. Just like Ebenezer Howard had proposed. Most houses had a garden and there were plenty of trees around. The Broadway Gardens functioned as a central green park close to the city centre. Because of this approach, Letchworth attracted many environmental utopian thinkers (*Letchworth*, 2015). The building process of Letchworth was unique as well, because the city was built and financed by the First Garden City Ltd. The land was held in common for everyone's good. One could not buy land, but always had to lease a plot of land from the company. This would provide an income to the First Garden City Ltd., making it possible to maintain the gardens, infrastructure and other community facilities (Shapps, 2011).

Letchworth continued to be an interesting place for utopian thinking. Several Cheap Cottage Exhibitions were held in Letchworth with over 60,000 visitors a year. During these exhibitions, contests for the building of inexpensive housing were held. Concepts like pre-fabrication, the implementation of new building materials and the introduction of front and back gardens were popularized during these exhibitions, marking a permanent influence on British urban planning (Waterford, 2015).

The politics of the city were unique as well. Howard believed in a democratic and civic governance, which was implemented and adapted many times in Letchworth. Although Letchworth was created by the company First Garden City Ltd, the politics of the city were done by a separate civic local government. In 1905 a residents union was established

and in 1910 the first elections for a parish council were held. Nine years later, the parish council was replaced with the Letchworth Urban District Council that took over the responsibility for most of the cultural activities and parks in the city. This council did not have political power on the level of town planning (which was still the company's responsibility), but it did build around 5 000 homes. The Urban District Council existed until 1974, when urban districts in the United Kingdom were abolished through the *Local Government Act 1972*. Many of the previous council responsibilities moved to the new Hertfordshire District Council, while a few other responsibilities moved to the county's governance (Parliament of the United Kingdom, 1972).

5.2. Welwyn Garden City

The building of Letchworth seemed successful, which led to the building of a second garden city. In 1920 Welwyn Garden City was founded after a suitable plot of land had been selected.

5.2.1 The Building Process

Welwyn Garden City Ltd. had been found to own and operate the city. This company would plan the city, provide public services, such as water, gas and electricity and was financialized through investors. The company also put effort into finding building companies and industries to move to the city. Louis de Soissons was the appointed architect and once again a neo-Georgian architectural style was implemented. De Soissons worked in close cooperation with the members of the board of the company, assuring every sociological point of view was borne in mind (Reiss, 1920).

A lot had changed in the United Kingdom after the First World War, which led to the passing of the *Housing, Town Planning, &c. Act 1919*. Especially the working class was exploited by profiteering landlords, which caused nationwide rent strikes. Due to the aftermath of the war, building costs had risen which made the British parliament realize that new state-aided housing was necessary (Malpass, 2000). This act introduced new housing subsidies and made it possible for local authorities to build housing (Parliament of the United Kingdom, 1919). Due to this act, local authorities started to overtake the amount of housing provided by private housing companies (Malpass, 2000). This was also the case in Welwyn Garden City,

where about forty percent of the housing was built by local authorities. Half of the housing was built by housing societies, while just ten percent of the housing was built through private investments (Purdom, 1949). The land was still owned and leased out by Welwyn Garden City Ltd., but this time the company had problems finding investors due to the aftermath of the war (Smith, 2010).

Welwyn Garden City was planned to have up to 50 000 inhabitants, which is more than the 32 000 Howard had described in *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. Soon after the establishment of the city, the amount of facilities and inhabitants started to grow. A train station opened in September 1920 and the first inhabitants had moved in during Christmas 1920. A parish council was established in 1921, guaranteeing the local civic government Howard envisioned. Most of the early inhabitants were middle-class people, not the working class Howard mainly aimed at in his book (Filler, 1989).

The idea of zoning was fully implemented in Welwyn Garden City. This idea was introduced by Howard and should improve the quality of life. Industries were located on the western side of the railway station and retail on the eastern side. The architects did not implement large retail zones for several shops to settle, but had decided to create one large department store where people could buy everything they needed. The store opened in 1921 (Boston, 2015). Many other facilities followed, such as an elementary school in 1915. The Welwyn Theatre and the Embassy Cinema opened in 1925, supporting the cultural life. More and more businesses came into town, slowly making Welwyn a self-sustaining city. Until the beginning of the Second World War, the population had grown to approximately 20 000 (de Soissons, 1988). From the Second World War onwards, a lot had changed in the city. Chapter 6 will further focus on these changes.

5.2.2 Utopianism in Welwyn Garden City

Welwyn evolved differently compared to Letchworth and grew a lot bigger than Howard had aimed for. However, some other aspects did follow Howard's utopian thinking. Garden cities were planned to be located close to a larger city and should have the right (public) transportation options. Welwyn is closely located to London: close enough to make use of the city's commercial centre, while it is located far enough to be considered a

separate town. This also meant there was enough space for green belts around town (Reiss, 1920).

However, reality shows that Welwyn mainly evolved into a commuter's town. This happened already at the beginning of the construction. The first inhabitants were workers who continued to work in London, because there were no industries in Welwyn Garden City yet. For companies and factories to settle, signs of life were needed first (Purdom, 1949). This development shows a difference with Letchworth, where utopian thinkers had already moved before most of the industries had settled there.

However, it were not solely workers who moved to Welwyn Garden City. Mixed housing with houses of all sizes and values was one of Howard's main aims to avoid class segregation. This should lead to a diverse population. In reality, it was mainly the middle-class that had moved here (Purdom, 1949).

5.3 Conclusions from Chapter 5

Howard's main aim was to create a green city where the people's needs were satisfied and where they could adapt to a healthy way of living. One could say that Letchworth had the utopian character Howard was aiming for, due to the green character of the city and the civic local government (Bonham-Carter, 1951). The success of Letchworth led to the creation of a second garden city. Even though some of Howard's ideals had been implemented, reality shows that Welwyn grew a lot bigger than Letchworth and evolved more into a middle-class commuter's town than the self-sustaining garden city Howard had aimed for. The following chapter will focus on the further developments of the utopian ideals of Howard in these two cities.

6. How much Utopianism is left?

The building of the garden cities should ensure a healthier lifestyle and better living conditions. Especially Letchworth could offer a new way of living and attracted utopian thinkers. This utopian thinking was also present in Welwyn Garden City, although this city seemed to evolve more into any other commuter town. This chapter will look into how the utopianism of these towns have developed and how the perceptions on the garden cities have changed.

6.1 Mixed Reviews

Both during and after the building of Letchworth, views on this project were mixed. According to Edgar Bonham-Carter, people criticized the city for being too spacious. This would make the travel time from one to the other side of town unnecessarily long. It also increased costs, because roads, pipes and drains had to be longer. However, Howard was still convinced that this spaciousness would create more space for greenery and create a more pleasant living (Bonham-Carter, 1951).

The utopian thinking of the Garden City Movement was sometimes criticized and mocked. English poet John Betjeman dedicated two poems in which he made fun of the people in Letchworth (Blatchley, 2015) and well-known writer George Orwell wrote the following about Letchworth:

Letchworth attracts... every fruit juice drinker, nudist, sandal wearer, sex-maniac, Quaker, nature cure quack, pacifist and feminist in England (Orwell, 1937, chapter 11).

However, there were also positive reviews. The inhabitants themselves seemed happy and the garden cities had convinced urban planners that the creation of new and self-sustainable towns was possible. The construction of Letchworth seemed successful and led to the creation of a second garden city (Osborn, 1942).

6.2 A Government Response

The national Unhealthy Areas Committee (1919-21), chaired by Neville Chamberlain, started to believe in Howard's utopianism. This committee focused on measurements against slum shaping in the United Kingdom and

their Second and Final Report showed their enthusiasm about the garden city projects. The report promised assistance, such as state loans, for the further construction of self-sustaining garden cities surrounding the London area (*Second and Final Report*, 1920). The publication of this report, in combination with the earlier mentioned *Housing, Town Planning &c. Act 1919*, shows a shift towards more state-planned housing. The state started to get more and more involved with housing questions.

6.2.1 New Town Movement

Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City seemed a success and proved it was possible to create new and self-sustaining cities. As a result, the Parliament of the United Kingdom passed the *New Towns Act 1946*, which resulted in the creation and extension of 28 towns in the United Kingdom.⁴ The New Town Movement was heavily influenced by the Garden City Movement, which is clearly visible in the five key planning principles of the *New Towns Act 1946*: the new towns should represent the British population and a strong sense of community should be created. The cities were planned in such a way that pedestrians could move around safely and just like garden cities, the new towns should be self-sustaining (Clapson, 2017). Welwyn Garden City was assigned a New Town, which resulted in the town being almost doubled in size.⁵ Louis de Soissons was the appointed architect again (de Soissons, 1988). The success of the New Town Movement once again showed that the rather pessimistic view before the building of Letchworth, had slowly turned into a more positive perception on the Garden City Movement.

6.3 The Reigning Middle-Class

Howard's utopian ideals seemed to work and offered a better option than the inner-city slums. The garden cities showed lower death rates, although some argue this had mainly to do with the fact that both Letchworth and Welwyn had developed into a middle-class commuter's town (March, 2004).

Although Howard mainly aimed to improve the living conditions of the working class, the largest group in Letchworth and Welwyn turned out to be middle- and upper class.

