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The impact of transport infrastructure on the development of urban communities

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University of Westminster

Department of Transport Studies

**THE IMPACT OF TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE
ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN
COMMUNITIES**

GLYNIS JOHNSTON

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of
Westminster for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my own work and contains nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration with others. It has not been previously submitted, in part or whole, to any university or institution for any degree, diploma or other qualification.

Glynis Johnston, BA (Hons)

17th January 2013

ABSTRACT

The objective of the research has been to study how the provision of transport infrastructure in an urban environment influences developers' decisions at a local level. This entailed understanding the factors that might influence the choices that developers, land owners and potential users of the developments make and the influence that transport infrastructure has on those choices. The ultimate objective of the research has been to explore how the providers of the transport infrastructure can deliver maximum benefit to present and future local communities.

The author chose to adopt a case study approach to her research as it involves direct contact with the wide range of stakeholders affected by the provision of transport infrastructure. A recent review of civil engineering research (EPSRC, 2009) stressed that human aspects and the relationship between people and infrastructure are important elements of the challenges faced, particularly those in sustainability and resilience. Three case study areas were chosen as examples of on-going regeneration projects. Two of these projects involve new transport infrastructure aimed at improving connectivity and accessibility and they provide illustrations of the impact that enhanced infrastructure has on the local community. Parallels are drawn with the relatively recently completed Jubilee Line Extension and its impacts.

The literature review identified that further research was needed to find methods for mitigating negative impacts on the community of regeneration schemes especially in regard to transport infrastructure. The thesis uniquely explores these issues by using the concept of *Power of Place*, as originally described by Sir Neil Cossons (English Heritage, 2000), to demonstrate the importance of understanding the community value of place, and how it might be manifested in the regeneration process as an integral part of and successful delivery of transport and land use planning.

Based on the literature review and the evidence obtained from the three case studies in this research a number of key drivers have been identified that are necessary for minimising the possible negative effects of regeneration projects. Collectively these drivers make up what Sir Neil Cossons termed *Power of Place*. Application of the concept, with its many facets, requires a multi-disciplinary approach and could aid in the creation of sustainable communities which have a sense of identity, a sense of belonging and sense of ownership.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The title for the thesis is the '*Impact of Transport Infrastructure on the Development of Urban Communities*'. The research described in this thesis, conducted through case studies, explores the ways in which transport providers like Transport for London, as well as other important decision makers such as land use planners and developers, can interact with a view to achieving long term sustainable communities. The literature review identifies that further research is needed to find methods for mitigating negative impacts on the community of regeneration schemes especially in regard to transport infrastructure. The thesis uniquely explores these issues by using the concept of *Power of Place*, as originally described by Sir Neil Cossons (English Heritage, 2000), to demonstrate the importance of understanding the community value of place, and how it might be manifested in the regeneration process as an integral part of and successful delivery of transport and land use planning. (Cossons, 2000) maintains that "..... with proper understanding, sensitive and open management, there can be desirable change without losing the places we value".

In the introduction to '*Power of Place*' reference is made to the impact of new transport links on both the countryside and the urban environment and hence on the quality of life of the people who live there. Yet in the main body of the report little further reference is made to the role of transport infrastructure on "*Power of Place*".

In this thesis *Power of Place* is shown to be a multi-faceted concept and the debate about it is discussed within the context of social sustainability. Therefore the thesis considers all the component factors of what is considered to be a sustainable community.

1.2 Background

The thesis covers the period from the late 1970s with the decline of the docklands area and discusses the regeneration of the docklands area during the Thatcher years. The thesis then takes each case study up to 2010. During the period of the research there were three changes of government and changes of land use and transport policy. The thesis discusses the policies during this period in Chapter 4 part 1. Localism policies which came into being in 2011 are not discussed but have been mentioned.

The origins of the research stem from earlier research carried out at the University of Westminster into the impacts of the construction of the Jubilee Line Extension. The Jubilee Line Extension (see Chapter 4), completed in 1999, provided an opportunity to observe the impact of a new transport system – the first new major transport system in London to be completed in the last 20 years. Comprehensive studies, designed to measure and evaluate the transport, environmental, social and economic impacts of the line, have been conducted by the University of Westminster Jubilee Line Impact Study (Jones *et al*, 2004).

As explained in Chapter 4, it has been argued that when decisions were being made to regenerate Docklands the policies at the time encouraged the market to dominate the decision making process. For example, Thornley (1991) states that: “*There was a shift in balance between central and local government, an erosion of local democracy and an increasing emphasis on policies aimed at facilitating the role of private investment*”. Both Thornley (1991) and Hall (1996) draw attention to the change in emphasis that took place from the needs of the community to the aspiration and imperatives of the market place.

As a consequence, it seems that less attention was paid to local impacts and to some broader policy issues than would be considered appropriate in the current policy climate (Jones *et al*, 2004). This study concluded that the JLE was conceived primarily as a strategic transport

link in the London rail network with the expressed hope that it would also encourage the regeneration of the area through which it passed. It was assumed that local residences and businesses would benefit from regeneration along the route of the JLE, but there were no complementary policies to ensure that these benefits were maximised (e.g. by retraining local unemployed residents).

It is also possible that, as well as the prevailing market conditions at that time, the separation of planning and transport responsibilities at a strategic level may have contributed to the lack of development at the stations along the route of the JLE. There were also no complementary land use policies at the time the JLE was commissioned (Jones *et al*, 2004). Included in Chapter 4 is a discussion of relevant land use and transport policies which cover the period 1980 – 2010.

Over the last few years recommendations to minimise environmental impacts and to strive for sustainability have, very correctly, been at the top of the agenda for both architects and civil engineers. But it would appear that concern has not always been extended to the effect of the impact on the very heart and soul of communities themselves.

In keeping with earlier policy priorities, no sustainability audit of the JLE project was undertaken at the planning stage (Jones *et al*, 2004). Several of the Mayor's strategies now stress the importance of increasing the sustainability of activity in London. Therefore an important issue to be considered is the extent of the role that could be played by transport infrastructure in the social, environmental and economic regeneration and development of an area.

Chapter 9 describes the motivation behind the research; that it arose from a visit that the author made to the Canada Water Estate shortly after the opening of the Jubilee Line extension. From the conversations the author had with local residents in the area it was

evident that, even at such an early stage of its operation, the Jubilee Line Extension was giving rise to social displacement due to the increase in property values. However, a transport project may not only give rise to an increase in property values, but also its design can profoundly influence the character of local communities. It is becoming increasingly important that civil engineers and transport planners appreciate this.

1.2.1 The Work of the Civil Engineer

The works for which the civil engineer has responsibility have a huge, and largely positive, impact on the quality of life. Such works include water supply, the treatment of sewage and wastes, reclamation of contaminated land, power generation and supply, flood defences, bridges and other structures. The design and provision of transport infrastructure is also the responsibility of the civil engineer and includes roads, railways (above and below ground), airports and harbours. Historically it is well known that the construction of a major transport link can have the most profound socio/economic impacts on society - the development of towns around new railway links for example. However it is far from clear that the potential impacts, medium to long term, are fully understood.

Throughout the world, as populations increase and concentrate more and more in urban areas there will be a significant increase in the construction of urban transport systems – particularly railway systems. The construction of such urban transport infrastructure will have huge impacts on existing and future communities and the need to understand these impacts is essential if negative effects are to be minimised.

From her research the author has come to the conclusion that it is necessary to have in place a multi-disciplined team of professionals who together, and with the community, can work out

appropriate policy and funding measures. Provision for these measures should be firmly embedded in the regeneration project, not just an add-on or an after-thought.

1.3 Objectives

The agreed objective of the research was to study how the provision of transport infrastructure in an urban environment influences developers' decisions at a local level. This entailed understanding the factors that might influence the choices that developers, land owners and potential users of the developments make and the influence that transport infrastructure has on those choices.

A further objective of the research has been to explore how the providers of the transport infrastructure can deliver maximum benefit to present and future local communities.

Drawing on the work of the JLE and the literature review two central but interlinked hypotheses were put forward for study and for testing:

1. The provision of transport infrastructure can influence the choices that developers, land owners and potential users make on land use.
2. Transport infrastructure is necessary but not sufficient on its own to ensure that all members of the community benefit.

The testing of the above two hypotheses has been regarded as a necessary first step in demonstrating the importance of understanding the community value of place (*Power of Place*) as an integral part of transport and land use planning and its successful delivery.

In the process of testing the hypotheses the thesis has aimed to :

1. understand and separate the impact and process outcomes of new transport infrastructure projects

2. Assess the benefits and disbenefits of transport infrastructure – i.e. identify who are the winners and losers of such initiatives
3. Assess whether gentrification is an inevitable consequence of regeneration and whether the effects of gentrification are necessarily negative to the more vulnerable members of the community (those on low pay, the unemployed, the elderly and disabled).
4. Determine mitigating factors to maintain equity and social justice

1.4 Literature Review

The first stage of the research has been conducted through a literature review which formed an essential first step in identifying the issues to be addressed and in formulating a framework for the rest of the research. The literature review discusses the concept of community, sustainable development and sustainable communities. The debate goes on to consider the main drivers for regeneration projects within the context of delivering sustainable communities. The discussion provides a theoretical foundation for exploring the *Power of Place* concept thereby demonstrating the importance of the concept as a comprehensive term. The various drivers together form the concept or support it.

The literature review begins with an assessment of the benefits and dis-benefits associated with new transport infrastructure and this is discussed under the heading ‘*The complexities of evaluating transport impacts*’ (Section 2.2). It explains the complications in assessing benefits and dis-benefits of any new project, which is particularly difficult in the case of new transport infrastructure. For on the one hand transport infrastructure improvements can increase accessibility and enhance opportunity to work as discussed in *Equity Impacts* (Section 2.3). Conversely the improved accessibility encourages the formation of *Agglomeration Economies* and also has an impact on housing supply and land value.

Regeneration inevitably creates changes in the physical fabric of communities which often leads to a **process** of *gentrification* and this change nearly always involves winners and losers. Therefore, the **process** of gentrification is one of the central **issues** in this thesis. The thesis questions whether the **process** of gentrification is an inevitable consequence of regeneration and whether the effect of gentrification need necessarily be negative for the more vulnerable members of the community (those on low pay, the unemployed, the elderly and disabled).

1.5 Gentrification

The research conducted by University of Westminster indicated that gentrification had taken place. Regeneration inevitably creates change in the physical fabric of communities – this is an abiding feature of urban life. But change nearly always involves winners and losers, and people on low-incomes are rarely the winners. Regeneration is important for the health and vitality of our cities and towns and is also important in rural districts. But the effect of gentrification can vary widely with the particular local circumstances. There are aspects of gentrification that may be desirable such as bringing about new investment in buildings and infrastructure, increased economic activity and reduced crime. Unfortunately the benefits of these changes are often enjoyed disproportionately by new arrivals, while the established residents find themselves economically and socially marginalized.

Atkinson (2000) argues that gentrification induced displacement occurs when pressures on the housing market from affluent groups creates inflated rents and prices which can, over time, displace the low paid or unpaid. It refers to a process of class succession and displacement in areas broadly characterised by working class and unskilled households.

There has been a much research conducted into the impact of gentrification e.g. Atkinson (2000), Hamnett (1980), Smith and Williams (1986: p.1) and Smith (1996). The ultimate

objective of the research described in this thesis has been to explore how the providers of the transport infrastructure can minimise the negative impacts of gentrification and deliver maximum benefit to present and future local communities.

1.6 Methodology – the case study approach

The author chose to adopt a case study approach to her research. It is argued in Section 3.3 that adopting a case study approach to addressing the specific objectives of the research has many attractions. A recent review of civil engineering research (EPSRC, 2009) stressed that human aspects and the relationship between people and infrastructure are important elements of the challenges faced, particularly those in sustainability and resilience. This favours the case study approach as it involves direct contact with the wide range of stakeholders affected by the provision of transport infrastructure. Patton (2002: p. 14) provides a particularly convincing argument for the case study approach:

“Qualitative methods facilitate study of issues in depth and detail. Approaching fieldwork without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis contributes to the depth, openness, and detail of qualitative inquiry. Quantitative methods, on the other hand, require the use of standardized measures so that the varying perspectives and experiences of people can fit into a limited number predetermined response categories to which numbers are assigned”.

1.6.1 The chosen case studies

The details of the four chosen case study areas are given in Table 3.1. The case study areas were chosen for the following reasons:

1. Examples of regeneration projects which involve new transport infrastructure and an opportunity to observe the impact the development has on land value especially in a property market down-turn.
2. Examples of public and private partnerships and an opportunity to observe the role of transport in underpinning the case for public policy intervention – who derives the greatest benefit and who may be excluded.
3. Aimed at improving connectivity and accessibility and an illustration of the impact that enhanced infrastructure has on the local community.
4. Samples of developments either arising from or requiring new transport enhancement.
5. An opportunity to draw parallels with the relatively recently completed Jubilee Line Extension and its impact.

1.6.2 *Data collection and analysis*

Data collection and assembly was carried out by means of:

1. Reviews of secondary documentation (journal and newspaper articles);
2. Unstructured and semi- structured interviews with stakeholders and key members of the project teams;
3. Focus Groups with stakeholders and key members of the project teams.

A key objective of the analysis has been to identify those factors that are important to each set of stakeholders in determining the outcome of a given development. A distinction has been made between those factors that can be controlled and those that cannot easily be controlled. The identification of these important factors was carried out using a combination

of judgement, based on the author's first-hand knowledge of each case study, and a modified form of textual analysis of the transcripts of the interviews and focus groups.

1.7 The Key Drivers

The results of the research show that '*Power of Place*' is a combination of the seven key drivers and three component factors that make up the concept (see below). It should be noted that local circumstances vary and each project presents its own set of challenges, therefore each development will require a greater or lesser degree of these drivers. Each driver is important and is dependent on the other factors - if a community lacks one or more of them it is unlikely to be sustainable.

All the factors and drivers need to be in place and/or understood before embarking on a regeneration project and they should form an integral part of and successful delivery of transport and land use planning. Previous transport and land use policies have failed to address the problem of gentrification and displacement.

1.8 What is *Power of Place* and why is it important?

Power of Place is not just about the historic environment and preserving buildings of historic importance, it is also about preserving communities and what is important to them – preserving the ordinary as well as the extraordinary.