⁴ See attachment 12.5 for a map representing the 28 new towns

⁵ See attachment 12.6 for a map of the extension of Welwyn Garden City as a New Town

According to Sam Clevenger, this development could be explained through the social and environmental historical tradition. This tradition claims that our definition of nature and health are mainly formed through the class we are part of. Howard's views on the rural, and the ideals of the garden city, were based on a nostalgia for the traditional English countryside. In order to reinforce this ideal, the urban working class had to go back to the countryside. Even though Howard may have had the best intentions and really tried to improve the living conditions of the working class, it cannot be denied that many of the ideals of the Garden City Movement were heavily influenced by a bourgeoisie approach to both landscape and the urban working class. According to this tradition, the Garden City Movement is partially based on the principle that the upper-class had to take care of the working class. As an (intentional) result, this would also restore the middle and upper-class ideals of the traditional British countryside. The British countryside was dependent on the presence of the working class (Clevenger, 2017).

6.4 Utopianism After Completion

The working class may not have been the largest group in the original garden cities, but this does not mean that the other utopian ideals were not present. Many of Howard's utopian ideals had been implemented and managed to remain part of the daily life in Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. Both cities managed to somehow still function as a company, although due to changed legislation they are registered as a foundation since 1995 (Sies, Gournay and Freestone, 2019). It would not be the first time the functioning of the company had changed. Howard was critical towards landlords, since they were part of the capitalist system and tend to make money out of the proletariat. He therefore wanted the company to be the sole landlord. The building process of Letchworth was initially completely reliable on the donations of investors, who were not convinced about the idea of having just one landlord. In order to convince the investors, and to keep the company financially viable, Howard had to make some concessions and allowed other actors to build homes (Fainstein and Campbell, 2003). Another adjustment was the lease period. Initially, a plot of land would be leased for 999 years, but due to scepticism from the

investors, Howard had to compromise to a lease period of 99 years (Beevers, 1988). In order to fight bankruptcy of the company, Howard was forced to increase rents and lease rates on the short term. This choice was controversial, because he had clearly stated before, that this should never happen (Waterford, 2015). This measure hit the working class hard, but it was complicated for them to fight this decision. It was impossible for them to execute power within the company, because most of the shares were owned by the rich investors. These shares were too expensive and therefore out of reach for the working class (March, 2004). This also explains how the garden cities had slowly turned into an attractive middle-class town.

Especially Welwyn Garden City did not manage to become a place for the working class. The company had a stronger grip in Welwyn, but had hard times creating jobs and attracting businesses, which made the company the main employer. The amount of jobs the company could create were not sufficient, so people had to find a job elsewhere. This made Welwyn more like a commuters town a self-sustainable entity (Ibid., 2004)

Meanwhile, the United Kingdom had become a consuming society, which led to mass production and luxury consumptions. Chain companies and multi-national industries started to settle in the garden cities and local stores had moved out. At the same time, car traffic led to a different street scene and made it even easier to commute to London. The ideal of being a utopian, self-sustaining city and the uniqueness of the two garden cities slowly disappeared (Welwyn Garden City Society, 2009).

These developments did not take away the fact that the architecture and urban planning of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City showed the implementation of Howard's utopianism. The urban planners managed to create large amounts of greenery, a village-like ambiance and surrounding greenbelts. Most of this greenery is still present and sometimes even extended. However, in 2018 the Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation proposed to start building new housing in the northern greenbelts. This proposal was received negatively by the public and the Letchworth Garden City Society, but this process is still under discussion (Sies, Gournay and Freestone, 2019).

Even though the two garden cities may have moved away from some of

their initial utopian ideals, their way of planning and history will always make these towns special. The British government seems to agree with this and has tried to reinforce the creation of garden cities.

6.5 New Garden Cities

Since 2014, several plans for the creation of new garden cities in the United Kingdom have been announced. This thesis will further focus on the proposed new garden towns and villages as represented in figure 3. These settlements were selected by the Department for Communities and Local Government in order to fight urban sprawl in the United Kingdom. The settlements should follow the garden city principles according to the Town and Country Planning Association (Osborne, 2014).⁶ In March 2016 this department published the document *Locally-Led Garden Villages, Towns and Cities*, in which local areas are encouraged to present proposals for new self-sustaining garden villages or towns.⁷ Eventually seventeen new garden towns and villages have been selected (McCann, 2017).

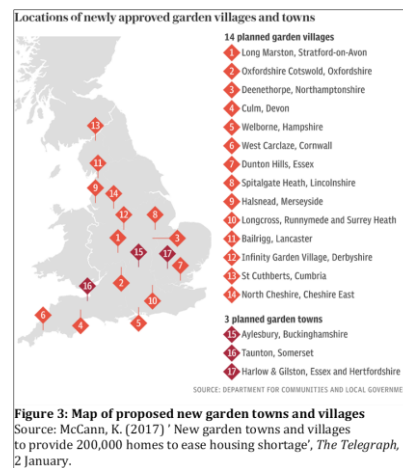


Figure 3: Map of proposed new garden towns and villages
Source: McCann, K. (2017) 'New garden towns and villages to provide 200,000 homes to ease housing shortage', *The Telegraph*, 2 January.

6.6 Conclusions from Chapter 6

This chapter has shown that Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City were already criticized in their beginning years, but once these projects seemed to work, the general perception had changed positively. State intervention increased already during the building process of Welwyn Garden City, but even more in the creation of the new towns. Meanwhile, the two original garden cities slowly developed into any other commuter's town. However, their history and unique way of building will always be special and even led to the reintroduction of new garden cities in the United Kingdom. Now it is time to shift the focus towards two of the proposed garden settlements, to start with Harlow & Gilston Garden Town.

⁶ See attachment 12.7 for a list with the Garden City Principles

⁷ See attachment 12.3 and 12.4 for the eligibility criteria

7. Harlow & Gilston Garden Town

Harlow & Gilston Garden Town is one of the selected new garden towns. This garden city project is unique, because new neighbourhoods will extend the city of Harlow (once appointed a new town) and create new residential communities with all the needed facilities. New garden villages will be created close by, but should be seen as new rural settlements in the countryside with a more independent character. At the same time, Harlow's town will be regenerated. Instead of building a new garden settlement from scratch, an already existing town will be turned into a garden town (HDH Planning and Development Ltd., 2019).

This chapter will discuss and analyse the planning documents of Harlow & Gilston Garden Town. Special focus will be put on the Expression of Interest and the Vision document. These documents have been formed by local district councils, stakeholders and the local community. Just like in the original garden cities, the housing plan has been designed through a competition (Fulcher, 2018).

7.1 Expression of Interest

In October 2016, the East Herst, Harlow and Epping Forest District Council jointly published their Expression of Interest, which counted as their bid to be designated a new garden town. This section will discuss and analyse the Expression of Interest, so it will show how much of Howard's utopianism shines through this document. The general themes of 'nature' and 'the urban' are used to systematically investigate this document.

7.1.1 Nature

This document counted as the bid to be considered a new garden town and is mainly driven by proposed ideas, not completely amplified masterplans. Especially on the level of nature, many of the proposed plans remain unspecified. However, the document does mention how Harlow & Gilston will be shaped by the landscape and surrounding nature. A green place will be created where pedestrians play a key role and there will be access to open spaces, nature and the countryside. This definitely suits Howard's way of thinking. Moreover, it is discussed that the councils are looking into the extension of the existing green wedges and spaces 'through a landscape-led approach aligned with Garden City principles' (East Herts Council, Epping

Forest District Council and Harlow Council, 2016, p.12). In 2016, work on this proposal was still going on, but to be considered a garden town, this should definitely be executed. It is further mentioned that green infrastructure and sustainable transport corridors will be the guiding design principles. A green approach shines through this document, but clear information on the implementation of greenbelts or greenery is not mentioned (East Herts Council, Epping Forest District Council and Harlow Council, 2016).

7.1.2 The Urban

The strategic context part of the document makes clear that this project will be developed in such a way, that the character of the area can be enhanced. The local historical character of the surrounding market towns and settlements will function as an inspiration. This project should create housing with great access to social, leisure and communal facilities. On top of that, the railway system will be improved. The location of Harlow & Gilston is far enough from London to be considered an independent city, but close enough to create good travel opportunities. So far, these developments seem to fit Howard's thinking, although they remain a little unspecified.

Effort will be put into the provision of housing, which should be in line with the local needs. With coordination from stakeholders, the right approaches for the creation of jobs will be realized. By adding enough housing, the services, facilities and employment needs will be sustained. This will make the city self-sustainable on this level. This is a different approach than the two original garden cities, where housing was built before industries had moved to the city.

Chapter two of the document is dedicated to the delivery of the Garden City principles. The objectives according to the Town & Country Planning Association will guide the planning process, but how this will be executed remains unclear. The document does state that the councils are working on how to interpret the principles, showing this process was still underway in 2016. Harlow & Gilston should create an attractive, self-sufficient place with walkable neighbourhoods. Public transport, walking and cycling are promoted and should be a viable choice. It is mentioned that the masterplan of when Harlow became a new town, will be used as an inspiration.

Community engagement will be encouraged, so that also the under-represented individuals will be heard. Interestingly enough, in chapter 3 of the document, plans to change the way of doing politics are discussed. Following Howard's idea of civic local governance and holding the land in common for everyone's good, it will be explored whether long-term community ownership and governance will be possible. There are plans to transfer the land assets to a new community body and direct involvement of the community is promoted. Section 3.3 even proposes a possible change of legislation to make the governance of a locally-led garden town possible. On top of that, the document asks the British government to make it possible to establish local community ownership and reinvestments in the community. This was also the case in Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. The document proposes a community land trust to realize this idea (East Herst, Harlow and Epping Forest District Council, 2016).

7.1.3 Concluding Remarks on the Expression of Interest

Although many of the plans have become clear in this document, it is also remarkable that many times it is stated that further investigation is needed. Utopian thinking and clear links to the Garden City Movement are lacking on the level of nature. However, the ambitions on the level of community ownership and local civic governance are clearly visible and in line with Howard's thinking. To realize this, new legislation will be needed, which may delay or cancel these plans.

7.2 The Vision

In November 2018 the Vision for Harlow & Gilston was published. The Vision is supposed to inform new residents, investors and developers. It also discusses the vision and principles for the growth and management of the town. It further discusses how a locally-led, new Garden Town will be achievable, based on a joint-work approach supported by the Government. The Vision promises that Harlow & Gilston will be adaptable, healthy, sustainable and innovative. A green environment and New Town optimism are mentioned as one of the drivers.

7.2.1 Nature

A special section in this document is dedicated to 'Landscape and Green Infrastructure'. Here it becomes clear that there will be greenbelts around

town, while investments will be made in public access, the landscape and biodiversity. If possible, country parks will be created. Green wedges will divide the neighbourhoods and add green character. Figure 4 gives a clear example of how greenery will characterize Harlow & Gilston. The green wedges will be ‘rural in character using farmland and woodland to reinforce the separation of

development and maintain existing village ways of life’ (Allies and Morrison Urban Practitioners, 2018, p.12).

This very much agrees with Howard’s idea of bringing the countryside into town and maintaining a village feeling.



Figure 4: Aerial map of Harlow & Gilston Garden Town
 Source: Fulcher, M. (2018) ‘Competition: Harlow & Gilston Garden Town’, *Architects Journal*, 9 October. ulcher, M. (2018)

Through the implementation of walking and cycling paths, the population can adapt to a healthy lifestyle. Similar to Letchworth and Welwyn, the local authorities are responsible for the maintenance of parks and green spaces. New plants and trees will provide even more greenery and locally-led community gardens will be available for every inhabitant within a 10-minute walk. This will encourage social interactions, but also better access to low-cost food and a healthier lifestyle. This seems like a 21st-century revival of Howard’s thinking about self-sustaining food production and the greenbelt concept. The Landscape and Green Infrastructure section also makes clear that low carbon designs are applied and green energy production will be promoted, although it is not clear whether Harlow & Gilston will be completely energy neutral and self-sustaining.

The third section of The Vision is dedicated to ‘Sustainable Movement’, where the transportation possibilities are discussed. Cycling and walking is heavily encouraged through the introduction of ‘Super Greenways’ and transport hubs will make a quick interchange between bike and bus possible. Neighbourhoods will be characterized by tree lines and roads will have as little markings as needed, creating more space for pavements and plants. The urban designs of Letchworth and Welwyn seem to have been used as an inspiration. Active movement is promoted, but affordable public transport in

and around town will be available too. Surprisingly, this section also mentions that schools and workplaces are required to have sufficient car parking, which does not seem to be in line with the earlier promotion of sustainable transport or the green approach that seems to prevail elsewhere in this document (Allies and Morrison Urban Practitioners, 2018).

7.2.2 The Urban

The section on ‘Placemaking and Homes’ makes clear that Harlow & Gilston will have an overarching and sustainable identity, but every neighbourhood will have a distinctive design. Effort will be put into the integration into the existing landscape and traditional architecture from neighbouring villages will be used as an inspiration. This approach was also applied in the two original garden cities. Just like Letchworth and Welwyn, there will be a central high street, surrounded by green. The neighbourhoods will have sufficient facilities, so that people do not have to travel to reach shops or a bus stop. It is mentioned several times that mixed housing will be used, so that every person can find a suitable home. Mixed housing was also used in the original garden cities to avoid class segregation (Purdom, 1925). This section also promises a mix between owner occupied, privately rented and social housing. However, it is not mentioned how this mixed housing will be applied nor is it mentioned how large the share of social housing will be. This also means that Howard’s leasing system will not be used.

Connectivity is encouraged through social infrastructures, such as parks and recreation areas. Just like Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, a local health centre will provide basic care. During the creation of the masterplan, a participatory design programme will encourage local involvement. Contrary to the Expression of Interest, there is no further mentioning of a civic local government, assuming the politics will be done in a similar way as in any other British town. It does mention that innovative architects and designers will be hired to recreate the original New Town approach. It is remarkable how the terms garden city and new town are used interchangeably, even though these are definitely two different concepts.

It is planned that Harlow & Gilston will contribute to the region’s economic growth. Special effort will be put into attracting industrial businesses and the growth of Stansted Airport, which does not sound

environmental-friendly. The document promises high quality housing suitable for families, which would make it easy to find new workers. Employment spaces will be created in accordance with the infrastructure and the building of new homes, so that job opportunities will be in line with occupancy rates. The railway connection will be extended and improved and the town centre of Harlow will count as the cultural and commercial heart, with a new market square for cultural activities. How this will be realized remains unclear,. Furthermore, it is mentioned that:

Development will be of high quality that sensitively integrates into the New Town fabric, reinforcing local distinctiveness and sense of place (Vision, 2018, p.25).

Once again it seems like the document is referring more to the New Town Movement than the Garden City Movement (Allies and Morrison Urban Practitioners, 2018).

7.2.3 Concluding Remarks on The Vision

The Vision shows that Harlow & Gilston will have many similarities with the two original garden cities. The implementation of green belts and a vibrant cultural life seem to support a reinforcement of the Garden City Movement. Howard's leasing system seems to lack and where the Expression of Interest proposed new political approaches and communal land ownership, this document does not. It is also remarkable how often references are made to the New Town Movement.

8. Long Marston Airfield Garden Village

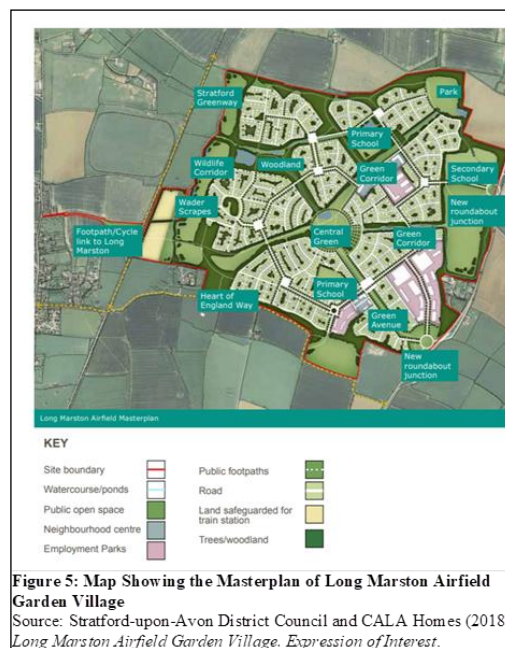
Long Marston will be realized on the empty Long Marston Airfield, close to the town of Stratford-upon-Avon. This chapter will discuss and analyse the Expression of Interest, the Stratford-on-Avon District Core Strategy 2011 to 2031 and the Framework Masterplan.

8.1 Long Marston Airfield Garden Village – Expression of Interest

In July 2016, the Stratford-on-Avon District Council and CALA Homes jointly published their Expression of Interest. This document shows the proposed plans and gives information about the planning of the project. This section will discuss and analyse the document, according to the themes ‘nature’ and ‘the urban’.

8.1.1 Nature

This document states remarkable little on nature and how the Garden City Principles will be implemented. However, there is some information of land use, which shows that only 0.5ha of land will be used as open and green space. This seems a bit too little to be considered a garden village, but there will also be 21ha of open space surrounding town for play areas, community gardens and sport fields. Although ‘open space’ is used here instead of the term greenbelt, it does mention food production as one of the possibilities to fill in this open space. There will also be 56ha of ‘semi-natural accessible green space’ in the form of a country park and multi-functional green spaces and streets. Effort will be put into bringing the landscape into the garden village, which should create networks of green corridors. How this will look like in reality, remains unclear. However, the idea of bringing the countryside into town definitely matches Howard’s thinking. Figure 5 displays the masterplan for Long Marston and shows how much greenery will be added.



8.1.2 The Urban

The document opens with a quote which says a lot about the aim and planning of this project:

We want to create a new community worth caring about, invoking Garden City principles to create a superb place with opportunities to live, work and socialise, within 10 minutes of Stratford-upon-Avon (Stratford-on-Avon District Council and CALA Homes, 2016, p.6).