The relationship we have with any place we care about is interactive involving both memory and imagination. It is defined through the experiences of those who consider the place home and it holds their hopes for the future and their memories of the past - we need our past for our sense of who we are. *Power of Place* works through our senses - we instinctively understand that both natural and structural features of a place can either kill or enliven our spirit. In turn it is possible to transfer the sensation we have about a place to the feeling we

have about the community. Our towns and cities can be viewed as living organisms, it is interesting that the planners use the term 'regeneration', (to restore life) to describe an urban redevelopment program. It is no accident that Jane Jacobs titled her seminal book on urban planning '*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*': and in the book she describes the process by which a community can be brought back to life. Memory and imagination give us both past and future, and the present where we constantly live, is an evolving tension between them. When changes cease to be possible, we die, and the usefulness of memory is extinguished. The same happens to the places where we live. The sensation we have about a place – the *Power of Place* - cannot be created over night, it is a gradual, evolving process.

Therefore a place only has *Power* for those who have some kind of association with the place; without memory it is only a site and the buildings in it merely façades. When the indigenous population of an area is displaced as a result of a regeneration project, those displaced lose more than just the places they live in, they lose their sense of identity and sense of belonging. This is not to say that regeneration is a bad thing but it is to draw attention to the negative effects it could cause in order to mitigate them.

The following example illustrates the importance attached to place: In 2005 the Pump House Museum in Bermondsey mounted an exhibition to commemorate the history of the Peak Frean factory 1857 -1989. The factory had provided employment in the Bermondsey area for over 100 years. The factory was able to provide detailed records of the history of Peak Frean but the local people who had worked there wanted their history to be told. This was their heritage, so much of their life was spent in the factory. Ex-workers who still live in the area meet at the Pump House Museum once a week to discuss old times, mutual colleagues and their families. The factory building still exists - it is now the Tower Bridge Business Centre –

Damien Hurst has a studio there. But *Power of Place* is not in the factory building; *Power of Place* constitutes the memories attached to the building.

The author would argue that everyone needs to identify with their own sense of place. *Power of Place* is the invisible thread that ties communities together, its interconnections weaves a rich tapestry of cultures that gives us our sense of identity, our sense of belonging and sense of ownership. If the fundamental needs of belonging, self-esteem, control and meaningful existence are thwarted: sadness and anger increase (Williams, 2007: p236).

Research conducted by the Young Foundation concludes that:

“ A growing body of research supports the assertions that community and neighbourhood empowerment - giving the residents the opportunity to take part in collective activities that influence the areas they live in – contribute to the wellbeing of residents and communities ” (Young Foundation, 2011: p20).

1.9.1 What are the benefits of Power of Place?

- A sense of belonging and identity
- People respect what belongs to them and as a result it is cared for
- Places that are cared for are protected from vandalism
- Places that are protected from vandalism are safe places to live
- A safe place to live is one of the criteria for sustainable communities
- Sustainable communities are active, inclusive and safe - fair, tolerant and cohesive with a strong local culture and other shared community activities
- Creating somewhere people want to live

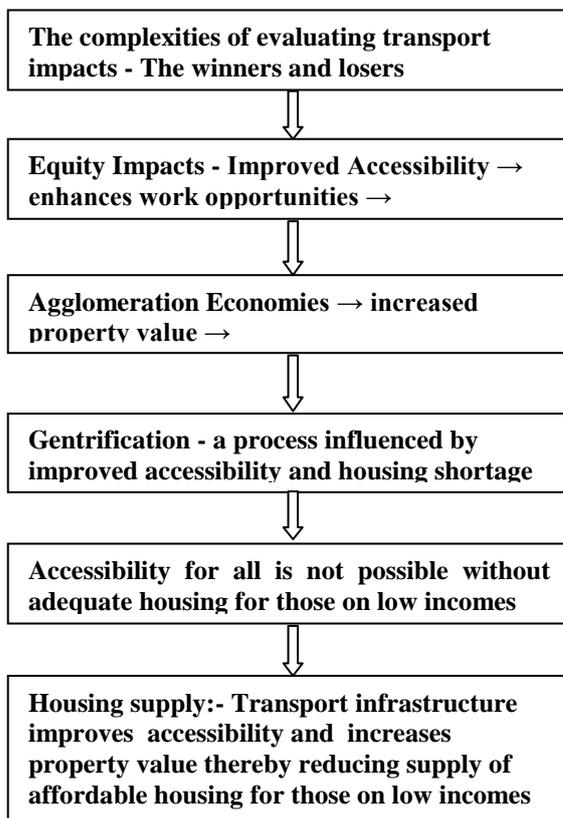
The literature review and the case study research described in this thesis have been used to identify the factors that together make up *Power of Place* and to demonstrate its importance as a concept.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

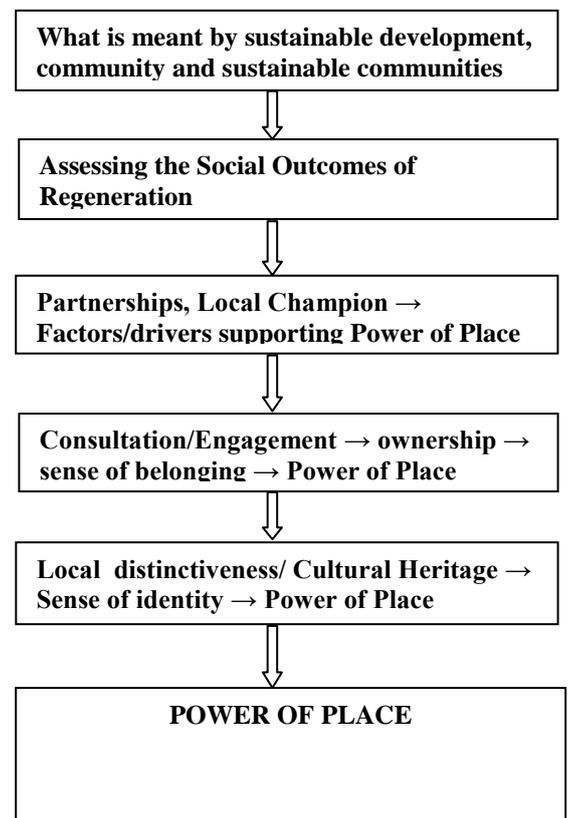
2.1 Introduction

The first stage of the research has been conducted through a literature review which formed an essential first step in identifying issues to be addressed and in formulating a framework for the rest of the research. In order to formulate a preliminary framework for the research the following areas of literature were reviewed:

Issues:



The process of mitigating negative impacts through Power of Place:



2.2 The Complexities of Evaluating Transport Impacts – benefits and dis-benefits

There are several complexities in assessing benefits and dis-benefits of any new development project but this is particularly difficult in the case of new transport infrastructure. The

reported difficulties range from acquiring the evidence on changes in land values and rent levels resulting from new investment, to the debate over whether the new activity is actually new or a transfer of activity from one location to another (Banister and Lichfield, 1995: p4).

Furthermore the relative attractiveness of one location may change but this is merely a redistribution of existing economic growth rather than additional growth (Banister & Berechman, 2001: p210). The relative competitive position of one location is thereby enhanced, because the economic benefit of another location has not improved (Banister and Lichfield, 1995: p4) or indeed may have declined as a consequence of the new development. An example of this is the uneven development observed along the route of the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) as witnessed by the success of Canary Wharf coupled with the relative deprivation experienced in the London borough of Newham.

Even if there is a measurable impact, the scale and area over which it is experienced may be quite limited. Over a wider area the shift may also result in longer travel distances, more frequent trips and an increase in car based movements associated with low density development. Accessibility is a relative concept and infrastructure investment in one location may help that location but at the expense of a competing location (Banister & Berechman, 2001: p217)

If these new movements are replacing shorter trips by walk and public transport, typical of higher density location, then the environmental and energy costs may be substantial (Banister and Lichfield, 1995: p4). If new development is located on the fringe of an existing urban area, then the activity is spread over a wider area. In contrast, if new activity is located on sites within existing urban areas, with good public transport access, the impacts of economies of agglomeration effects should be considered in terms of both residential property value uplift and developments at public transport nodes which stimulate shift from car According to

Banister & Berechman, assessment is made difficult if there is an absence of appropriate data. The treatment of time has also presented many problems but in terms of causality arguments and the time over which the impacts are expected, "*Few transport investments open in their entirety at one point in time, and changes such as firms locations and labour market adjustments often take place before, during or after the investment*" (Banister & Berechman, 2001: p211).

It is not only the quantity of the infrastructure that is important but also its quality in a much wider context (i.e. the broader economic environment, social, political and institutional conditions into which it is introduced). The whole physical infrastructure needs to be extended not just individual links in the network (Banister & Berechman, 2001: p209). It is also not sufficient to examine spatial factors in isolation Vickerman (2001), political factors which are related to a broader policy environment within which transport decisions must be taken should also be considered. It is only where the economic and political conditions are conducive that there is a real impact from an intervention, particularly where the existing infrastructure provides only poor levels of accessibility (Banister & Berechman, 2001: p210, 213).

It is also important to determine the ultimate role and impact of a transport network. Here a distinction may be drawn between assessing first whether an overall economic benefit is derived from transport infrastructure and second how the benefits of that scheme are then distributed, socially and spatially - for example, improved accessibility of a site served by a new rail line may increase land values and those of property constructed there. The benefits from this could be retained by the property developer, or shared with others (such as the public sector infrastructure provider, and the local community). From an equity point of view

(see Section 2.3), it is therefore important to assess how the benefits of transport infrastructure could be shared with the local community to provide a more equitable society.

2.3 Equity impacts – the transport connection

A second issue to consider is the equity effects of such regeneration – who are the winners and losers? Equity is concerned with spatial distribution of income and resources and is inevitably linked with fairness and social justice – the distribution of resources that affect people's opportunities and quality of life.

Leck, Beckhor & Gat (2008) refer to the work of Kuznet (1995) who argued that there is often a trade-off between reducing inequality and promoting growth. Kuznet's theory, best known as Kuznet's Hypothesis, suggests that the curve for income-inequality traces an inverted U shape through the economic development process. In the early stage of the development, the concentration of income-generating wealth in the hands of a group of individuals is seen as a required condition for the accumulation of capital that fuels economic growth. In later stages of the development, benefits of growth are passed on to other members of society as higher wages and increased incomes. Kuznet believes that the growth of personal income-inequality then begins to slow and income-inequality eventually diminishes. This is commonly known as the 'trickle-down effect' and was applied by Margaret Thatcher's government in the development of London's Docklands.

Williamson (1965) was one of the first economists to tie spatial dimensions to Kuznet's inverted –U curve and to the issue of unequal regional development, attributing this to unequal natural resources. Williamson's model shows that, over time, a diffusion of income generating factors leads to a decline in inequality in which poor economies catch up with rich ones at either the regional or the international level (Rey, 2001)

However, Myrdal (1957) maintains that market forces tend to widen interregional differences, causing rich regions to grow richer and poor regions to grow poorer. Myrdal claimed that certain factors can mitigate interregional wage disparities. Investments in education are seen by him as forces that “*strengthen the centrifugal spread of economic expansion*” (cited in Leck, Beckhor & Gat, 2008: p55).

Research conducted by Leck, Beckhor & Gat (2008) assesses ‘*the short-term impact of transportation improvements on the reduction of socio-economic disparities between core and peripheral cities*’. (Leck, Beckhor & Gat, 2008: p154). These authors refer to a body of research which agrees “*that transportation improvements extend the borders of isolated labour markets thus contributing to enhanced welfare by widening the scope of opportunity for disadvantaged communities*” (Rietveld, 1989 and 1994; Banister and Lichfield, 1995; Fox, 2001).

Lucas et al (2009: p115) explain that since the late 1990s, there has been growing policy awareness in the UK of the links between transport and social exclusion. They identify that Research by the UK Government’s Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) (Social Exclusion Unit, 2003) served to highlight how transport problems can often be a major barrier to accessing work, healthcare, educational and other key facilities and has, therefore, become an increasingly important policy objective in moving people from welfare into work, addressing health inequalities, improving poor educational attainment and more generally promoting social exclusion and neighbourhood renewal.

Pickup and Giuliano (2005) investigated the connection between transport and social exclusion in Europe and the United States. Their research shows that the dominance of private vehicle and the lack of good public transportation in urban areas in the United States excluded various social groups (such as immigrants, single mothers and a large part of the

African American population concentrated in inner cities) from pursuing employment opportunities that are available to car users.

The Rowntree Foundation funded a scoping study to explore the importance of transport to people experiencing or at risk of social exclusion (Lucas et al, 2001). The main findings of the study were that:

“ transport policies and programmes in the UK were failing to meet the basic accessibility needs of a significant proportion of already dis- advantaged people and communities and, thus, acting as a barrier to their social inclusion ”. (Lucas et al, 2009: p116)

On the back of that study, Lucas et al conducted further research using four case study areas with the conclusion that new transport services, *“are a vital component in both the social inclusion and vitality and vibrancy of low-income neighbourhoods ”* and it was clear from interviews conducted with service users and local practitioners that an *“enormous disbenefit would result from the withdrawal of these services ”* (Lucas et al, 2009: pp.121-122).

This finding is in line with Leck, Beckhor & Gat 2008: p58), who found that transportation infrastructure improvements enhanced regional accessibility. Higher regional accessibility extends the borders of the labour market, allowing people who live in the periphery to work in core regions and enjoy the higher wages offered there. The study also concluded that:

- Older persons are less prone to choose distant work locations
- It was considered possible that the low level of education of some members of the community prevented them from competing for jobs *‘in socio-economically viable cities where higher wages are offered’*.
- Women with child care responsibilities tend to work closer to home and make shorter trips – women’s job search environment is more limited.

Levinson (2005), suggests that inequity is endemic in transportation and goes on to explain that any change will create winners and losers. In discussions of transportation equity, the topic of *environment justice* is often raised. The term *social exclusion* (or more positively *social inclusion*) also comes to the fore. “*An individual in society is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society but (b) he or she does not participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society*” (Burchardt *et al*, 1999: p229). Social exclusion may be due to a number of causes such as physical disability, prejudice, lack of knowledge of the common language or lack of resources. Importantly in the light of this thesis Forkenbrock and Schweitzer (1999: p96) recommended that all transport system changes require careful research to assess their social effects on communities:

“In the realm of transportation, environmental justice requires that transportation system changes, such as road improvements be studied carefully to identify the nature, extent and incidence of probable consequences, both favourable and adverse.”

One central aim for the thesis is to take account of such changes.