This quote creates an obvious link with the Garden City Movement. Page 13 and 14 of the document mention the design principles for this project, which according to this document ‘draw heavily on Garden City principles’ (Stratford-upon-Avon District Council and CALA Homes, 2016, p.13). Figure 6 depicts these design principles. It is not further explained how this should draw on the Garden City principles and what these principles will look like in reality. They seem to be applicable to any building project and a clear link to the Garden City Movement is missing.

Throughout the document the link to the Garden City Movement becomes clearer. It states that Long Marston will be a locally-led, free-standing new settlement with about 3,500 new homes. The settlement will be sustainable and mixed-used. About 35% of the new homes will be considered social/affordable housing. The idea of taking care of those with a lower income, follows Howard’s thinking. The development of housing could happen fast and easily, because CALA Homes is the private owner of the land and hardly any other businesses will be involved. With the upcoming industries and shops, it is estimated that about 4,000 jobs can be created, which should be enough to support the village with enough employment. A neighbourhood and community centre will have a central role and there will be ‘significant areas of open space’ (Stratford-on-Avon District Council and CALA Homes, 2016, p.12).

1. An identifiable Place
2. A mixed use community
3. A Walkable Place
4. Transport choices
5. Multi-functional green spaces
6. Streets and landscape corridors designed as places
7. Quality homes

Figure 6: The Design Principles of Long Marston

Source: Stratford-on-Avon and CALA Homes (2016) *Long Marston Airfield Garden Village. Expression of Interest.*

In order to make the village accessible, a new road will create a better connection to Stratford-upon-Avon and the existing highway will be improved. This makes it presumable that car traffic will play an important role. However, it is also stated that an increased population in the region will lead to a potential for re-opening of the railway line between Stratford and Honeybourne. This development is unsure and the question remains whether a new settlement with 3,500 homes will create enough support base. This means a good transport link to a larger neighbouring city, as proposed by Howard, will probably not be created here.

The Stratford-on-Avon District Council will take the political leadership and will be responsible for the housing delivery for residents and businesses. They will try to engage the local population through delivery and stewardship. The owner of the land, CALA Homes, will be responsible for the masterplan and placemaking. They will also take the lead in the delivery of the infrastructure, project management and the house building and selling. This structure is similar to the structure of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, although CALA Homes is not owned by the Garden City Movement. There is a local civic government, the Stratford-upon-Avon District Council, but the garden village itself will not have its own local council (Stratford-on-Avon District Council and CALA Homes, 2016).

8.1.3 Concluding Remarks on the Expression of Interest

Although this document shows most of the practicalities and how this project will meet all the requirement set by the government, it lacks Howard's idealistic approach. References to nature and greenery are made, but a clear view on the implementation of greenery and greenbelts lacks. A clear link to the Garden City Movement is missing and it is not mentioned whether cultural facilities will be implemented. Moreover, this document does not mention a civic local government or new ways of doing politics. However, the structure with a private company building the city, follows the building process of the original garden cities.

8.2 Stratford-on-Avon District Core Strategy 2011 to 2031

The district of Stratford-on-Avon adopted their document on the core strategy for the period 2011 to 2031 in July 2016. Although the document is

covering the whole district, it does mention some aspects and plans for the development of Long Marston.

8.2.1 Nature

Where it remained unclear in the Expression of Interest, this document explains the green belt principle in chapter 4. The term greenbelt here refers to the West Midlands Green Belt, which is a protected natural area in which Long Marston is planned. The region has protected and regulated this greenbelt for years, so new urban projects cannot be developed in a harmful way. The openness and character cannot be changed and constructions can only be done with respect to the landscape. In case of Long Marston, the redevelopment of the airfield will be done without harming the greenbelt. Contrary to Howard's thinking, this greenbelt will not be used for agriculture. It is already there and cannot be changed, because it is considered a safeguard to prevent urban sprawl and to keep the land open. Landscape corridors, which are lifelines for plants and trees that conserve biodiversity, will create open spaces and keep wildlife habitats intact. This document clearly states that there will be parks within the borders of the village. A new road will lead to Stratford-upon-Avon, but during the designing phase the ecology and any other natural risks will be borne in mind (Stratford-on-Avon District Council, 2016).

8.2.2 The Urban

The Stratford-on-Avon District Core Strategy also describes the vision of the project, which states that the character of the village should be in line with the surroundings of the region. Services, facilities and employment opportunities should be available for everyone in the garden village and surroundings. The already existing Greenway will be further improved to promote moving around by bike and foot, complemented by public transport. Section 6.11.14 further states that the creation of a local identity is important and could be achieved through the input and participation of local communities and the developers of the project. This input will be combined into a Framework Masterplan Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) that should make sure that every socioeconomic and environmental aspect is considered (Stratford-on-Avon District Council, 2016).

7.2.3 Concluding Remarks on the Core Strategy

Although this document does state information about the greenbelt and the construction of Long Marston, it does not tell us much about how the Garden City Principles are implemented. The vision remains vague and does not even refer to the Garden City Movement. It does mention the importance of nature and how the village will be implemented into the surrounding areas.

8.3 The Framework Masterplan

In October 2017, the Stratford-upon-Avon District Council published their Long Marston Airfield Garden Village Framework Masterplan, which functions as a supplementary planning document. The document states that many of the aspects are already mentioned in the earlier discussed documents, so only remarkable changes will be mentioned in this section.

8.3.1 Nature

Contrary to the previous documents, this document seems to put more focus on the open and green spaces this project will create. One section is dedicated to the vision, which clearly describes how the planning will respond sensitively and appropriately to the existing landscape. Page 11 even mentions how town and country will be combined, which is a clear link to the Garden City Movement.

One of Howards aims was to harm nature is little as possible and according to chapter two of this document, that will also be the case here. The current airfield has some trees and ponds left and during construction, they will try to keep these intact. By doing so, the natural habitat and wildlife can become part of the open spaces in the garden village. Further down in chapter 2, it is discussed how existing green assets will be retained and connected, so green swathes of landscape can be created. This will improve the biodiversity and creates an opportunity for the local population to enjoy nature. At the same time, a Greenway will be created for pedestrians and cyclists, so they can bike and walk to Stratford-upon-Avon. This should create opportunities for a healthier lifestyle. Similar to Letchworth, Welwyn Garden City, but also Harlow & Gilston, there are plans to create a tree-lined avenue that will function as the central part of the garden village (Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners Ltd., 2017).

8.3.2 The Urban

This document once again mentions how a sense of community will be realized and mixed housing of high quality will create a vibrant village. The design will be influenced by the surrounding villages, where ‘the link to the countryside is constant, the village never reaching a scale where the countryside fades into the distance’ (Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners Ltd, 2017, p.12).

Where the bid document seemed to focus too much on car traffic, this document states how walking, biking and bus traffic will be promoted to discourage car traffic. This should improve the sustainability of the village. Furthermore, green energy is promoted and energy-efficient housing will be built. Decentralised energy is preferred and currently a study is prepared to consider a district heating network. It seems that a lot of effort is put into sustainability and the selection of sustainable building materials. The garden town will have a good public transport connection and every citizen should be within a 400 meter distance of a bus stop. For rail traffic, travellers are referred to Stratford-upon-Avon or Honeybourne. It is still discussed whether a new railway to the village could be opened.

This document elaborates a bit more on politics. A new parish council will be created and a community trust should support the management of neighbourhoods and community assets. The aim is to create a structure for a local neighbourhood management governance, which seems a comparable approach that has been used in Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City (Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners Ltd, 2017).

8.3.3 Concluding Remarks on The Framework Masterplan

Compared to the previous documents, this masterplan is more concrete and shows a more idealistic touch. Sustainability and greenery are mentioned more often, it is discussed how the landscape will be preserved and ambitions regarding politics and neighbourhood management are mentioned. All in all, this document shows a more obvious link with the Garden City Movement. The following chapter will analyse how much of Howards utopianism has been implemented into the new garden settlements, compared to the two original garden cities.

Part III
Findings

9. Analysis

The previous chapters have shown the history of the original garden cities and how they have developed. The realization of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City showed that Howard's utopianism could work, which eventually led to the reintroduction of garden villages and towns in the United Kingdom. In this chapter it will be examined how much of this utopianism is left in the two original garden cities. This analysis will also look into how much of Howard's utopianism shines through the planning documents of Harlow & Gilston Garden Town and Long Marston Airfield Garden Village. The main differences and similarities will be discussed and analysed, so that a final answer to the research question can be found. Once again the themes of 'nature' and 'the urban' will be used. Special attention will be given to the concepts of the nature-culture divide, the socialization of nature, the right to the city and neoliberalism, as discussed in the literature review.

9.1 Nature

The name of the Garden City Movement already indicates that nature and the implementation of gardens into town were key to Howard's thinking. By combining the natural aspects and scenery of the countryside with cultural facilities of a city, a 'perfect life' would be possible.

9.1.1 The Nature-Culture Divide

For long there has been a discussion whether we should see nature and culture as two separate entities or as a unified relationship (Possamai, 2013). Howard aimed to create a town in which both would be combined into a new way of living, by bringing the countryside literally into town.

The implementation of parks was key in Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, combined with a central tree-lined main road. The planning documents for the new garden settlements specifically mention a similar main road and the implementation of parks. The documents often refer to the creation of greenery surrounding the new houses, which makes it likeable that the new garden settlements will have a similar green environment as the original garden cities. Nature definitely plays a major role in the planning documents.

Howard proposes a combination between the countryside and a city. Cultural facilities are needed to guarantee a blooming cultural life. In Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, a cinema, theatre and museum were available and the first inhabitants of Letchworth organized many activities, such as vegetarian feasts and Esperanto clubs. The desired cultural life was definitely present and significantly extensive for the size of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. Some cultural facilities are already present in the existing part of Harlow, but The Vision document makes clear that the town's centre will form the cultural heart of the new Garden Town, with a new market square for cultural activities. In case of Long Marston, the cultural sector is not specifically mentioned, which may have to do with the village's size. This means the inhabitants will have to go to Stratford-upon-Avon to enjoy cultural facilities, which also shows this settlement will not achieve the independent character that Howard aimed for. This self-sustainability was achieved in Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, although both had slowly developed into a commuter's town of London. The planning documents for Harlow & Gilston look promising enough to believe this project will create an independent garden town.

9.1.2 Nature As S Social Construct

In the literature review it has been discussed how the socialist view on nature suggests that culture has dominated nature through capitalist practices. Nature has become part of our modes of production. This has caused different dynamics where nature, which is mainly available on the countryside, is used and reproduced for consumption in the city (Merrington, 1975).

Through the implementation of greenbelts, a garden city would be able to provide itself. Local food production would feed the population, but also brings people closer to nature and contribute to mental health. At the same time, a village-like ambiance could be created. This line of thought has been completely implanted in Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. The landscape in and around town is characterized by agricultural greenbelts, while the architecture of the town represent a neo-Georgian style in line with the traditional (middleclass) ideal of the British countryside. Even though Welwyn Garden City had to hand in some of the green belts for

expansion, and there is an ongoing discussion on urban growth in Letchworth, one could say Howard's utopian concept of the greenbelt has been fully implemented.

The Vision document for Harlow & Gilston clearly mentions the presence of greenbelts. There will be opportunities for food production, which will secure food provision, and it is also mentioned how this will improve mental health. On top of that, urban gardens will be available. This definitely fits Howard's thinking. The urban gardens will bring the countryside even closer to the people and will make it easier to learn about food production. The documents for Long Marston do mention a greenbelt, although this mainly refers to the existing natural surroundings of the West Midland Green Belt. This greenbelt cannot be harmed or used for agriculture. The Expression of Interest and Core Strategy on the other hand use the term 'open spaces', which seems to be more like Howard's interpretation of greenbelts. Food production and community gardens are mentioned as possibilities to fill in this open space. Since it is unsure whether food production will happen on the greenbelts and the fact that Long Marston lacks cultural possibilities, it will be hard for Long Marston to develop into a self-sustaining garden settlement.

Ecology and sustainability are concepts that have gained more attention recently, but Howard could be seen as one of the early pioneers for the introduction of these concepts into urban planning. Greenery and a spacious way of planning characterize the planning process of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. The fact that only one tree has been felled during the building process of Letchworth once again shows Howard's ecological approach. His thinking has an ecological perception, even though environmentalism was not popularized during his days. Sustainability and an ecological approach seem to be a high priority in Harlow & Gilston and characterize the planning documents. This approach shines through the attention given to public transport and green energy production in The Vision document. Less attention is given to the preservation of the natural assets, which is covered surprisingly well in the documents of Long Marston:

Wherever possible existing landscaping, including on-site valuable trees, woodlands, hedges and any other features which are important to the character or appearance of the local landscape, should be retained and enhanced (Nathaniel Lichfield & Partners Ltd, 2017, p.22).

However, these planning documents have been used to convince the British government and some aspects may be presented over-optimistically. Reality will show much of this ecological thinking will actually be implemented.

Through the implementation of greenery, in combination with neo-Georgian architecture, Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City had become towns implemented into the landscape with a village-like ambiance. The Expression of Interest document of Harlow & Gilston does mention that a landscape-led approach will be used and The Vision document promises that local landscapes will be reinforced, but it remains unclear how this will happen. The following is said about the architecture:

The Garden Town will create high quality, energy efficient buildings and places, using best practice and working with leading and innovative architects and designers; echoing the approach of the original New Town (Allies and Morrison Urban Practitioners, 2018, p.11).

From this quote it can be concluded that Harlow & Gilston will be a new garden town, but with some links to the New Town Movement as well. In Long Marston, the architecture of the surrounding villages will be used as an inspiration. Especially in the Core Strategy document, it becomes clear that legislation makes it necessary for Long Marston to apply a design in accordance with the landscape. This would harm the West Midland Green Belt as little as possible. It is further stated that the architectural style will be in line with the surrounding villages and with clear links to the countryside. A similar approach of reinforcing traditional architecture was applied in Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City.

9.2 The Urban

Howard aimed to improve the living circumstances, especially for the working class population. Even though the concept of ‘right to the city’ had

not gained much attention during his lifetime, Howard's thinking definitely stands in line with this concept. Many of the urban problems of his lifetime remain unsolved in our neoliberal times. Nowadays a market-based economy and a society mainly based on profit-making, are said to be some of the main causes behind these problems. At the same time, Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City functioned as a company and profit was needed to pay the investors and maintain the communal assets. How market-based will the new garden cities be?

9.2.1 The Right to the City

One of the main critiques coming from academics like Lefebvre and Marcuse, is the fact that businesses seem to take over city centres, forcing out the less-endowed urban population. In Howard's days, a similar process led to factories taking over the city, while populations lived in poor, suburban living circumstances. Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City offered a better way of living in many ways. However, reality showed that the working class were overruled by the middle class.

Both Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City managed to create a civic local government. Howard hoped to create some sort of local democracy and the involvement of the local population in order to further improve the communal feeling of the garden cities. This government should guarantee the rights of the working class. This way of thinking seems to be in line with the concept of the right to the city. However, reality showed that it was mainly the middle-class that ruled Letchworth and Welwyn, because they formed the largest group of the population. On top of that, most of the shares of the company were owned by rich investors. In reality, this civic local government mainly looked after the demands of the middle class, leaving the working class with hardly any political power (March, 2004).

The new garden towns will not have a revolutionary way of governing. Both new garden cities will have a parish council, similar to the rest of the United Kingdom. Harlow already has their own parish council and since the Harlow & Gilston project is more of an extension, it seems likeable that the political system remains the same. However, the Expression of Interest quickly mentions the possibility of a community land trust. The British government is even requested to change legislation, to make long-term

community ownership and governance possible. However, the later published Vision document does not go into this anymore, suggesting that this idea has been wiped off the table.

In Long Marston, decision making is the responsibility of the Stratford-upon-Avon District Council. There will be no civic local government for Long Marston itself, although the Expression of Interest mentions the intention of a local community land trust to manage the public open spaces. The Framework Masterplan further discussed the possibility of a new local parish council and a community trust, looking after communal assets and facilities. Contrary to Harlow & Gilston, the Long Marston documents seem to put effort into finding new ways to govern the garden village according to Howard's thinking.

9.2.2 Neoliberalism

In the literature review some of the critiques on neoliberalism have been discussed. The decreasing role of the state and the take-over of private businesses are mentioned as one of the reasons behind urbanization problems. It is important to note that some may see neoliberalism as a solution and active state participation is not a prerequisite to utopian thinking. Wrong use of strong state intervention may lead to oppression and could even suppress utopian thinking.

The original garden cities were privately sponsored and led by a private company. As said before, a market-based approach may lead to inequalities, but (initially) this company was led by some sort of socialist approach that strived for a right to the city. Yet, the fact remains that this company was privately led and large part of the financialization of the project was reliable on private investors. Although they may have believed in Howards ideals, they probably mainly invested in these projects with the hope of making profit. Although the company had this utopian approach, it were the shareholders that could execute power. Due to increased rents and a lack of political input that could do something against these developments, the working class population had left the garden cities. The beginning years showed how Howard's utopianism could be achieved through a market-based approach without state intervention, but eventually this market forced the working class out. State regulations, provided that the state had the best

intentions, may have avoided this process. The state played a larger role in Welwyn garden City, after the national Unhealthy Areas Committee published the Second and Final Report and the parliament passed *the Housing, Town Planning &c. Act 1919*. These documents promised assistance for further constructions of self-sustaining garden cities and had led to state-built housing in Welwyn Garden City. The developments of the New Town Movement and the three New Town Acts showed a further shift towards stronger state interventions.

Ebenezer Howard was critical against the state, yet history shows that the role of the state on urban planning had increased after the building of Letchworth. One would say that, especially in the United Kingdom, neoliberalism would take over the planning process of the new garden cities. However, the building of new garden cities was initiated and promoted by the British government. At the same time, the local governments of the new garden cities will play a major role during the construction.