2.4 Agglomeration Economies

The advantages derived through the spatial concentration of economic activities are referred to generally as *agglomeration economies* (Graham, 2007: p4). Attempts to explain agglomeration generally start from the premise that cities and industrial concentrations would not form if there were not some tangible benefits that accrue to firms.

The theoretical foundations for the existence of agglomeration economies are now well established, (see example Fujita & Thisse, 2002; Duranton & Puga, 2005). New investments in transport can render a larger scale of activity more accessible by reducing travel times or cost of travel, giving rise to positive agglomeration benefits. Conversely, where transport

systems work inefficiently, or where there are constraints on accessibility, these may inhibit the generation and distribution of agglomeration (Graham, 2004: p4).

Accessibility clearly depends on available transport infrastructure amongst other factors, so an empirical link between infrastructure and agglomeration can be established. Such an exercise was carried out for the CrossRail project in London suggesting that this project's (local) benefits increase by about 20% when agglomeration economies are accounted for, (Graham, 2007). The same exercise for a bus subsidy in South Yorkshire showed that direct benefits increased by 3% (Round Table, 2007).

Essentially, the issue concerns understanding the spatial distribution of the agglomeration benefits that might arise from transport spending. Using transport investment in Central London as an example, Graham (2004) questions whether the agglomeration benefits of this investment are available only in the immediate locality of the project, or are they distributed further perhaps through the whole of Central, Inner or Outer London, or even beyond? This is clearly a very important issue. Whether the productivity benefits of investment via agglomeration affect only a relatively small number of firms or a very large number of firms will radically alter estimates of magnitude of those benefits.

The theoretical literature does propose a number of sources of agglomeration benefits such as labour market benefit, knowledge interaction and input sharing. However the empirical literature has not yet uncovered the relative magnitude of productivity effects arising from each source. In the context of transport appraisal this means that we do not know how the sources of agglomeration might relate to transport movements (Graham, 2007: p4). As previously noted there are members of the community that will not benefit from agglomeration economies e.g. the young, the elderly, the disabled and the unemployed (for

example). It is also to be questioned whether they would benefit from the ‘trickle down effect’ created by agglomeration economies.

Banister & Berechman (2001: p 216) consider that the empirical evidence for substantial increases in new employment is weak and that most of the potential savings from public infrastructure investment will be realised through increases in productivity with the existing labour force. A question of interest to policy-makers is how the direct transport benefits translate into (regional) economic benefits, or more bluntly do time savings really translate into tangible gains? (Round Table, 2007).

2.5 Gentrification

2.5.1 What is gentrification?

Gentrification refers to a process of class succession and displacement in areas broadly characterised by working class and unskilled households (Atkinson, 2000). It was first identified in 1964 by Ruth Glass to describe the changes she observed in the social structure and housing market in the East End of London. Her term gentrification was designed to point to the emergence of a new ‘urban gentry’.

She identified gentrification as a complex process involving physical improvements of housing stock, housing tenure changes from renting to owning, price rises and the displacement of the working class population by the new middle class

“One by one many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lowerOnce this process of ‘gentrification’ starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed” (Glass, 1964: p.xviii).

The social and housing market changes identified by Glass in inner London as gentrification in the 1960s and early 1970s have grown considerably over the past 30-40 years. Butler remarked that:

London is being made over by an urban centred middle class. In the post war years era, upwardly mobile social classes tended to leave the city. Now, led by a new middle class, they are reconstructing much of inner London as a place both in which to work and live (Butler, 1999: p77)

Although there is no clear-cut technical definition of gentrification, it can be considered to be a process which is characterised by several changes.

Demographics: The average income of the household increases, there is a decline in the proportion of racial minorities and a reduction in household size as low income families are replaced by young singles and couples in the 25-44 year age group. Hall & Ogden (1992) have noted that the gentrifiers are often young professionals.

Property: Rental prices increase by a substantial amount along with property values. This leads to an increase in the number of evictions as rental units are converted to ownership albeit very often for the buy-to-let market. There is also often a new development of luxury housing.

Land Use: There is often decline in industrial uses, an increase in office developments, also the development of luxury apartments, retail and restaurants.

Culture and Character: The incomers bring with them ideas about what is desirable and attractive – for example the Pizza Express, cappuccino bars and gyms have supplanted the traditional Eel and Pie shops in the East End of London, the corner shop has become a boutique. The merchandise in the supermarkets is mostly aimed to suit the needs of the incomers. There are changes to the style and standards for architecture and landscaping.

2.5.2 Why does gentrification happen?

The range of academic literature to document and explain gentrification is very extensive (see, Smith, 1979; 1996; Hamnett, 1984; 1991; Ley 1996; Butler, 1997; Atkinson, 2000).

Ley (1981; 1996) argues that the roots of gentrification lie in the changing industrial structure of major cities from the manufacturing industry to service-based industries, and in turn this leads to a demographic change amongst the occupants of the area from a large number of occupants who are employed in manual labour to an increasing dominance in white-collar professionals, managers and technical workers in the financial, cultural and service industries. As a result of changes in class composition, there have also been changes in cultural orientation (Hamnett, 2002).

However, Smith (1979, 1987, 1996) has argued that the driving-force behind gentrification is not the new Middle Class (whose existence he doubts), but the growing gap between property values and underlying land values in the inner city. This gentrification in inner London has, he believes, opened up a growing 'rent gap' which has been exploited by the actions of property-based capital, estate agents, developers and the like, which have redeveloped or rehabilitated and gentrified.

2.5.3 Gentrification-induced displacement - the winners and losers

Gentrification induced displacement may occur when pressures on the housing market from affluent groups create inflated rents and prices which can push out the low paid or unpaid overtime (Atkinson 2000). Atkinson (2003, p.2347) admits that it is difficult to measure displacement given that, "...where extensive gentrification has occurred, displacees are usually long gone and hard to track". In a more subtle way, influxes of affluent groups may alter the social characteristics and services of an area so that residents' social networks are

distended while the cost of living may increase as service provision caters for higher income groups.

Tenants in rented properties are the most vulnerable to the effects of gentrification. When property prices increase tenants are pushed out, whether through natural turnover, rent hikes or evictions. When buildings are sold, buyers often evict the existing tenants in order to move in themselves or to bring in new tenants at a higher rent with the result that the improved living conditions did not benefit the original residents, (McCarthy, 1974, p.3).

Atkinson (2000) explains that the process inevitably attacks the poorest and the tenure insecurity of those with the quietest political voice and with the least equity, as a result compensation may be set at correspondingly low level, (Atkinson, 2000, p.149).

Residents who own their own home are in a better position to decide their options with the property, and may opt to cash them in and move elsewhere. Although, this may not be possible if there is a regional shortage and cash does not always compensate for less tangible losses for example the loss of a sense of identity and sense of belonging - the essential elements that contribute to power of place.

Many incomers resent the challenge to their lack of authenticity and right to belonging.

According to Butler (2003), they do not recognize the division as being between the middle class and working class, but argue that increasingly those who live in social housing constitute part of London's underclass. In this sense, many of them feel they have as much right to belong as the somewhat mythical, displaced working class, (Butler, 2003: p2478).

2.5.4 The economic effect of gentrification

The city of London has led the upward growth in earnings and to this extent it is also a major driver in the growth of earning inequality, which increased substantially in London over the

period. In addition the proportion of high earners also rose sharply from 1979 to 1995. The rich are not only getting richer, but there are more of them and the gap between the earnings of the higher groups and the rest has grown leading to an increase in inequality (Hamnett and Cross, 1998a).

As previously mentioned the economy of London has undergone a dramatic transformation over the course of the past 30-40 years from an industrial city to a post-industrial city dominated by finance, business and the creative industries (Clark, 2002, Pratt, 1997, GLA Economics 2002). Manufacturing Industry and employment have reduced to a vestigial remnant of their former importance (Hamnett, 2002).

Doreen Massey also discusses the 'knock on' economic effects of the dominance of the City of London:

'The dominance of London by global financial industries changes the character and the conditions for all else. The working of this collision through land prices is the most evident of these effects. Manufacturing industry that might otherwise have survived is made uneconomical by the price it has had to pay for land/premises'
(Massey, 2006: p156)

She continues to explain that the demand and greater ability to pay the increasing price of land by these 'world city' industries has made it difficult for the manufacturing sector to buy up land with the result that there are few employment opportunities for people working in the manufacturing sector she explains that "... *It places constraints and presents obstacles to the growth, sometimes even the survival, of other parts of London's economy...* "

Massey (2006) believes that the '*grotesquely high wages in the City*' have a further knock-on effect on prices in general but housing in particular she explains that it has become impossible to maintain a public sector because public sector workers are finding it increasingly difficult to find accommodation they can afford. With concern Massey questions '*...so who,*

then will empty the dustbins, nurse the sick, be our community policeman...?" (Massey, 2006: pp.156-157)

Hamnett, (2002) agrees that the growth of high incomes and growing inequality have an important effect on the housing market as is argued below. Hamnett and Randolph, (1988) explain that, private housing is considered a commodity in market economies which is produced, sold and exchanged for profit. Outside the social or public housing sector where housing may be allocated on the basis of some criterion of need or at a below-market price, housing is competed for through the market, where it is allocated on the basis of price and ability to pay. For most buyers (60 per cent of owners in London own with a mortgage), access to private housing is significantly constrained by earned income and hence by the position of individuals within the paid labour market (Hamnett and Randolph, 1988).

In the 1980s, developers saw the large profits that could be made by converting older houses into flats and by the end of the 1980s, conversions were the single largest source of new dwellings in London (Hamnett, 1989). More recently, the conversion of old warehouses, factories and offices has pushed the process into city-fringe areas such as Hoxton, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch and Whitechapel (Hamnett and Whitelegg, 2001) while Docklands has undergone comprehensive regeneration. In the process, the social geography of inner London has been dramatically changed (Hamnett, 2002).

There are aspects of gentrification that may be desirable such as bringing about new investment in buildings and infrastructure, increased economic activity and reduced crime. However, Atkinson (2003) remarks that on the political right, displacement has been acknowledged but seen as an unfortunate corollary of **processes** that are revitalizing city centres, attracting investment and securing the physical fabric of architecturally valuable neighbourhoods (Atkinson, 2003, : p2345). He questions whether these benefits are justified

given the social costs involved. Unfortunately the benefits of these changes are often enjoyed disproportionately by new arrivals, while the established residents find themselves economically and socially marginalized.

Atkinson, (2003) states that issues of social justice and equity have driven the view that gentrification has represented a generally corrosive influence on urban neighbourhoods. The key social groups that have benefitted from new economies, both financial and 'e-commerce', have been at the forefront of social changes at the neighbourhood level (Ley, 1996; Robson and Butler, 2001). The social, economic and physical impacts of gentrification often result in serious political conflict, exacerbated by differences in race, class and culture. The original residents may feel embattled, ignored and excluded from their own communities. New arrivals are often mystified by accusations that their efforts to improve local conditions are perceived as hostile or even racist.

2.5.5 To Sum up

In summary the regeneration that has taken place in the Docklands area of London could not have happened without the improved accessibility created by Docklands Light Railway (DLR) and the Jubilee Line Extension (JLE) - this is to be discussed further in Section 4.15 on Canary Wharf.

The improved access attracted young professionals on high salaries who were able to pay high prices for property thus in turn increasing land/property values. This has been the case in the Docklands area of London for in the '*The Sunday Times*' 24th September 2006, it was announced that '*next season's City bonuses will be bigger than the recorded amount - estimated at £19billion by 'The Office for National Statistics'*'. Savills Residential research says: '*prices in the most sought-after parts of the capital rose by 10.5% in the first half of 2006- the highest rate of increase since 2001*'.

Therefore, it would appear that it is not the improved transport infrastructure that was in itself responsible for the increasing land value but the improved accessibility that has created the Agglomeration Economy. The changing demographics of people with the ability to pay higher prices for properties is particularly pertinent in a market where there is a shortage of housing. The housing shortage is to be discussed later in this chapter.

2.6 Accessibility/Connectivity

Issues of accessibility and connectivity are central to this research. Within the three case studies described in chapters 4 to 7, it was generally agreed, particularly by developers, that good accessibility and connectivity were of paramount importance to the success of a development (see Section 8.2.1).

At this stage it is important to explore what ‘good accessibility’ implies and whether transport is a necessary part of creating ‘good accessibility’.

Historically, new developments were located in the vicinity of public transport and other mixed uses – this was the norm prior to the dominance of the car. It was assumed that most retail and service orientated trips would occur within walking distance, and that a large number of work and ‘destination’ trips would take place by public transport. However, the advent of mass car ownership meant that people were able to travel longer distances and developments vastly extended urban area and beyond. By shifting investment to motorways, reducing public transport investment and dispersing employment and retail development to isolated locations at the peripheral highway locations, society became dependent on the car. Public transport became progressively more redundant in most suburban areas, as the dispersed patterns of single use, low density development prevented rapid transit or even buses, from serving large tracts of many urban regions (Nieweler, 2007).

The fragmentation of transport and land use development has resulted in the creation of zones for separate uses. As previously explained, failure to have access to a car has resulted in disadvantage within society and without adequate public transport the more vulnerable members of society – the young, elderly, disabled and unemployed are unable to access the needs of daily life. Thus, a major difficulty for transport planners is making sure that provision is made for the vulnerable members of society, particularly those without access to a car, to access the services they need.

Providing access for everyone including those that do not, for whatever reason, have use of a car is a big challenge discussed by Schaeffer and Sclar in their book ‘Access for All’ published in 1975. They state that:

“The problem of modern urban transportation is not congestion or speed but access. Equal access for all, or nearly all, could be an urban reality if transportation and land use projects are evaluated and ranked by the access they offer. In practical terms this implies that public transit would be given priority over private transportation, and that land use patterns would be arranged to minimise travel distances (Schaeffer & Sclar 1975: p171).

Glaister *et al* (2006: p262) reasons that although:

“...it might initially be much easier and cheaper to allow development to take place on greenfield sites, relying on most people to get there by car but, if traffic growth is to be discouraged, it will become increasingly important to site schools, hospitals, leisure centres, shops and offices where a high proportion of staff and customers can use public transport”.

However, improved accessibility is not always dependent on improved mobility. Previous research has shown that it is the improved accessibility created by transport infrastructure that influenced the rise in property prices - making the area around the infrastructure unaffordable to those living on low incomes. The evidence from the literature would suggest that the provision of affordable housing close to transport is clearly ‘key’ to retaining the diversity of

the area, particularly in areas where proposed transport infrastructure could bring about the rise in property value. It is therefore important that the affordable housing allocations should be part of an integrated transport/land use plan. For once property prices begin to rise it will not be possible to add affordable housing as an afterthought. As such, the consideration of housing supply within London is also central to the argument developed in this thesis.

2.6.1 Housing Supply

The research has identified that a variety of tenure which includes affordable housing, is fundamental to achieving sustainable communities and to the diversity of an area. A recent report on housing allocations – ‘Mind the Gap – Housing supply in a Cold Climate’ states that, *an adequate supply and choice of good-quality housing is vital to our economic and social wellbeing* (Pretty & Hackett, 2009). The report goes on to explain that in recent decades we have fallen well short of providing anywhere near the number of new homes needed, the gap between housing supply in England has widened, especially affordable homes. The shortfall is now set to get much worse. At the time of writing, housing production was at an 80 year low, it was considered that the housing backlog was likely to approach 1 million by the end of 2010, (Pretty & Hackett, 2009: p4). Table 2.1 shows the average output of housing per decade in England over the last 60 years.

Table 2.1
Average output of Housing per decade in England

Date	Average output per annum	Average affordable housing per annum	Percentage affordable housing
1950s	230,000	150,000	60%
1960s	300,000	124,000	41%
1970s	256,000	115,000	45%
1980s	178,000	42,000	24%
1990s	151,000	26,000	17%
2000 – 2008	145,000	21, 000	15%

CLG Government statistics (2009)

It is clear from the above figures that the National housing production has been on a declining trend since the 1960s - notably for social housing, which once accounted for over 50% of total housing output. The collapse in new build was particularly dramatic, and the shortage was exacerbated later by the 'Right to Buy'. The growth in housing associations (supported by housing grant) has partly offset the loss of council housing, but has never been able to make up for the large historic shortfall.

As a result of the mortgage famine and the economic downturn, housing completions in 2009 were likely to be under 100,000, a 40% drop from the recent peak. While housing supply has fallen, demand has increased. It is necessary to build at the rate of at least 250,000 new homes a year to match annual population growth and at an even higher rate to replace our ageing housing stock and meet the accumulated backlog. The supply-demand shortfall for 2009 alone (excluding the backlog) was likely to be around 150,000 homes – equivalent to the size of Nottingham (Pretty & Hackett, 2009: p4)

It may be unduly pessimistic, but according to the National Housing and Planning Advice Unit (NHPAU), if the house building sector is unable to increase output by more than 5% a

year, it would take until 2025 before more than 200,000 homes a year were again added to the housing stock: *“This will result in a massive under delivery of housing, further amplifying the structural long term under supply in terms of pent up demand and market volatility”* (Housing Requirements and the Impact and the Recent Economic and Demographic Change, NHPAU, 2009).

The report suggested that some of the most important factors causing the chronic under-supply of housing pre-existed the present recession and mortgage famine, for example the significant reduction in social housing, the failure of most local authorities to put in place their Local Development Framework (LDF), the slow planning application process, and outright local opposition to central government’s planned housing numbers by many local communities and some local authorities.

House prices in London are higher on average than in any other part of the country. It is therefore imperative that there should be an adequate supply of affordable/rented housing. The key recommendation of the London Mayor’s Housing Commission 2000 through Scheme Development Standards (SDS) was to ensure that ‘at least half’ of new residential development should be affordable. With a provisional view that at least 36 per cent should be delivered as predominantly social rented housing targeted at meeting the needs of people on low income and that at least 15 percent should be delivered as a mix of housing types targeted at meeting the needs of people on moderate incomes. The Commission also recommended that Central Government should strengthen its affordable housing guidance in PPG3 (Bowie, 2010: pp34 - 35).

Government has increasingly recognised that housing output both in London and the rest of the country, is falling well behind market demand. In order to address the problem the HM Treasury commissioned the economist Kate Barker to investigate the obstacle to increasing

the supply of new housing. The final report was published in March 2004 (Bowie, 2010: p136). Bowie explains that the focus in the Barker report on making market housing more affordable meant that it did not adequately consider the need for affordable housing for those unable to access the housing market - who in London were the main component of both outstanding and projected housing demand, as demonstrated in the Mayor's housing requirements study (Bowie, 2010: p137).

2.6.2 The effect of land values on housing allocations

The research revealed that increase in land values was the main incentive for the developers to develop a site. The reduction in land values has therefore led to many landowners withdrawing housing land from the market to await an improvement in future values. The current collapse in land values has virtually eliminated the funding available from previously agreed or future Section 106 agreements (which combined were worth about £4 billion per annum – around half of which was for affordable housing). Reduced income from planning gain to part-fund housing related infrastructure also undermines new developments.

The continued and acute under supply of new homes will eventually feed through into upward pressure on house prices and land values. Indeed, along with low interest rates, it was a key ingredient in the excessive house price rises seen up to 2007. House price rises would also further widen the wealth and social divide between homeowners and others.

According to Professor John Hills in his report '*Ends and Means: The Future Roles of Social Housing in England*' (Hills, 2007), social tenants are at a disadvantage and cannot compete to buy private housing. People whose parents and grandparents are social tenants will continue to lose out, as housing wealth cascades from generation to generation of owners.

But rising house prices will not only affect those on lower incomes who traditionally have lived in social housing. Buying a home could become increasingly difficult for many of

those on higher than average earnings. People in a middle income group are already getting into shared ownership with housing associations and there is, therefore, great concern for the more vulnerable members of the community. Also as a result, worsening affordability of market housing will lead to higher demand for all forms of rented housing. The demand for private rented homes is increasing also owing to the rise in single-person households and the mortgage famine (Pretty & Hackett, 2009).

Investor confidence in the house building industry remains low, although many commentators believe it is now at the bottom of the cycle (Pretty & Hackett, 2009: p19). The sector has benefitted from Government initiatives, such as Homebuy Direct and the Kickstart Programme, but most house builders are still recovering from an unprecedented 90% drop in their share value. Many are still, for the time being at least, preoccupied with reducing debt and cash management. Supply chains have also been seriously affected and banks remain cautious about lending for any new development.

The sudden market collapse, coupled with an uncertain outlook, has led to a serious contraction in the residential house building sector (which comprise around 6,000 house builders – although the top six account for 40% of total completions). House builders large and small have been forced to lay off more than half of their workforce. Therefore even when economic delivery begins, it will take some considerable time for the staffing levels, skills and production capacity to recover. This together with land value write-downs will inevitably hold back efforts to boost production.

2.6.3 Future Investment Incentives

According to a representative of the New Local Government Network (NLGN),

'At first glance (a return to housebuilding by local authorities) seems an inviting proposal: they have land to build on; (they) are a safe and stable investment vehicle

and can invoke their prudential borrowing powers to secure the necessary finance... However, substantial barriers remain and unless central government is bold enough to undertake serious and substantial reform as a matter of urgency, this could simply be a good opportunity to ensure a multiplicity of provision that will never get off the ground'. "Back to the future?" in Ground Breaking – New ideas on Housing Delivery, Shelter (2009).

There have been a number of recent studies on the Private Rented Sector – such as the Rugg Review, *The Private Rented Sector: Its Contribution and Potential* (Centre for Housing Policy, University of York, 2008), *The Future of the Private Rented Sector*, (Smith Institute, 2008), and papers from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Shelter and the British Property Federation. These have concluded that the main reason for the low levels of institutional investment are: the tax burden, costly regulation (including the costs of planning gain that funds social housing); low rental yields and much higher and stable returns from commercial property; high reputational risk and high management costs.

The credit collapse and planned cuts in public sector capital spending leave a large infrastructure funding deficit. As the All Party Urban Development Group stressed in its recent report (2009): *“public sector actors will be less able to fund the infrastructure investment that is often crucial to the viability of the developing sites, particularly marginal sites in deprived areas’*. Most of the funding tools to support housing-related development – Section 106, roof taxes, and local asset-backed vehicles – are now operating well below their potential. In the current climate revenues from the Community Infrastructure Levy and Supplementary Business Rates are also likely to be well below previous expectations.

2.6.4 The Way Forward

The reason the market fails to provide the housing needed goes beyond the reach of house builders, housing associations, public agencies, planning authorities and landowners. Other

factors have played their part, such as decades of uneven regional economic growth, financial deregulation, and changing attitudes to social housing, homeownership and new development. Moreover, under supply of development land with planning permission has been a fundamental obstacle, as has, more recently a chronic shortage of mortgage availability. However the uncomfortable truth is the levels are falling while demands for housing are rising.

The Pretty and Hackett Report (2009) concludes that without the release and relaxation of credit and further increases in spending on both housing and housing-related infrastructure, it may take a decade or more to get back to pre-credit crunch production levels – which nevertheless, would still be well below the levels we need. It would seem that the way forward should be on forming new partnerships and creating alternative delivery models which reduce development risk for all and offer a wider tenure mix.

Increased investment in social and physical infrastructure is vital to the success of the Government's house building programme, and is acknowledged as such in the Homes and Communities Agencies concept of a 'single conversation' or more joined-up approach to housing growth . According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), improving investment in infrastructure is a key challenge if the UK's economic performance is to improve (*Global Infrastructure Needs Prospects and Implications for Public and Private Actors, (OECD, 2007)*). A Price Waterhouse Coopers (PwC) opinion poll in 2007 showed that 81% of public and private leaders in English cities believed that there was an urgent need for increased investment in local infrastructure (Talking Points, PwC, 2007).

The Homes and Communities Agency (HCA) has a vital role to play in supporting new partnerships for all forms of new build but no single organisation – private or public – has the

resources, finances or expertise to tackle such a huge challenge alone, and government departments, public agencies and local authorities have supplies of land suitable for development. Councils and housing associations often have assets that are under-utilised and house builders, Registered Social Landlords (RSL's) and contractors have the development and construction expertise. Working effectively together, in partnership, these organisations have the potential to reshape the sector and create a more sustainable and varied market and much greater supply. An adequate supply of affordable housing is also an essential component in achieving communities that are sustainable.

2.7 Sustainable Development, Community, Sustainable Communities

This section of the literature review considers how these issues of equitable regeneration, widening accessibility and providing adequate housing supply might be considered within the overarching framework of sustainable communities. There is no single agreed definition of a sustainable community. Although most approaches tend to explore it in the context of community of place what constitutes a sustainable community remains a contested concept which broadly captures the notion of a 'community' that it is linked with the wider goal of sustainable development. Therefore any discussion of sustainable communities needs to consider the concepts of sustainable development, sustainability and community (Newton *et al*, 2008). These concepts are discussed in the following order 1) sustainable development, 2) community and then 3) sustainable community.

2.7.1 Sustainable Development

Blutstein (2003: p339) suggests that Sir MacFarlane Burnet provided one of the earliest formulations of sustainability in 1966 when he asserted that the "resources of the Earth must be maintained for the use and enjoyment of future generations in a measure not less than we now enjoy".

The concept of sustainable development and the most cited definition was brought to the world's attention at the UN World Commission for Environment and Development in 1987, chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland. The Commission's report *Our Common Future* stated that "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987:43). The Brundtland report emphasised a more holistic approach to sustainability that considers environment factors together with social and economic factors (Littlewood & White, 1997).

There has however, been criticism of the limitations of the report. Dresner (2002: p33) identifies that the "basic political problem the Brundtland Commission was faced with was how to reconcile concern for environmental protection with the desire for economic development in the South and economic growth in the North". He continues:

"The Brundtland Commission's conception of sustainable development brought together equity between generations and equity within generations. Bringing these two ideas together was a political masterstroke. From the late 1960s, when the present-day environmental movement was starting, leftists and representatives of the developing countries had frequently accused the environmentalists ... of being unconcerned about the plight of the poor. They saw all this talk of 'limits' as a ... thinly disguised justification for inequality"(Dresner, 2002: p2).

Although Sustainable Development and sustainability tend to be interchangeable, they mean different things. Agyeman (2005), Lozano (2007) and Baker (2006) explain that sustainability has its roots in ecology and was used to describe how an ecosystem can sustain itself over time.

However, Agyeman et al (2002:78), maintain that:

“... sustainability ... cannot be simply given a ‘green’ or environmental concern important though it environmental aspects are. A truly sustainable society is one where wider questions of social needs and welfare and economic opportunity are integrally related to environmental limits imposed by supporting ecosystems”.

2.7.2 Community

The concept of community is itself a very problematic notion and Mayo (1994:51) warns that community seems to describe everything and nothing. Day (2006) notes there is a consensus that it represents a particular kind of social bond, involving direct personal relations and intimate knowledge of others. For example Nisbet (1967: p47) describes community as all forms of relationship which are characterised by a high degree of personal intimacy, emotional depth, oral commitment, social cohesion and continuity in time. Similarly, Lee & Newby (1983: p52) note how the term is often used to indicate: “... a sense of common identity, enduring ties of affiliation based upon personal knowledge and face to face contact”.

Gilchrist (2000: p147) encompasses all these aspects into her definition of community as the

“...layer of society in which interaction takes place between people who are neither close family nor friends, nor yet total strangers. Community is neither private nor fully public. It shapes our social identity and helps us make sense of a complex and dynamic world”.

However, as Lee and Newby (1983: p57) point out, the fact that people live close to each other does not necessarily mean they have much to do with each other – there may be little interaction between neighbours. It is the nature of the relationship between people and the social systems of which they are part that is often seen as one of the more significant aspects of ‘community’. Bott (1957: p99) argued that the immediate social environment of urban families was best considered, *‘not as the local area in which they live, but rather as the network of actual social relationships they maintain, regardless of whether these are*

confined to the local area or run beyond its boundaries'. For many social scientists, the idea of 'network' was attractive because it could be mapped and measured. Writers like Stacey (1969) give up on community as a 'non-concept' and instead explore local social systems. The 'connectedness' (or density) and other qualities of social networks help explain or, at least describe, key aspects of people's experiences.

When people are asked about what 'community' means to them, it is such networks that are most commonly cited. *'For most of us, our deepest sense of belonging is to us our most intimate social networks, especially family and friends. Beyond that perimeter lie work, church, neighbourhood, civic life, and an assortment of other "weak ties"'* (Putnam, 2000: p274). As well as helping us to build a sense of self and individuality, such informal relationships *'also enable us to navigate our way around the demands and contingencies of everyday living'* (Allan, 1996: p2).