In case of Harlow & Gilston Garden Town, three district councils are involved during the designing process. This will happen through a close collaboration with service providers and community groups (Allies and Morrison Urban Practitioners, 2018). Deals and partnerships will be made in order to create the needed infrastructure. Contrary to the other cases discussed in this thesis, there is no company involved that owns the land. The building of the homes will happen in collaboration with developers and site promoters, which means that the building process involves public, private and third party actions and funding. This collaboration is a clear example of the new type of mega-project, as identified by Lehrer and Laidley.⁸

In Long Marston, the Stratford-on-Avon District Council will be responsible for the political decision making and the housing delivery. Private company CALA Homes will be responsible for the master plan and placemaking. They will also be responsible for the delivery of the infrastructure, house building and selling and the project management. This structure resembles the approach used in Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, although CALA Homes is not related to the Garden City Movement.

They own the land and will decide how the project will look like, but they will always need the approval of the local government body first.

According to the discussed planning documents, there will be no leasing system as in Letchworth and Welwyn. However, most of the leasing contracts, especially in Letchworth, have expired. Many of the plots have been sold, but most of the commercial plots are still owned by the company (which is now registered as a foundation). The surplus made is still invested in the local interest (Garden City Heritage Foundation, 2020). This means all the discussed garden cities do not, or have lost, Howard's proposed leasing system.

Although the housing prices are not yet known for Harlow & Gilston and Long Marston, it is a fact that the two original garden cities have a well-above average price per square meter, far out of reach for those with a lower income. In 2017, the average price per square meter was £3,878 in Letchworth. Welwyn Garden City had an even more expensive average of £4,367 per square meter (Powell-Smith, 2017). The average in the district of Harlow ranged around £3,311, which is also above the British average (Ibid., 2017). The district in which Long Marston is located has an average price per square meter of £2,854, making it the most affordable district (Ibid., 2017).

The planning documents promise plenty of affordable housing and favourable arrangements for newcomers on the housing market. However, reality will show whether these promises will come true. It would be especially interesting to see how these towns will develop once houses are sold again and the favourable arrangements are not applicable again. This could once again make it impossible for those with a lower income to live in a garden city. This development seems especially likeable in Harlow & Gilston, because the documents do not mention how large the share of this type of housing will be. Long Marston on the other hand, promises a 35% share of affordable housing (Stratford-upon-Avon District Council and CALA Homes, 2018), which seems to make this garden village the best option for those with a lower income. Once again it should be noted that planning documents tend to make better promises than will become reality.

⁸ See attachment 11.2

This does not take away the fact that the new garden cities will probably be more affordable than Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City.

9.2.3 Other Remarks

The case of Harlow & Gilston is unique when one looks at the planning and building process. Where the first two garden cities and Long Marston Airfield Garden Village are built from scratch, this project is more like a regeneration and extension of the town, eventually making it a garden town. In terms of population Harlow deviates too. Howard proposed 32 000 inhabitants for every garden city, which should be enough to ensure a great mix of urban and rural living, while enough jobs and facilities could be realized. Harlow already has a population of almost 87 000 (*United Kingdom: East of England, 2019*) and with the adding of the new garden villages and neighbourhoods, 23 000 new homes will be added to this (Fulcher, 2018). This would give Harlow a population almost four times bigger than the aimed 32 000. Letchworth managed to house the aimed amount of people and had 34 271 inhabitants in 2018 (*United Kingdom: East of England, 2019*). Welwyn Garden City grew a bit larger than the aimed population and had a population of more than 51 000 in 2018 (ibid., 2019). Long Marston will not come close to Howard's discussed 32 000 inhabitants with just 3 500 homes. In terms of size, the original garden cities followed Howard's proposed population more than the new garden settlements will.

9.3 Utopianism

One of the keys of utopian thinking is the envisioning of a 'perfect life', where equality on the level of economy, politics and/or justice is achieved (Cobham Brewer, 2001). Through the Garden City Movement and the realization of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, it becomes clear that these elements are covered in some way. With mixed housing, economic segregation was avoided and the idea of holding land in common for everyone's good showed an attempt to create some sort of equality. The same goes for the civic local governance that Howard envisioned.

This utopian thinking seems to lack in the analysed planning documents. Although some of Howard's thinking is definitely present, a general aim for 'the perfect life' is lacking. The proposed new garden settlements look

promising and seem to offer a healthy living, but it is definitely not as revolutionary as the original garden cities. One could have assumed some new interpretations of Howard's utopian thinking, because more than 100 years have passed since the building process of Letchworth started. There have been enough chances to reinterpret Howard's thinking and introduce renewed and improved concepts into these new garden settlements.

Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City implemented a new way of utopian urban planning, with a unique leasing system and new forms of political decision making. This even led to the need of new legislations. This analysis seems to suggest that this will not be the case in the new garden settlements. This does not take away the fact that some interesting initiatives are mentioned in the planning documents. The greenbelts and urban gardens will contribute to local food production and will offer recreational opportunities for the inhabitants. And especially the Long Marston project seems to investigate whether community ownership and local civic governance are possible, which is something Howard definitely encouraged. Other than that, many of the unique elements of a garden city seem to lack, which makes it plausible that the new garden settlements will develop like any other town.

10. Discussion

In this thesis, research has been done on how much of Ebenezer Howard's utopianism is still present in the planning documents of two of the new garden cities in the United Kingdom. An analysis between the two original garden cities and Harlow & Gilston and Long Marston has been made. Before moving towards the conclusion, it would be interesting to discuss and further look into the results: what do they say? And why are they valuable?

Although this thesis has shown that indeed some of Howard's utopianism is used as an inspiration, this can only be confirmed for the two discussed new garden settlements. Research on some of the other new garden settlements would probably show similar results, but this thesis cannot guarantee that claim. I also realize that this thesis is very much focused on a British context. However, it was a deliberate choice to focus on the United Kingdom, because the Garden City Movement has had most influence here. Moreover, both the old and new garden cities are located in the United Kingdom.

One of the limitations of this research would be the fact that the realization of the new garden settlements could not be investigated, because they are not built yet. The analysis is mainly based on planning documents, while the actual implementation will show later. This does not make this research less relevant, because it is the planning documents that should let the presence of utopian thinking shine through. These documents create the perfect place to show the greatest ambitions to convince those who are interested. Once the garden settlements are finished, it will appear how much of Howard's utopianism will actually be present. Further research will be necessary to find out about this.

In order to position this research, a literature review has been added. This always leads to the selection of concepts, which created a limitation. However, I am convinced the selected concepts of the nature-culture divide and the discussion about the socialization of nature have helped to understand Howard's (socialist) view on nature. The concepts of the 'right to the city' and neoliberalism created a link to the contemporary, where urbanization problems are still present. On top of that, the new garden cities

will be constructed in a neoliberal setting, which made the discussion on neoliberalism and its consequences necessary.

Coming back to the right of the city, it seems that both the original and the two new garden cities tried to guarantee a right to the city for everyone. However, it turned out that in case of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, the target group could not be reached completely. The working class was underrepresented, while the middle-class did manage to live in a garden city. I am not convinced a similar trend could be avoided in Harlow & Gilston and Long Marston. Mixed housing and priority arrangements for newcomers on the housing market are promised and should guarantee a socioeconomic mix, but reality will show how these arrangements will turn out. Our neoliberal times are profit minded and for the actors involved, private housing would be more profitable. In case of any necessary budget cuts, it will probably be this affordable/social housing that will be reversed first. Neoliberalism cannot be given as the sole reason behind this, because Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City have been built before neoliberalism. Yet, developments show how the middle-class has been prioritized. The market-based approach and the fact that the company was governed by rich investors, were the main driving forces behind this process. Maybe state involvement, such as regulations and legislations, is the only way to avoid this development. A market-based approach will always prioritize profit.

This study has shown how some sort of utopian thinking is still possible in our neoliberal times. Even though there are convincing arguments that show how neoliberalism and a market-based economy tend to create inequalities, some would still argue for a complete neoliberalisation of society. However, if one follows Giroux's definition that says that utopianism is always focused on the equality of economics, politics and justice, this neoliberalisation process can never be utopian (Giroux, 2010). However, the opposite is not true either. State intervention should not be seen as a prerequisite for utopianism, because there are many examples of (undemocratic) states where utopian thinking is suppressed by its government.

Even though the Garden City Movement did not completely solve the urbanization problems in the United Kingdom, it did provide a great

example of how newly planned cities could work as an independent entity. Both the Garden City Movement and the related New Town Movement could release some of the British housing pressure. Maybe a project like this is exactly what is needed right now. Many cities are still facing tense housing markets, sustainability issues and other problems with urbanization. Sparsely populated areas seem to empty even more, while the already densely populated urban areas increase more rapidly. As a result, housing prices rise in urban areas, more green space will disappear due to urban growth and air quality keeps getting worse. This would be the perfect time to pay more attention to unique movements like the Garden City Movement.

Before moving towards the conclusion, I would like to discuss Howard's utopianism in the light of the ongoing corona crisis. This crisis has shown how large urban areas, such as New York City, Stockholm and Moscow, seem to have been hit especially hard. At the same time, this crisis clearly shows how there still is a gap between urban and rural areas. In my home country The Netherlands, there have been discussions about opening up the more rural areas of the Netherlands, where the amount of confirmed cases are lower (Klaassen, 2020). It also displays an ongoing trend where people try to escape the situation by going into nature and the countryside. This once again shows how we should rethink the whole urbanization process and how we should think more about new and more spacious ways of urban planning. Maybe a crisis like this will show how we should try to find new solutions for the ongoing urbanization process everywhere in the world.