The nature of the networks within a particular place or grouping is of fundamental importance when making judgments about 'communities' and the extent to which people can flourish within them. Humans are social animals. Connection and interaction both widen and deepen what we can achieve, and makes possible our individual character (Allan, 1996: p126).

There is a loss of a sense of community which is often linked to the use of the car and people carrying out their activities over large areas. Lash & Urry (1994), Massey (1994) and Harvey (2000) discuss a more hybrid notion of community that is not necessarily place-based but can emerge from shared interests and more complex and mobile identities. For example Cairncross (1997) talks of "the death of distance where geography no longer matters". (Cairncross, 1997). Doreen Massey (1994) puts forward an alternative theory which is relevant to this present era of globalization. She asks if we could "*rethink our sense of place*"

and talks about a global sense of place in which time and space are compressed, by which she means that everyday work/social activities take place over wide even international distances instead of within our home locality.

‘And the time-space compression which is involved in reproducing the daily lives of the comfortably off in the First World societies – not just their own travel but the resources they draw on, from all over the world, to feed their lives – may entail environmental consequences, or hit constraints, which will limit the lives of others before their own.’ (Massey, 1994)

Social scientists have been quick to note the inequalities arising from new forms of non-place based mobilities caused by uneven development linked to a highly mobile form of capitalism and state (Daniels et al, 2007). Perrons (2007) adds that these widening social divisions take spatial form.

The UK government is repeatedly using the discourse of ‘place making’ in relation to community regeneration (ODPM, 2003). It has become embedded in social civic relationships which are perceived as central for tackling the major social problems including unsustainability (eg. social exclusion and deprivation), (Marsden & Hines, 2008).

There is an agreement within the literature that there is a need to address the ‘decay of the community’ through revitalising active citizenship. Social capital and community engagement have subsequently emerged as critical to securing community regeneration and sustainable development (Marsden & Hines, 2008). Indeed Giddens (1998, p79) argues that the theme is key to the welfare reform programme in the UK and Europe.

In summary, community is described as all forms of relationship which are characterised by a high degree of personal intimacy, emotional depth, oral commitment, social cohesion. The fact that people live close to each other does not necessarily mean they have much to do with each other – there may be little interaction between neighbours. It is the nature of the

relationship between people and the social systems of which they are part that is often seen as one of the more significant aspects of 'community'. The nature of the networks within a particular place or grouping is of fundamental importance when making judgments about 'communities' – and the extent to which people can flourish within them. Humans are social animals. Connection and interaction both widen and deepen what we can achieve, and makes possible our individual character (Allan, 1996: p126).

2.7.3 Sustainable Communities,

The concept of a sustainable community amalgamates the two concepts of sustainable development and community. A sustainable community suggests that there is an optimally balanced economic, social and environmental development form.

The Sustainable Communities movement is regarded by many as a reaction to the inability to manage urban sprawl which has been accompanied by a range of social and environmental problems. Agyeman & Angus (2003), Hempel (1999) and Marsden & Hines (2008) consider that it is often a backlash reaction to the effects of globalisation and capitalism and also a concern for the environment.

Building sustainable communities was specifically mentioned within the consultation paper for the first sustainable development strategy in 1998 (DETR, 1998), “ Building sustainable communities involves considering how to encourage employment, good housing and access to services and recreation in ways in which make good use of natural resources, protect the environment, promote social cohesion and contribute to local, regional and national policy, housing and construction and regeneration of cities towns and regional areas” (DETR, 1998: p18).

Sustainable communities came to the forefront in 2003 with the publication of the government's Sustainable Communities Plan - Sustainable Communities: *Building for our Future*' (ODPM, 2003). The publication committed the government to adopt a holistic approach to create and maintain sustainable communities. This was closely followed by the UK Government's Sustainable Development Strategy: Securing the Future (2005), co-ordinated by the Department of the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2005) (DEFRA).

The government White Paper 'Strong and Prosperous Communities' (2006) linked sustainable communities to the social cohesion agenda. It emphasises the duty of local authorities to prepare 'Sustainable Communities Strategies' which provide a strategic sustainable vision for the UK. These are delivered through Local Area Agreements (LAA) (see 9.4.1) As explained in Section 4.4.4 the whole process is overviewed and managed by the Local Strategic Partnership (LSP).

The Local Communities Act (2007) was a private member's Bill sponsored in the House by Nick Hurd MP. The Act aims to promote sustainability of local communities and works from the principle that local people know best what needs to be done to promote the sustainability of their area. It enables Local Authorities to request that Central Government take the action they believe would better enable them to improve the economic, social or environmental well-being of their area. Through Local Spending Reports the Act is also going to insure that communities are better informed about the public funding spent in their area. With the aim to strengthen local democracy and ensure there is greater transparency.

Raco (2007b) maintains that much of the government's understanding of what a sustainable community comprises represents a hybrid of sustainable development principles where spatial planning is presented as the panacea for making space and place more functional, cohesive and competitive Raco (2007b: p172). He recognises how the rhetoric of sustainable

communities is commonly used by policy makers as a tool to address social exclusion and promote social cohesion.

According to the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004) (now Communities and Local Government) Sustainable Communities are:

“places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all” (ODPM, 2004).

The ODPM Report continues by listing eight points which contribute to a sustainable community:

1. Active, inclusive and safe - fair, tolerant and cohesive with a strong local culture and other shared community activities.
2. Well run - with effective and inclusive participation, representation and leadership.
3. Environmentally sensitive - providing places for people to live that are considerate of the environment.
4. Well designed and built - featuring a quality built and natural environment.
5. Well connected - with good transport services and communication linking people to jobs, schools, health and other services.
6. Thriving - with a flourishing and diverse local economy.
7. Well served - with public, private, community and voluntary services that are appropriate to people's needs and accessible to all.
8. Fair for everyone – including those in other communities, now and in the future.

On 17 March 2006 the Department of Communities and Local Government (at that time the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister - ODPM), published its Sustainable Development Action Plan to highlight progress in implementing its commitment to sustainable

development through its policies for creating sustainable communities. In addition the Plan describes five key drivers of Sustainable Communities:

- **High quality services:** focused on continuous improvement and the delivery of visible results in service delivery and public perception:
- **A good physical environment :** clean, safe and environmentally sustainable
- **A strong economic base:** good infrastructure, employment and opportunity for all, and a good climate for enterprise and investment:
- **Strong leadership:** reinvigorated local democracy, strong partnerships and
- **Shared values:** building cohesion and respect across communities

The Action Plan considers that these key drivers are “*mutually reinforcing and if a community lacks one or more of them it is unlikely to be sustainable*”.

The research described in this thesis identifies the above drivers as important. The research also agrees with the ODPM’s (2004) components of a sustainable community. However, both documents lack the attachment to “place” which the outcome of this research reveals to be a fundamental catalyst to achieving long term sustainable communities that are “fair for everyone” as well being inclusive of everyone.

2.8 Assessing the Social Outcomes of Regeneration

Town centre regeneration is complex and multifaceted: the outcomes are often long term and causal links between projects and outcomes are often not clear. It would appear from the literature review that there is little robust explanation as to how and why outcomes have happened. Understanding why and how an outcome happens are very important to this research and it is for this reason that the research revisits Canary Wharf and the Westminster University’s Jubilee Line Impact Study. It is also one of the reasons why the author has

chosen to do her research through case studies this point will be discussed further in the Methodology.

A report by the London Assembly (2002) to investigate regeneration funding generally found that it was difficult to obtain information about the outcome of regeneration work as there was no intelligence base. Previous programmes had not been evaluated and existing information was unreliable. Tyler (2000) concurs that gaps in the evidence base are very apparent and are likely to severely constrain effective policy. The information gaps in key areas were of concern about where regeneration funding goes to. When it came to evaluation, the London Assembly Survey found:

- as this may be viewed as diverting funding away from doing the "real" work. There is an emphasis on outputs over outcomes or quality;
- There is a need to develop better assessment methods and measures - particularly for qualitative achievements and longer term outcomes;
- There is a lack of consistent baseline information against which to measure change;
- Lack of any consistent and comparable measurement or evaluation framework;
- Lack of resources for evaluation work

Research by DTZ (2009) aimed to identify good practice in terms of evaluating the community and social impacts of retail-led regeneration projects and to draw lessons for similar future developments. This was done using five case studies, three of which were town centre based. The study found that retail-led regeneration contributes substantially to improving communities with the main impacts summarised as follows:

- Accessibility to jobs and training for local people;
- Living in neighbourhoods;
- Better quality of life;

- Improved pride of place;
- Accessibility;
- Connectivity;
- Better integration and cohesion;
- Cleaner and safer environment;
- Opportunity for/supporting SMEs and local business.

The above list helped to inform the issues explored at the field work stages of the research, my research further draws upon the key elements of a successful strategic approach to town centre management drawn from case studies by Norris and Johnson (2002) namely:

- Providing time, as success will not happen overnight, it needs to be established over a relatively long period with an informal approach to partnership working;
- Stability and continuity of membership and personnel to build trust;
- Influence and high-level links with the key democratic organisations;
- Consensus, as political conflict acts as a major turn off for businesses;
- Communication with major businesses with a stake in the quality and performance of the town centre.
- Monitoring results.

The research identified that partnership working and the involvement of a local champion are important drivers in achieving regeneration projects that are sustainable and fair to all members of the community. They are also supporting factors in achieving Power of Place

2.8.1 The importance of partnerships

The majority of literature on town centre regeneration also stresses the importance of a partnership approach. Most potential seems to be in forms of joint funding of projects, but there are many different agencies involved in the investment process and they have not

always related to each other closely or amicably. The major problem is that trying to inject private capital concerns the sharing of risk. However, for the private sector it is sometimes difficult to identify the direct benefits of financing infrastructure investment, particularly as their competitors may benefit as free riders.

There is a need to identify what makes partnership work but the literature on what works and how is narrow (Findlay and Sparks, 2009). Tyler (2000) found that there is no perfect formula for partnership working that ensures that the optimal regeneration benefits are achieved in the local area concerned and in relation to the strategic theme being pursued.

Some relevant findings are:

- Avoid missing out partners;
- Seek to avoid dominant partners who may control key decisions;
- Ensure the partnership has effective monitoring and review procedures that provide information to enable strategic decisions;
- Ensure monitoring information encompasses relevant themes;
- Partnerships should identify its key objectives and how they may fit with wider goals;
- It is essential to have a clear vision in place from the outset.

2.8.2 The Role of Partnerships

Access to sufficient resources is vital as competitive bidding and time-limited funding can undermine long-term partnership working. Partners involved need to be given financial incentives to promote urban centres, including the benefits from the increased property values associated with successful economic development and regeneration (LGA/ SIGOMA, 2006).

Deloitte (2008) prepared a regeneration guide for local authorities in which it suggests that strong governance and accountability arrangements to deliver clarity and purpose are crucial to delivery, particularly where there are multiple stakeholders who want to be involved

(Deloitte, 2008: p9). They suggested that the influences on negotiations were political at both the local level and the national level. That there are many different public and voluntary sector agencies involved with shaping and delivering regeneration and these agencies naturally have different objectives. Whilst these are generally pointing to the same goal, it is often the case that priorities are not aligned. This fragmentation can harm delivery and is a particular deterrent to securing investment from the private sector, who will focus their efforts on locations where there is a strong leadership steering different agencies towards a common goal.

2.8.2.1 *Local Champion*

Respondents to the survey conducted by Deloitte (2008) discovered that a range of different factors helped to secure stakeholder support for proposals but the factor that stood out most was strong local leadership and sponsorship reflecting the need for local authorities to shape the debate and take a lead. Many local communities were looking for clear direction and leadership and less open ended consultation. They have therefore put in place robust master planning and delivery process for progressing schemes, with consultation processes embedded within them and a clear mechanism for local authority leadership and decision making. Therefore the consultation must be an integral part of the planning process.

2.9 Local Distinctiveness/Cultural Heritage, Consultation/Engagement,

The research has identified that *Power of Place* is achieved by a combination of factors that support Power of Place and the component factors that make up Power of Place - Local Distinctiveness, Cultural Heritage, Consultation/Engagement which contribute to a sense of identity and belonging for members of the community.

A study conducted by Douglas Wheeler Associates *et al* (2011), for the Scottish Government, has found that town centre regeneration interventions are often conceived and planned based more on deductive reasoning from a general principle rather than observed facts. The study reports the need to recognise that town centres and high streets do not function in isolation and need to be considered within a wider context in terms of their particular location and surrounding catchment area and to focus on the distinctiveness of the town centre. That successful town centre regeneration depends on designing and implementing a small number of connected 'place making' projects that also involve business development often targeted at independent businesses and wider marketing to the local community and visitors. Therefore A key challenge is to identify what is distinctive about the particular town centre.

In the last ten years, culture and the creative industries have begun to play an important role in regeneration in some towns and particularly in cities (Montgomery, 2007). Culture can drive regeneration in a number of ways from inspiring landmark buildings through to bringing new uses into important historic buildings in towns or bringing a community together around an arts event. According to Coastal Regeneration in English Resorts - 2010 (Edited by Walton & Browne), in cases where culture-led regeneration is showing emerging success, three underpinning themes are present namely:

- Strong leadership at local political level;
- A genuine and broad engagement process with the wider community
- A specific artistic vision for an area connected with its distinctiveness;

The following section is going to discuss each of the above points through the research these points have proved to be important drivers and originally provided a framework for the research. However, although an artistic vision for an area connected with its distinctiveness

is thought to be important it is not sufficient to address issues of identity and belonging and this will be discussed in the Power of place section.

2.9.1 Local distinctiveness: The design and diversity of an area are important factors that influence its local distinctiveness. The design also affects the way the inhabitants interact and respond to their surroundings.

Kevin Lynch (1960) developed many of the ideas and themes upon which behavioural and environmental psychologists have subsequently expanded (his work will be discussed in more detail later). From a transport point of view designers like Ben Hamilton-Baillie (2005) understand that “environmental context strongly determines behaviour”. He reflects on the relationship between traffic, people and places. He goes on to suggest a new set of principles to define how the relationship of traffic engineering and urban design might offer possibilities for reconciling the competing and conflicting demands for safe, efficient movement with the quality and legibility of the built environment

‘Streets in cities serve many purposes besides carrying vehicles, and city sidewalks – the pedestrian parts of the streets – serve many purposes besides carrying pedestrians ...’”

(Jacobs, 1993: p37) is a message that function and design have to be interwoven with the life of the communities living in and using the city.

The above is an extract from Jane Jacobs’ book “The Death and Life of Great American Cities”, first published in 1961. This book has proved to be a seminal work influencing architects and town planners throughout the world, it was written in response to her concerns over loss of community life and is said to be instrumental in recognising the negative effects of modernist city planning. The book encouraged the revival of old-fashioned neighbourhoods. Over forty years later many of the principal ideas from Jane Jacobs’ book are being adopted by leading architects. She also advocates diversity in the form of mixed

use and mixed tenure developments. For Jacobs, diversity is vital: without it, the urban system declines as a living place and a place to live (Jabareen, 2006: p42).

These ideas are put forward in the final Report of the Urban Task Force Chaired by Lord Rogers of Riverside - "Towards an Urban Renaissance" (DETR, 2002):

'A compact, multi-centred city of mixed uses which encourages sustainable transport modes is the most sustainable urban paradigm. Mixed-use areas tend to strengthen social integration and civic life. Neighbourhoods should be built which respect private needs and aspirations but not at the expense of the wider social, economic and environmental picture.' (DETR, 2002)

2.9.2 Cultural Heritage

The cultural heritage of an area is an important part of discovering what is particularly distinctive about a locality. However, in recent years the term cultural heritage has gone through a profound change in meaning, the concept of culture has gradually come to include less tangible examples of heritage which pay closer attention to human kind and focuses on the cultural heritage of the community. It is this area of cultural heritage that embraces the concept of *Power of Place*.

The English Heritage Survey *Attitudes Towards Heritage* conducted by MORI (2000) concluded that although the vast majority of people agree that heritage plays a valuable role in the life of the country, what is considered to be heritage is a very personal thing. Everyone has a different concept of what represents their own heritage/culture. People mentioned a number of things they would like to see preserved for future generations including their ways of life, sport, culture, the heritage of the community. It is the personal relationship that we develop and associate with a place that gives a place power.

The social dimension of sustainable development emphasises the need to improve the quality of life for all citizens by raising base levels of material income and by increasing social equity, such that all groups have fair access to education, livelihood and resources. This dimension is most relevant to the need to consider built cultural heritage as part of sustainable development. Of particular relevance to this discussion is the notion of inter-generational equity through which the current generation preserves cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) for the benefit of future generations (UNIDO, 2005).

Tessa Jowell, then Minister for Culture, put forward the argument that culture can restore communities. (Jowell, 2004) “Culture matters for its own sake. But the argument doesn’t stop there. Everyone now accepts that culture can be a catalyst to turn round whole communities. There are examples up and down the country, *“Places to live must be living places...The important thing is that culture is firmly embedded in regeneration, not an add-on or an afterthought”*.

Tweed and Sutherland (2007) consider cultural heritage to be an important part of societal and community well-being. National governments and pan-European institutions increasingly recognise the value of cultural heritage. The Council of Europe, for example, has recently opened a new treaty for ratification on the topic of cultural heritage called Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (CoE, 2005). The treaty underlines the importance of cultural heritage to sustainable development and the need for widespread public participation in discussions about cultural heritage. The UK government also recognises the links between the built environment – particularly built heritage – and quality of life. The organisation *renewal.net* was set up by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) to develop proposals and toolkits to help regenerate neighbourhoods throughout England. Its recent document is unequivocal about the role of

built heritage: “The preservation of heritage not only contributes to the state of health of the built environment but also crucially to community and cultural identity and helps ‘to define the character of a place’” (*Renewal.net*, 2005).

2.9.3 Power of Place

Tweed and Sutherland, (2007) believe there is a need to broaden the current definition of built heritage to embrace less obvious examples. They describe heritage by designation as the traditional process through which heritage is applied as an honorific label to sites, buildings and other cultural objects by experts. They explain that in most cases it follows a top–down strategy with little room for contributions from the general public, resulting in heritage designations that are mostly predictable and only rarely controversial. Cultural heritage, therefore, is an increasingly broad category that embraces a diverse collection of phenomena. It is partly because of its greater inclusiveness that heritage is now recognised as so important to many people’s sense of belonging and cultural identity (Sutherland and Tweed, 2007: p63)

Over 40 years ago in his celebrated book the ‘*Image of a City*’, Lynch (1960) described a five year study that reveals what elements in the built structure of a city are important in the popular perception of a city. On the first page Lynch establishes why a community’s perception of its urban surroundings is important: “Every citizen has had long associations with some part of his city, and his image is soaked in memories and meanings” (Lynch, 1960). When regeneration takes place the impact is more than the new structural elements. Lynch used Los Angeles, Boston and Jersey City as case studies and by analyzing the results of this work, he observed specifically what about the city’s built environment is important to the people who live there. One of Lynch’s innovations was the concept of place legibility.

He was able to isolate distinct features of a city and see what is making it vibrant and attractive to people.

The identity of a place is rooted in its history, in local celebrations, the stories people tell about the area, and in regular local events. These build up over time. However, when new large scale housing developments are built the sense of place cannot be defined by its shared history. New residents will not know others and, in the early stages, there will be few social connections. Many new developments are planned as ‘mixed communities’, housing people from a range of circumstances and background. Often inner city neighbourhoods thrive on this sort of diversity – but it is something that has usually had to evolve over many years and generations (Young Foundation, 2011: p15).

Dolores Hayden explains that by creating public history within the urban landscape it is possible to, “... use the forms of the cultural landscape itself, as well as words and images, to harness the power of places to connect the present and the past” (Hayden, 1997 p. 246). *Power of Place* is carried by people who share a common history: This shared tradition, the shared knowledge of old experiences, or old stories of experiences handed down, is one of the intangible things that make people feel they belong somewhere. (Michael Young, 2009)

Dolores Hayden in her book ‘Power of Place’, maintains that our ‘Identity is intimately tied to memory; both our personal memories (where we have come from and where we have dwelt) and the collective or social memories interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbours, fellow workers and ethnic communities.

Hayden explains that urban landscapes are storehouses for these social memories, because natural features such as hills or harbours, as well as streets, buildings and patterns of settlement, frame the lives of many people and often outlast many lifetimes, however, that decades of urban renewal and redevelopment of a savage kind have taught many

communities that when the urban landscape is battered, important collective memories are obliterated.

Nevertheless, Heyden believes that even totally bulldozed places can be marked to restore some shared public meaning, or a recognition of the experiences of spatial conflict, or bitterness, or despair. *“At the same time in ordinary neighbourhoods that have escaped the bulldozer but have never been the object of lavish municipal spending, it is possible to enhance social meaning in public places with modest expenditures for projects that are sensitive to all citizens and their diverse heritage, and developed with public processes that recognize both the cultural and the political importance of place”* (Heyden, 1997: p9),

Neill (2004) further underlines the importance of the built environment as a repository for meanings that confirm identity, and he provides an illuminating account of how past associations for specific buildings – Parliament Buildings at Stormont in Belfast, and the Palast der Republik in the reunited Berlin – are undermined by changes in political context. Neill also tackles the problem of how to accommodate difference in meanings between different cultures occupying the same physical space and concludes that solutions will most likely emerge from carefully nuanced responses to local context, in which the possibility of ‘environmental citizenship’ offers the best hope for transcending the often slavish accommodation of cultural difference in planning.

Tweed and Sutherland (2007) believe that perhaps the most important message is that built heritage conveys different meanings to different groups of people and that these meanings are likely to be important in the future growth of towns and cities and so need to be considered part of sustainable development. In increasingly cosmopolitan cities it will be important to develop a deeper understanding of how meanings are created and sustained for different groups (Tweed and Sutherland, 2007).

As suggested above, the built environment exerts a major influence on citizens' everyday experiences, but interactions between people and the built environment are complex and operate at different levels. The lack of understanding about these interactions is reflected in the absence of legislation:

“...to include built cultural heritage within assessment procedures for sustainable development would mark progress towards a more integrated view of environmental and social dimensions... we need to understand the relations between people and the meanings enshrined in built heritage with a better understanding we are better placed to arrive at imaginative solutions that combine the benefits of built heritage with those of new development, assuming the planning processes can take these on board” (Tweed and Sutherland, 2007: p.68).

Therefore a place only has *Power* for those who have some kind of association with the place; without memory it is only a site and the buildings in it merely façades. When the indigenous population of an area is displaced as a result of a regeneration project, those displaced lose more than just the places they live in, they lose their sense of identity and sense of belonging. This creates a sense of separation and isolation for both the displaced and the incomers and in turn can lead to the destruction of the community or even prevent a community develop. This is not to say that regeneration is a bad thing but it is to draw attention to the negative effects it could cause in order to mitigate them. Therefore an essential component of Power of Place is the ability to have a sense of identity and sense of belonging this can be achieved through consultation and effective engagement with the various stake holders.

2.9.4 Consultation/Engagement

Discussing the Government's policies on regeneration the Church of England Commission's report 'Faithful Cities'(2006) suggests that *'there will require a radical shift from government at both local and national levels, in how we approach regeneration – an*

approach which allows those who will actually live in these cities to play the lead role in design and development. Builders and developers must respond to their needs’ - ~ ‘There is a need for bottom up regeneration in which the people who use and benefit from the scheme are the ones who make it happen.’ It is argued that the present top-down imperatives to ‘listen’ to local communities can lead to cynicism on the part of public servants, and to disillusion among community leaders, service users and citizens (see *Ladder of Citizen Participation* by Sherry R. Arnstein, 1969).

The Church of England’s Commission goes on to explain:

“that in the two years of listening and consulting as a Commission it has become clear that regeneration strategies that do not start with the hopes and expectations of local people – that is what local people value - are doomed to fail. Any strategy needs to be responsive enough to embrace, rather than simply tolerate, communities’ own understanding for their own local environment...But changing the look of the place without reference to the community often sends a signal that the authorities do what they want and know what’s best. Such ‘improvements’ may not look like ‘improvements’.”

The Commission added that: *“as Commissioners, we argue that changes must be made through partnership”*

Bailey (2010) cites Cornwall (2008: p270) who observes, ‘Consultation is widely used, north and south, as a means of legitimating already-taken decisions.’ Yet in other cases, participation represents an authentic attempt to include others in decision making (Bailey, 2010).

If consultation with the local community amounts to no more than passing on information on decisions that have already been made, then it represents *“a lost opportunity”* (Chick, 2001) . For if the consultation **process** is used properly, it can engage the community, create ownership, enhance the finished product and offer the engineer the opportunity to increase

their standing and reputation (Chick, 2001). People need to be better informed and involved in the decision making at an earlier stage.

A good example of the above approach is given in a paper by M. Davis and C. Cole (2005) '*Community involvement in coast protection at Lyme Regis, UK*'. The participation of the local inhabitants through a forum was instrumental in progressing a successful coast protection scheme through to completion and the same theme of cooperation continues to the present day. As well as having a substantial role in developing the design of the scheme, the town had an input into the way that it was developed. Tom Cohen (2005) Principal Consultant, Steer, Davies, Gleave, observed that:

'When 'ordinary' people are provided with all the necessary information and time to examine a subject, provided they are encouraged to be methodical, they reach conclusions which the experts would have difficulty overruling. In fact, their conclusions may well be rather more robust than those of the ultimate decision makers.'

The success of the above example may be in part due to the local knowledge of the participants. Eversole, (2010) discusses the knowledge that 'local people' or 'community members' acquire from their lived experiences, he explains that it involves an ability to see and understand the nature of connections and interrelationships more clearly than professional can do working from within the conceptual frameworks of their particular silos of expertise (e.g. Posey, 2002; Sillitoe, 2002).

Eversole continues to explain that, "*while professionals struggle to bridge their various sectoral or disciplinary silos and jargons to take a more holistic approach to interrelated community issues, community knowledge grasps such connections instinctively*" (Eversole, 2010: p34). This is based in what the anthropologist Bruno Latour (1993) calls the '*seamless fabric of lived experience*.' Eversole further explains that lived experience crosses categories

and disciplines: it is not merely about ‘health’ or ‘the economy’ or ‘infrastructure’. Rather, it provides a broader context of experiences, values, and relationships, in which causes and influences cross over and interact. Lived experience also moves beyond the merely ‘local’ to bridge localities, communities, and landscapes, potentially providing a rich source of interchange among different ‘local’ knowledge.

Eversole (2010) finds that the result is situated in local or community knowledge which is grounded, in place and in context, in ways that the expert knowledge of professionals is not. While he understands that it may be limited by the intellectual and social ‘reach’ of the community in question – for instance their ability to access information (see e.g. Schilderman, 2002) – such knowledge is eminently participatory.

Eversole acknowledges that people in communities may not know all the relevant information to understand and evaluate their options; yet what they do know, they know in context. He explains that whilst the knowledge of communities is often not sufficient on its own, nor is the expertise of professionals with no community knowledge to ground it:

“Both are needed. And while the boundaries between ‘expert’ and ‘community’ knowledge are clearly permeable – experts live and work in communities, and communities draw on the resources of experts – their creative meeting points are complicated by the persisting assumption that the experts are still holding the only real ‘knowledge’” (Eversole, 2010: p34)

Eversole continues to explain that community narratives about what-happened-the-last-time, what-will work, and why-this-does-not-make-sense, are often difficult to articulate to outsiders, and when they are spoken, they tend to translate as ‘attitudes’ or ‘opinions’ rather than knowledge: ‘anecdotal’ rather than proven, and thus ultimately, of less weight. Eversole acknowledges that:

“ Community challenges to ‘established knowledge’ and ‘hard data’ can easily be dismissed as untested and even irrelevant to the question at hand; while agendas travelling under the cloak of data and evidence are harder to challenge” (Eversole, 2010: p35)

2.9.5 Ownership by consultation

Chick (2001) noted that there are many excellent engineering schemes that have been abandoned just because the community was not consulted earlier enough. A culture of mistrust and previous disillusionment prevents a scheme being adopted by the local community. He goes on to say that he believes it is imperative that the local community should be consulted early in the development of a project and explains that for *‘high-quality consultation’* to be successful, it requires ownership from all parties involved. Chick felt strongly that consultation should not be used as a method of absolving the engineer or council from difficult decisions. Equally, for the community there is the need for them to have explained and to realise that, in being party to the decision making **process**, they must accept responsibility; *“It is the engineer’s role to use his or her skills and knowledge to inform the community”* (Chick, 2001).