11. Conclusion

In this thesis, research has been done on the influence of Howard's utopian thinking on the planning process of the new garden cities in the United Kingdom. Special attention has been given to the planning documents of Harlow & Gilston Garden Town and Long Marston Airfield Garden Village. The following research question guided this research:

To what extent does Ebenezer Howard's utopian thinking prevail in the planning documents of the 'new garden cities' in the United Kingdom?

The first part of the thesis focused on Ebenezer Howard's life and the publication of *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. It has been explained how Ebenezer Howard created the concept of the garden city and how he established the Garden City Movement. In the literature review, relevant concepts such as the nature-culture divide, the socialization of nature, the right to the city and neoliberalism have been explained and analysed. The overarching themes of 'nature' and 'the urban' formed the two main themes in the literature review and have also been used throughout the whole thesis. The literature review showed how utopianism is characterized by a strive for the perfect life, while aiming for economic, political and juridical equality. It has been explained why Howard's thinking could be considered utopian. Despite the influence of the Garden City Movement, urban problems are still present. Key thinkers, such as Henri Lefebvre and Peter Marcuse, have discussed these problems and tried to aim for a 'right to the city'. Neoliberalism is one of the main reasons this goal has not been reached yet, because a market-based economy will always prioritize profitmaking and tends to create inequalities. The second part of the thesis shifted focus towards the empirical material, starting off with the construction of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. Even though these two cities started as a place for utopian thinkers and the working class population, they quickly evolved into popular and expansive commuter towns. This development forced most of the less-endowed population out. The following section put the focus on the planning documents of two of the new garden cities, as proposed by the British government. These documents have been

summarized and analysed and remarkable sections have been mentioned. After this information had been given, the differences between the old and the new garden cities have been analysed . Here it became clear how much of Howard's utopian thinking shined through the planning documents. After the analysis, the discussion deliberated on the findings and discussed and justified some of the limitations of this research. It has been argued how urbanization continues to cause problems and how we should rethink our way of urban planning. A revival of Howard's utopianism may be needed more than ever before.

Coming to a conclusion, one could say that Howard's utopianism has definitely been used as an inspiration for Harlow & Gilston and Long Marston. The idea of a surrounding greenbelt for food production has been reinforced and greenery seems to play an important part of the masterplans. However, the planning documents lack an idealistic approach and do not suggest any revolutionary new approach in urban planning. It was this new approach that made Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City so unique. Some of these unique elements are lacking in the planning documents. The cities will not be built by a company founded by the Garden City Movement which owns and governs all of the land. At the same time, Howard's unique idea of this company leasing out plots of land, will not be applied. The planning documents do promise to bring the countryside into town, although Long Marston seems to lack (cultural) facilities and can therefore not function as an independent garden settlement. As the name already suggests, this may have to do with the small size of the garden village. The Harlow & Gilston project will provide more housing and facilities than Long Marston, but will exceed Howard's proposed population of 32 000. With the upcoming extension, the Harlow & Gilston project will create enough housing to be considered an independent entity. However, the city will probably become too large to create a village-like ambiance.

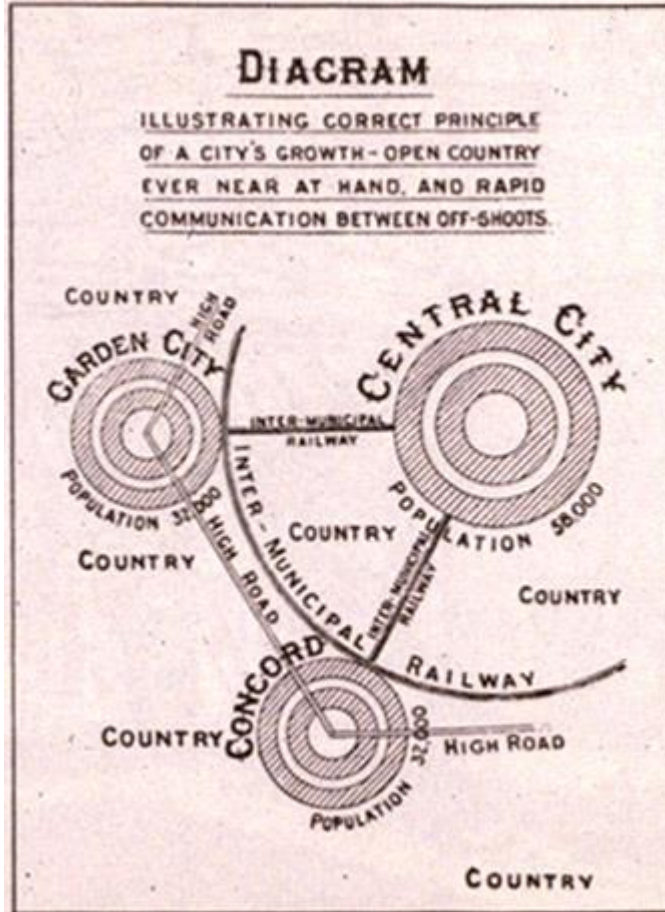
It should be noted that the two original garden cities have moved away from many of Howard's utopian ideas. Most of the housing is fairly expensive and out of reach for those with a lower income. The leasing system has mostly disappeared too. However, the cities are now registered as a foundation, making it possible to continue to hold land in common for

everyone's good, just like the company did. A similar idea is proposed in the planning documents of the new garden settlements as a community land trust. At the same time, attractive arrangements for newcomers on the housing market and those with a lower income are promised. Reality will have to show how these arrangements will be applied and how affordable the housing will actually be. The fact remains that the new garden settlements will most probably be able to offer more affordable housing than Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City do nowadays. It may occur that over the years, Harlow & Gilston and Long Marston will also see a rapid increase in the average housing prices.

All in all, this thesis suggest that the planning documents of Harlow & Gilston Garden Town and Long Marston Airfield Garden Village are not convincing enough to speak of a 'revival of Howard's utopianism'. Some of Howard's ideals are indeed implemented, but many unique elements like a lease system and the idea of holding the land in common for everyone's good, are lacking. One could therefore not claim that Howard's utopian thinking prevails in the realization of the new garden cities in the United Kingdom.

12. Attachments

Attachment 12.1: Diagram illustrating correct principle of a city's growth-open country ever near at hand, and rapid communication between off-shoots.



Source: Howard, E. (1902) *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*.

Attachment 12.2: Characteristics of old and new mega-projects

	Old Mega-projects	New Mega-projects
Timeframe in which model is/was dominant	1930s-1980s	1980s-today
Initiated by	State	State and private-sector
Costs	Big \$\$\$	Big \$\$\$
Financed by	State	PPP/state investment facilitates private-sector investment
Focus	Unitary – infrastructure such as transportation, power, water	Flexibility and diversity – many uses, many building types
Ideology	'Progress'	'Competitive City'; 'Neoliberal Urbanism'
Physical appearance	Monolithic singular structures extended via networks, connectivity	Complexes/districts
Characterization of public benefits	Democratizing of public goods (water, electricity, roads, etc.)	The appearance of democratizing public space through large-scale improvements intended primarily to catalyze, and thus ensure a return on, private investment
Resistance	High	Low
Criticism	Megalomania; cost overruns; environmental impact; social impact	Relatively absent

Source: Lehrer, U. and Laidley, J. (2008) 'Old Mega-Projects Newly Packaged? Waterfront Redevelopment in Toronto'.

Attachment 12.3: Eligibility Criteria Garden Villages

Garden villages - Eligibility criteria

1. To be considered a garden village, proposals must be for a new settlement of 1,500 – 10,000 homes.
2. The garden village must be a new discrete settlement, and not an extension of an existing town or village. This does not exclude proposals where there are already a few existing homes.
3. To support wider housing and growth ambitions, expressions of interest must be led by local authorities. Expressions of interest which include support from private sector developers and/or landowners are welcomed as well.
4. There is no single model for the garden villages. A range of proposals at different scales and in diverse locations are encouraged.
5. New garden villages should have the backing of local authorities.. It is expected that expressions of interest demonstrate a strong local commitment to delivery. They should also set how the local community is being, or will be, engaged at an early stage, and strategies for community involvement to help ensure local support.
6. For those new settlements on the larger scale, it will be desirable for the Local Enterprise Partnership to be supportive of the proposal.
7. Good design is essential to create sustainable places where people want to live and be part of the local community. It will be important for expressions of interest to demonstrate how the garden village will be well-designed, built to a high quality, and attractive.
8. Expressions of interest which make effective use of previously developed land (brownfield land) and/or public sector land are encouraged.
9. It is important that new garden villages are built as a response to meeting housing needs locally. It is expected that expressions of interest demonstrate how the new settlement is part of a wider strategy to secure the delivery of new homes to meet assessed need.
10. Expressions of interest need to demonstrate how the new settlement will be delivered. Effective land value capture can play an important role in funding infrastructure costs.
11. Whilst expressions of interest should be ambitious in their aims, they must also demonstrate a credible route to delivering quality places without additional public subsidy.
12. High quality starter homes, to be offered at least a 20% discount for young first-time buyers, have a place within well-designed new communities. Expressions of interest that show the greatest ambition to ensure that first-time buyers enjoy the benefits of home ownership, and have the opportunity to be an important part of the community, are encouraged.
13. The involvement of a diverse range of house builders, including small and medium sized firms, are encouraged.
14. Innovative forms of delivery such as off-site construction, self-build, custom-build and a direct commissioning approach, are encouraged.