Professor Nick Tyler (2003) believes that a key element of public involvement has to be the ownership of the resulting decisions. He explains that decision should not be made by one group and imposed on another: they should be made by all parties, (whether or not agreed by everyone), that a key element of public involvement has to be the ownership of the resulting decision. With the shared ownership of the decision comes the responsibility, both over the decision itself and of its implementation. In the scenario of public involvement, decisions are not isolated events that can be forgotten, but ongoing **processes** that need to be monitored and evaluated so that improvements can be made and mistakes rectified in good time. The sharing of ownership and responsibility for decisions puts power in the hands of the

community in which they are applied. Conversely, the more usual **process** where decisions are taken by representatives - often in the absence of the public who will be affected by the **outcomes** – often leaves the community with neither ownership nor responsibility for the circumstances in which they live. Often, the **process** appears fine on paper, but the reality is that the only people able to have any influence on the **process** are the developers who have the financial incentive and resources to enter into the **process**.’

Professor Nick Tyler cites the example of a project to establish a community bus service in a rural district. The technical information, and alternatives, were placed before the community, and they made the decisions.

‘Once the bus service was in operation, one passenger was heard to explain to another, who had mentioned that the seats were a little narrow; “we decided to have the narrower seats so that the aisle would be wide” The important point here is the expression of ownership of that decision: we decided...’

Bailey (2012) cites Defilippis et al. (2006) who take this debate one stage further by asserting that a study of community participation should not be solely introspective, but that ‘such processes are part of a wider analyses of social and economic inequality, and such analyses necessarily include a role for conflict’ (Defilippis et al., 2006, p. 686). They go on to stress the importance of working ‘within a place’ rather than simply being ‘about a place’ where ‘local activities are limited to local processes and there is little interest in going beyond these boundaries’ (Defilippis et al., 2006: p686).

Bailey (2012) explains that rather than taking the subject of research as an enclosed participatory ‘space’, as most of the literature suggests, Defilippis et al. are urging us to take account of the broader socio-political context in which empowerment can occur (Bailey, 2012). Bailey continues: *“Just because engagement is now an essential pre-condition, it*

does not mean they automatically lead to the empowerment of previously disempowered stakeholders” (Bailey, 2012: p321).

Parker and Murray (2012) express the view that unless genuine and on-going efforts to develop a set of ground rules and quality tests for participation and moreover to develop a milieu from which deliberative engagement can be drawn locally, then such policy efforts will remain weak or be viewed as tokenistic that:

“ if people do not get involved it is not enough for planners and other professionals to blame this on apathy it is more likely that the structure and process are not fit for their purpose and are not matched to the profile of participants. It may be that the purposes are not either shared or clearly thought through enough” (Parker and Murray, 2012: p23)

Parker and Murray (2012) claim that participants will still require understanding of the costs and benefits to themselves and their neighbourhood if forms of neighbourhood planning are to have any realistic prospect of delivering on going engagement or to avoid being seen as tokenistic.

2.10 Summing up.

It was explained at the beginning of this chapter, that the research, conducted through case studies, in this thesis explores the ways in which transport providers like Transport for London, as well as other important decision makers such as land use planners and developers can interact with a view to achieving long term sustainable communities. The literature review has identified that further research is needed to find methods for evaluating and appraising regeneration schemes especially in regard to transport infrastructure. This is in order to find ways to mitigate negative impacts on the community. It was previously explained that the thesis uniquely explores these issues by using the concept of *Power of*

Place in order to demonstrate the importance of understanding the community value of place, and how it might be manifested in the regeneration process as an integral part of and successful delivery of transport and land use planning.

The literature review has revealed a dichotomy, on the one hand inadequate transport infrastructure can often be a major barrier to accessing work, healthcare, educational and other key facilities and has, therefore, become an increasingly important policy objective in moving people from welfare into work, addressing health inequalities, improving poor educational attainment and more generally promoting social inclusion and neighbourhood renewal.

Conversely, improved accessibility created by new transport infrastructure has encouraged Agglomeration economies, especially in London. This has led to a demographic change amongst the occupants of the area from a large number of occupants who are employed in manual labour to an increasing dominance in white-collar professionals, managers and technical workers in the financial, cultural and service industries.

The growth of high incomes has resulted in a growing inequality, which has had an important effect on the housing market. This in turn led to an impact on housing supply and land value. The growing gap between property values and underlying land values in the inner city of London, for example, has opened up a growing 'rent gap'

The properties in the area, are as a result, unaffordable for those on low incomes resulting in the process of gentrification. Although there are aspects of gentrification that may be desirable such as bringing about new investment in buildings and infrastructure, increased economic activity and reduced crime. Unfortunately the benefits of these changes are often enjoyed disproportionately by new arrivals, while the established residents find themselves economically and socially marginalized.

The evidence from the literature would suggest that the provision of affordable housing close to transport is clearly ‘key’ to retaining the diversity of the area, particularly in areas where proposed transport infrastructure could bring about the rise in property value. It is therefore important that the affordable housing allocations should be part of an integrated transport/land use plan. For once property prices begin to rise it will not be possible to add affordable housing as an afterthought.

In recent decades the homes provided have fallen short of the number of new homes needed and the gap between housing supply in England has widened, especially affordable homes. Therefore there is a need for homes for those unable to access the housing market – this is a particular problem in the London area.

The continued and acute under supply of new homes will eventually feed through into upward pressure on house prices and land values. Indeed, along with low interest rates, it was a key ingredient in the excessive house price rises seen up to 2007. House price rises would also further widen the wealth and social divide between homeowners and others. Social tenants are at a disadvantage and cannot compete to buy private housing.

Rising house prices will not only affect those on lower incomes who traditionally have lived in social housing. Buying a home could become increasingly difficult for many of those on higher than average earnings. People in a middle income group are already getting into shared ownership with housing associations and there is, therefore, great concern for the more vulnerable members of the community. Also as a result, worsening affordability of market housing will lead to higher demand for all forms of rented housing. The demand for private rented homes is increasing also owing to the rise in single-person households and the mortgage famine (Pretty & Hackett, 2009).

Issues of equitable regeneration, widening accessibility and providing adequate housing supply have been discussed within the framework of sustainable communities. There is an agreement within the literature that there is a need to address the ‘decay of the community’ through revitalising active citizenship. Social capital and community engagement have subsequently emerged as critical to securing community regeneration and sustainable development.

In the last ten years, culture and the creative industries have begun to play an important role in regeneration in some towns and particularly in cities. There need to recognise that town centres and high streets do not function in isolation and need to be considered within a wider context in terms of their particular location and surrounding catchment area and to focus on the distinctiveness of the town centre and its cultural heritage. Cultural heritage, is now recognised as important to many people’s sense of belonging and cultural identity. The identity of a place is rooted in its history, in local celebrations, the stories people tell about the area, and in regular local events

Power of Place is carried by people who share a common history: The collective or social memories interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbours, fellow workers and ethnic communities. This shared tradition, the shared knowledge of old experiences, or old stories of experiences handed down, is one of the intangible things that make people feel they belong somewhere.

Tweed and Sutherland, (2007) believe that perhaps the most important message is that built heritage conveys different meanings to different groups of people and that these meanings are likely to be important in the future growth of towns and cities and so need to be considered part of sustainable development.

Therefore the built environment exerts a major influence on citizens' everyday experiences, but interactions between people and the built environment are complex and operate at different levels. The lack of understanding about these interactions is reflected in the absence of legislation. The thesis intends to demonstrate that the built heritage and the concept of *Power of Place* should be part of the assessment procedures for sustainable development and an integral part of land use and transport planning.

From this literature review a number of preliminary factors have been identified that are considered to be important components to achieving communities that are sustainable and these are listed in Table 2.2. Note that those factors in italics are connected to the factor in bold above them. These preliminary factors have been used in the development of the methodology described in Chapter 3.

Table 2.2
Component Factors that make up a Sustainable Community

Accessibility/Connectivity
<i>Affordable Housing</i>
<i>Schools/Further education</i>
<i>Job retraining schemes</i>
<i>Employment</i>
<i>Health care</i>
<i>Shopping</i>
<i>Leisure facilities</i>
Good Place to Live
<i>Safe and clean</i>
<i>Green space</i>
<i>Diverse community</i>
Political Factors
<i>Working in Partnerships</i>
<i>Strong Local Leadership</i>
<i>Financial Backing</i>
Power of Place
<i>Cultural Heritage/ Local distinctiveness/ Design/ Local History/knowledge Consultation/Ownership</i>

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The first stage of the research was conducted through a literature review which has assisted in forming a prior understanding of the important issues to be addressed. In addition, the review has helped to formulate the framework for the methodology described in this chapter as well as helping to develop the research questions. The first section of this chapter also consists of a literature review which discusses some of the conceptual and methodological limitations of previous public transport impact studies.

3.2 An Overview of Transport Impact Studies

During the last decade there has been an increasing interest in calculating the impact new transport infrastructure has on land value. It is now acknowledged that transport infrastructure can improve accessibility to employment and amenities and thus it might be considered that it is the improved accessibility that adds value to land (Du and Mulley, 2008). However, as explained in section 2.2 there are several complexities in assessing benefits and dis-benefits of any new development project but this is particularly difficult in the case of new transport infrastructure.

The Joint Transport Research Centre (Round Table, 2007), give an overview of the advances, promises and pitfalls of current research on the economic impacts of investments in transport infrastructure. A first recurring theme is that advances in the analysis of ‘wider impacts’ were acknowledged, but their transferability across projects was questioned, so there are “no simple rules” for generalizing results. Moreover routine analysis is difficult because of shortcomings

both in data availability and in the analytical framework. A second recurring issue is the major differences in approach to transport project appraisal between countries. The impact of economic appraisal on policy decisions varies greatly from one region to another and this has consequences for the way economic impacts might be taken into account.

In this respect Jones & Lucas (1998: p. 487) explain that different studies show the nature of and extent of the relationship between public transport investment and economic activity to be varied but they point out that *“it is difficult to determine whether this is a result of differences in methodological approach, analytical techniques and or specific locational or provisional differences.”*

Du and Mulley (2008) report that substantial studies on the impact of transport investment on land use have taken place especially in the United States. However, they note that most of the literature concentrates on the positive side of the results but that, *“a closer look shows considerable variation in findings. First because different approaches have been taken, the results are not comparable for the unit of value used. Second there is a somewhat surprising lack of UK studies in contrast to the U.S”* (Du and Mulley, 2008: p197).

Jones and Lucas (1998) point out that one of the problems for public transport impact research in the United Kingdom is that relatively few opportunities arise to examine the effects of major investment. The following section presents a brief overview of the various methodologies that have been used to analyse and evaluated the macro-level changes brought about by new transport infrastructure.

3.3 An overview of Past Studies

In Britain there have been only five studies in thirty years namely: the Victoria Line (1963 – 1965), the Glasgow Rail Improvements (1979 – 1965), the Tyne and Wear Metro (1979 – 1988), the Manchester Metrolink (1990-1996), the South Yorkshire Super Tram (1992-1996), the Croydon Tramlink (1991-2000). The above studies were based on before and after comparators using control areas, travel data and socio demographics.

To give an example, the study conducted on the Greater Manchester Metrolink ‘light rail’ system used before and after surveys to measure the impact of Metrolink Phase 1 from Bury through Manchester to Altrincham. Control areas were used on similar continuing British Rail suburban lines to isolate Metrolink’s impact from other temporal changes. The study concluded that Metrolink attracted more passengers than forecast, especially in the off-peak period and despite unemployment rising by half. Many more car users than forecast switched to Metrolink and car traffic volumes fell in the Bury corridor in the peak time and in both corridors in the off peak. (Knowles, 1999)

Similar studies have been undertaken in the United States for example the highly cited paper by Cervero and Landis (1997) gives examples of various statistical correlations that were undertaken in an attempt to assess the long-term impacts of the San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system. The Authors identified that population changes and employment changes over a twenty year period were compared in BART-served and non-BART served districts. Land-use trends pre-Bart, early-Bart and recent-BART were investigated around 25 of the BART stations. Another technique, known as ‘matched-pair’ analysis was carried out in order to compare development and land use changes around BART stations and access points to nearby freeways. The chief matching criterion was that the respective station and freeway

interchange should be within 1 to 2½ miles of each other. The paper contains other interesting statistical correlations.

Cervero and Landis (1997) drew attention to the fact such a 'matched-pair' analysis does not take account of other factors such as differences in zoning, the amount of vacant and buildable land, crime rates and so on. This important reservation also applies to most of the others correlations described in the paper. In order to handle cases where a number of factors are believed to influence the outcome, the authors recommended more complex forms of statistical analysis. In the broadest possible terms such analyses use 'multivariate' statistical techniques and correlations are sought between the various factors to identify those that are statistically significant. They describe two such 'multivariate' analyses to study the factors that influenced land-use changes around the BART stations. The first analysis made use of a 'logit model' to predict the likelihood of land-use conversion and the second analysis used statistical regression models to estimate the rate of building construction during the post-BART era. For the first analysis, two primary data inputs were: a region-wide 1990 digital inventory of 24 dominant land uses for hectare grid cells; and estimates of dominant land uses near BART stations in 1965 made from aerial photographs. Overall this analysis identified the following three variables that have influenced land-use changes in station areas and over which local officials maintain some control: (1) The proximity of BART; (2) the amount of available developable land and (3) the levels of mixed land use in the area. It could be argued that these conclusions could be reached intuitively but it is useful to have statistical confirmation.

The second type of model described by Cervero and Landis (1997) used multiple regression statistical techniques to assess those factors that determine the rate and type of building growth in the catchments of the 25 BART stations. It is interesting to note that many policy-related

factors that some analysts had postulated as being important did not emerge from the analysis as being statistically significant predictors of building growth.

The Cervero and Landis (1997) study finally concludes that benefits of BART are most evident in highly accessible, non-residential areas where a variety of other influences are also present, and this is related to a strong regional vision about the desired urban form along with adequate political conditions to support and foster public transport policies (Dorantes, 2010).

Another interesting example of multivariate analysis is given by Cervero and Landis (1989) who sought to identify what factors were most closely associated with the residential location choices of suburban workers. To test the intuitive hypothesis that *availability of affordable housing is a major factor in determining the separation of dwelling location and employment location*, they carried out a multivariate statistical analysis on census data from the San Francisco Bay area. Of 33 variables relating to housing, demographic, and zoning characteristics of residence and workplace zones only a few proved statistically significant. The analysis confirmed that the cost and availability of housing, together with travel time to work, are among the most important factors that have shaped the residential location choices of suburban workers in the Bay area.