Source: Department for Communities and Local Government (2016)
Locally-Led Garden Villages, Towns and Cities.

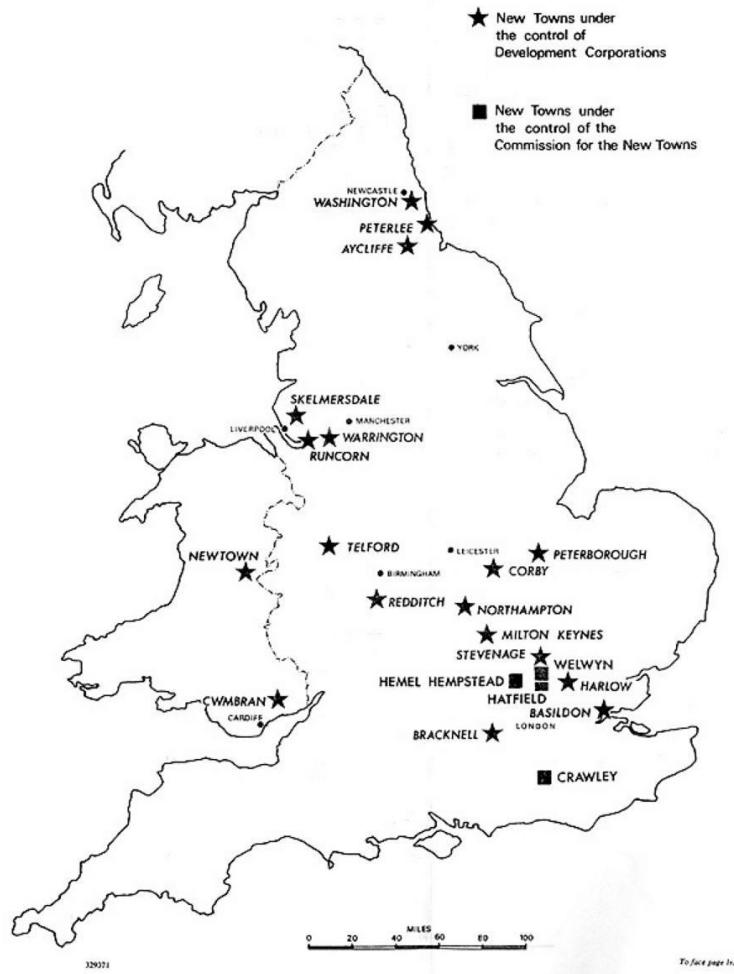
12.4 Eligibility Criteria Garden Towns

Garden Towns - Eligibility criteria

1. Most of the criteria of to be considered a garden village, also apply to garden towns.
2. Garden towns or cities must provide at least 10,000 new homes. This may be on a new site away from existing settlements, or take the form of transformational development, both in nature or in scale to an existing settlement.
3. Expressions of interest must be led by local authorities. Expressions of interest which include support from private sector developers and/or landowners are welcomed as well.
4. Expressions of interest should demonstrate a strong local commitment to delivery. New garden towns and cities should have the backing of local authorities, including the county council in two-tier areas. To ensure that the potential local economic impacts and benefits have been considered they should also have the explicit support of the Local Enterprise Partnership(s).
5. Expressions of interest should set how the local community is being, or will be, engaged at an early stage, and strategies for community involvement to help win local support.
6. Good design is essential to create sustainable places. Expressions of interest should demonstrate how the garden town, will be built to a high quality. Use of qualitative and quantitative research on local public opinion is desired.
7. Expressions of interest which make effective use of previously developed land (brownfield land) and/or public sector land are encouraged.
8. The expression of interest is expected to demonstrate how the delivery of the new settlement fits with wider strategies for housing growth to meet assessed need, creating new jobs and the delivery of infrastructure to underpin growth.
9. Proposals should demonstrate how the private sector finance can be leveraged in, opportunities to capture land value to fund infrastructure, and future infrastructure needs.
10. . It is expected that the needed infrastructure should be developed without further public subsidy. It is therefore encourages that proposed garden towns have good access already.
11. Expressions of interest should offer a strong prospect of quantified early delivery, a significant acceleration of housing delivery, and genuinely additional housing supply. It should demonstrate how the building of the garden town can be achieved a pace.
12. High quality starter homes, to be offered at least a 20% discount for young first-time buyers, have a place within well-designed new communities. Expressions of interest that show the greatest ambition to ensure that first-time buyers enjoy the benefits of home ownership, and have the opportunity to be an important part of the community, are encouraged.
13. The involvement of a diverse range of house builders, including small and medium sized firms, are encouraged.
14. Innovative forms of delivery such as off-site construction, self-build, custom-build and a direct commissioning approach, are encouraged.

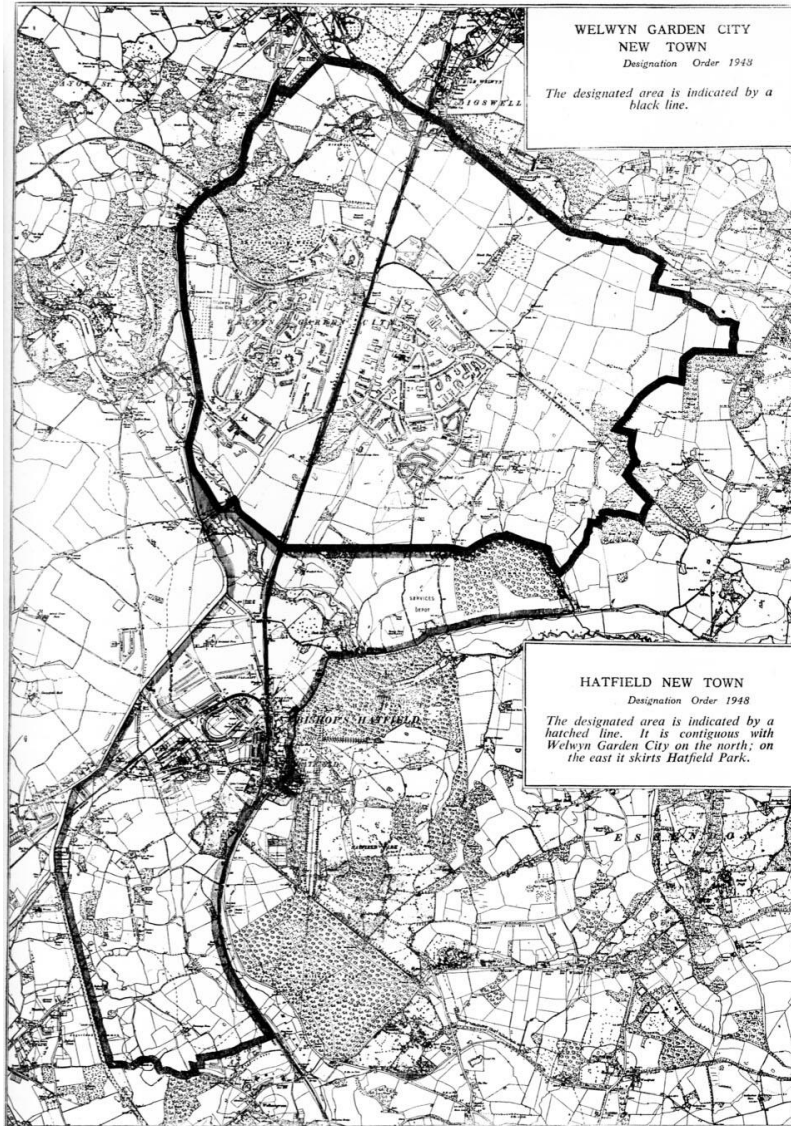
Source: Department for Communities and Local Government (2016)
Locally-Led Garden Villages, Towns and Cities.

Attachment 12.5: Map of the 28 New Towns



Source: The National Archives (n.d.) *Map of New Towns*.

Attachment 12.6: Map of the extension of Welwyn Garden City as a New Town



Source: Purdom, C.B. (1949) *The Building of Satellite Towns*.

Attachment 12.7: List of the Town and Country Planning Association Garden City Principles

- Land value capture for the benefit of the community.
- Strong vision, leadership and community engagement.
- Community ownership of land and long-term stewardship of assets.
- Mixed-tenure homes and housing types that are genuinely affordable.
- A wide range of local jobs in the Garden City within easy commuting distance of homes.
- Beautifully and imaginatively designed homes with gardens, combining the best of town and country to create healthy communities, and including opportunities to grow food.
- Development that enhances the natural environment, providing a comprehensive green infrastructure network and net biodiversity gains, and that uses zero-carbon and energy-positive technology to ensure climate resilience.
- Strong cultural, recreational and shopping facilities in walkable, vibrant, sociable neighbourhoods.
- Integrated and accessible transport systems, with walking, cycling and public transport designed to be the most attractive forms of local transport.

Source: Town and Country Planning Association (n.d.) *Garden City Principles*.

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