3.3.1 Hedonic Pricing Models

At this stage it is worth noting that according to Banister, '*hedonic pricing (HP) is the generally preferred approach adopted to identify and isolate the property market effects*' (Banister, 2005). Therefore, the method is commonly used in real estate appraisal. The three characteristics that are frequently used are Structural, Neighbourhood and Environmental, because properties vary enormously from one to the other, each characteristic will have numerous components (or variables). Thus the components (variables) making up the structural characteristics of a property

could include size of house, number of rooms, detached, semi or town, etc, etc. Similarly Neighbourhood Characteristics could include locality, quality of roads and distance from various amenities. A variety of components also make up Environmental Characteristics.

Given enough data on market values in a given locality it is possible to carry out an analysis of these data (using multivariate regression) to deduce a relative economic value of each of the variables.

Various forms of hedonic pricing models are now widely used for the assessment of the impacts of transport infrastructure on economic value. For example the study conducted by Du and Mulley (2006) highlights the frequent use of hedonic price models, they explain that it is notable that the latest studies are applying hedonic price models to sub-categories of housing markets or seek to find alternatives to cope with the awareness of a variation that exists in the property market (Du and Mulley, 2006). The RICS report also states that hedonic pricing models are one of the methods that have been extensively used to distinguish transport impact from local changes: see Cervero & Duncan (2002), Gibbons & Machin (2004), Kawamura & Mahawan (2005), Banister (2005) to name but a few (RICS, 2002).

In recent years a variety of more sophisticated hedonic modelling techniques have been proposed. For example, Banister (2005) expressed the view that, for a technique that is adopted to unravel a manifestly spatial process, a hedonic model employing standard multivariate techniques will not handle spatial data effectively. In a paper on quantification of non- transport benefits resulting from rail investment, Banister recommends the use Geographically Weighted Regression (GWR) within the hedonic framework. He explains that GWR is the statistical method of describing the relationship between a subject and one or more variables affecting it

according to their geographical proximity. Thus, rather than trying to fit a single global model, GWR produces multiple local results. He concludes:

“It appears that the use of hedonic pricing methods, together with geographically weighted regression, provides a powerful approach that can isolate small-scale localised changes in the property market. In addition, the approach can follow the changing contribution through time, from before the opening of the schemes to the longer term effects (2 years after opening), so that the changing market conditions (both rising and falling) can be included.”

His overall conclusion to his paper is:

The clear conclusion is that there are methods available to measure the impact of public transport investment on property values, but that successful application depends on quality data at the individual property level being available.”

Banister’s view reflects the position of numerous other authors who have attempted to employ quantitative statistical methods for evaluating the economic benefits of transport infrastructure, stressing the absolute necessity of huge data bases of relevant data covering a long time scale in order to identify a relationship between transport infrastructure investment and economic uplift in the areas served by the new infrastructures. This has proved to be one of the key limitations of past studies, however there are other issues which more fundamentally question the appropriateness of using a quantitative approach, as described in the next Section.

3.3.2 The Limitations of Economic Impact Studies and Supporting Evidence for Adopting a Case Study Method

Jones and Lucas (1998) identify a number of problems faced by public transport impact studies that can limit their value. For example economic conditions today differ from those in the 1980s and control areas may be difficult to match well enough to provide reliable control data. It will also be noted that the various studies in this field mainly focus on the economic impacts.

Reference is also made to the work of the Transport and Road Research Laboratory (1982)

which suggests that poorly matched control areas make it difficult to attribute causality and bring into question the reliability, adequacy and accuracy of the control method for confirming the nature and direction of causality (see also Nelson & Sanchez, 1997).

Glen Weisbrod et al (2007) found there was a mismatch between research on wider economic benefits and policy maker's needs. The level at which effects are measured and the tools that are used renders the research difficult to replicate and is therefore not transferable. This reflects a preoccupation with pure research interests and there seems to be no strong correspondence between research and practical applications available to decision makers. The mismatch carries some risks. First, research may be misused when it is taken out of context. Second, interest groups, in particular from the business community, become increasingly dissatisfied with economic appraisals because they ignore wider issues of core interest to them.

The above views are in line with the findings of the Round Table (2007: p11) who, after investigating recent research on direct and wider economic impacts of investment in transport infrastructure, suggested strongly that standard cost benefit analysis does not capture many of the effects of central concern to interest groups and policy makers. In particular there is a lack of attention from research at a micro level involving the various stakeholders and their connection to transport infrastructure. The paper found that in contrast business-led studies have adopted a case study approach where the wider issues can take centre stage.

The BART study described by Cervero and Landis (1989) can be used as an example of the limitations of such quantitative analysis. While the study provides valuable quantitative confirmation of the displacing effects of high housing costs on workers, it is relevant to note that, apart from the cost of housing and travel time to work, the reasons for choosing a particular

location to live in cannot be deduced from the statistics. To gain that sort of information, which could be of equal if not greater interest to developers and planners, would require a more qualitative case study involving direct contact with individual workers in particular areas. It is also of interest to note that Banister (2005), when presenting a methodology for analysing property values and public transport investment, stressed that the methodology included a far more qualitative interpretation of the output by means of interviews on an individual basis or through small-scale focus groups.

There is a need for research in the broader aspects of the impact of transport infrastructure. Beder (1998) argues that engineering is a social activity with political, ethical and economic dimensions. Human aspects and the relationship between people and infrastructure are important elements of the challenges faced, particularly those in sustainability, resilience and monitoring; they cannot be ignored in research (EPSRC Review of Ground and Structural Engineering, 2009). The need to understand and address such aspects in research may require the use of less traditional techniques in addition to the experimental approach (Fellow and Liu, 1997: pp78-79).

Particularly pertinent to this thesis, Jones & Lucas (1998) suggest that a more qualitative approach is needed if the process leading to increases in economic and land use activity and the relationship between these and new transport infrastructure are to be more fully comprehended.

Therefore the Jubilee Line Extension (JLE) completed in 1999, provided an opportunity to observe the impact of a new transport system – the first new major transport system in London to be completed in the last 20 years. A comprehensive set of interactive surveys were designed to measure and evaluate the transport, environmental, social and economic impacts of the Line,

(Jones et al, 2004). The study aimed to analyse the conditions before and after the infrastructure was built. The specific goals of the study were :

- To understand how the extension has affected London
- To improve the appraisal and forecasting techniques (Wolfenden, 1998a)

The Agents of Change Survey, one of the sixteen surveys and studies that comprised the JLE Impact Study, is of particular relevance to the research in this thesis. This survey provided a summary of a range of organisations and individuals who were potentially, ‘agents of change’, who might have had an impact on the JLE project itself. In particular, the survey was aimed at providing an insight into the cause of change in the JLE corridor. Participants in the survey were targeted because of their individual experience or because they represented different types of organisations (Grosvenor, 1999).

In summary, whilst quantitative techniques offer useful insights on the impacts of transport infrastructure, they primarily focus on the economic impact. This thesis is considering the impact transport infrastructure has on the community and the various stakeholders involved. Although there is some correlation with the Agents of Change Survey in that it is aimed at providing an insight into the cause of change, this research also aims to understand what factors contribute to a sense of belonging and identity. What is it about a place that makes people want to live there and take ownership for it? Therefore, it is important to choose a methodology that will be enable an understanding to be gained of the importance of place and a holistic understanding of real-life events such as neighbourhood change.

For these reasons, the author has chosen to adopt an in-depth qualitative case study approach. This decision is supported by the findings of the Royal Institute of Chartered

Surveyors (RICS) review on the topic of land value and public transport (RICS, 2002). The review located about 150 references on the topic of land use and public transport. As previously mentioned much of the analytical and empirical research came from the U.S. and Canada. The documents included original research and data collection, as well as reviews of methods, case studies and reviews. An in depth analysis was conducted on 18 selected references. It is concluded that the expected effect on both residential and commercial property is positive but the range of impacts is variable. In the UK the impact is seen as positive, particularly regarding the capital uplift in residential property values. However, the study showed that there had been less emphasis on exact values and some of the observed uplift may be due to the optimism of the markets rather than actual effects. The report suggested a greater depth of investigation is needed that looks at data definitions, methods and actual cases to unravel what effects can be attributed to the transport investment.

3.4 Chosen Methodology: *Qualitative Research – The Case Study Approach*

After studying several definitions of “Case Study Approach” the author has defined the method appropriate for this research as:

A careful study of some social unit, such as a community or geographic locality, that attempts to determine what factors give rise to its success or failure.

The methodology chosen for the fieldwork element of the research was by means of case studies which focused particularly on the factors that influence developers to commit to develop a site. Adopting a qualitative approach through case studies also enables an understanding to be gained of the importance of place: its context, culture and particularity. It can therefore delve into issues in detail but at the same time case study research is flexible.

The concept of the *Power of Place* is a central theme running through this thesis. The qualitative approach used involves site visits in order to find out what is happening in an area physically. At the same time it provides an opportunity to engage with stakeholders, thus cross referencing data with observational facts. There is also the possibility to seek new insights and validate contentious assertions.

The qualitative approach to the research subject, 'The Impact of Road and Rail Infrastructure on the Development on Urban Communities,' enabled the subject to be explored through interviews discussions and reviews. As a large proportion of the original data gathered for the research is from transcribed interviews, it was decided that an appropriate methodological approach would be to use 'Content Analysis' which involves examining the textual content of the transcriptions (see Section 3.5.6 for a more detailed description).

Case studies usually investigate *contemporary phenomena* in human society (Yin 1994a). Instead of creating a controlled environment as experimental research does, a case study probes into events that happen in natural settings. Therefore, adopting the case study method allows the research to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events such as neighbourhood change which relies on multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2003). The method also allows broad investigation of the subject.

The use of case studies in research must be separated from: the case study approach adopted in teaching, as pioneered by the Harvard Business School (Yin, 1994: p2, Easton, 1982: p2); the case study approaches used by management consultants for initiating change (Gummesson, 1988: pp1-23) and case studies used for record keeping such as in a medical context. Yin (1994: p.3) notes that:

“A common misconception is that the various research strategies should be arrayed hierarchically. Many social scientists still deeply believe that case studies are only appropriate for the explorative phase of an investigation, that surveys and histories are appropriate for the descriptive phase and that experiments are the only way of doing explanatory or causal inquiries ... This hierarchical view, however, may be questioned ... case studies are far from being only an exploratory strategy. Some of the best and most famous case studies have been both explanatory ... and descriptive” (Yin, 1994: p3).

3.4.1 Historical Background

Understanding the history of the area to be developed is a fundamental part of the research - it allows comparisons to be drawn between the different case studies and over time it may be possible to ascertain the causal links between the different impacts on land use and land use values and whether these impacts are related, wholly or in part, to the introduction of new transport infrastructure. The history of the area being studied also helps to reveal an understanding of the long term impacts of transport infrastructure on the local communities. Another important aspect to this research is understanding the communities relationship to the cultural heritage of the area for as explained in the literature review the preservation of heritage not only contributes to the state of health of the built environment but also crucially to community and cultural identity and helps ‘to define the character of a place’” (*Renewal.net*, 2005). That the built heritage conveys different meanings to different groups of people and that these meanings are likely to be important in the future growth of towns and cities and so need to be considered part of sustainable development.

It is interesting to note that Banister & Hall suggest that a clearer understanding of the role of the private and public sectors, the impacts of the infrastructure investment and the scale and nature of the benefits, including their distribution would be helpful in devising ways of funding

investment but: *“this may require an evaluation by historians and not social scientists”*
(Banister & Hall, 1995: p284).

3.5 Theoretical background to the chosen Methodology

The following section discusses the theory behind the qualitative case study method.

3.5.1 *Qualitative and Quantitative Research and their Strengths and Weaknesses*

It has been explained that a qualitative approach is considered the most appropriate for this research. However, it is also important to understand the various strengths and weaknesses of the different methodologies.

Qualitative and quantitative research are differentiated on the basis of data types employed: quantitative data is expressed numerically whereas qualitative data (sometimes designated as *textual* to avoid confusions with concepts of excellence (Tesch, 1990: p3) cannot be expressed numerically or analysed statistically (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: p10-11). Some authors even differentiate on the basis of philosophical or methodological approach, for example Fellow and Liu (1997: p8) explain:

“Quantitative approaches adopt the ‘scientific method’ in which initial study of theory and literature yields precise aims and objectives with hypotheses to be tested ... In qualitative research, an explanation of the subject is undertaken without prior formulations - the object is to gain understanding and collect information and data such that theories will emerge”.

Typically the random sample survey produces quantifiable data that can be statistically analysed with the main aim of measuring aggregating, modelling and predicting behaviour and relations. Contextual methods in contrast are applied to a specific locality, case or social setting and

sacrifice breadth of population coverage and statistical generalisations in order to explore issues in depth (Booth et al, 1998). Contextual research includes ethnographic techniques such as participant observation, interviews and participatory tools that are often group based and visual. Using open-ended questions these methods are designed to capture judgements and perceptions and allow complex analysis of often non-quantifiable cause and effect processes (Gabarino and Holland, 2009).

According to Patton (2002: p14), the qualitative approach to the research subject ‘The Impact of Road and Rail Infrastructure on the Development on Urban Communities’ enabled the subject to be explored through interviews, discussions and reviews:

“Qualitative methods facilitate study of issues in depth and detail. Approaching fieldwork without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis contributes to the depth, openness, and detail of qualitative inquiry. Quantitative methods, on the other hand, require the use of standardized measures so that the varying perspectives and experiences of people can fit into a limited number predetermined response categories to which numbers are assigned” (Patton, 2002: p14).

3.5.2 The strengths and weaknesses of qualitative case study research

Many of the strengths and weaknesses that apply to qualitative research in general also apply to qualitative case study research. However, in particular the case study is flexible, researchers can select a topic and decide on its boundaries; depending on the extent of their research topic (Robson, 1993; Miles and Huberman, 1994). The procedure of data collection is also flexible because there is no end fixed point in data collection. A case study can be conducted as an independent study or as an element in a large-scale research design (Simone, 1996). The

credibility of qualitative case studies has been challenged by researchers who view reality from the perspective of positivistic philosophy.

Problems of reliability and validity are often used as criticisms of case study research. Yin (1984) regards the problem of reliability and validity in case study as generating from a lack of a sufficiently operational set of measures which will be pointed out in Section 3.5.5 on data analysis.

The feasibility of case study research also involves some technical issues. Yin (1994) points out that one of the frequent complaints about case study research concerns the amount of data. Researchers should make sure that the data are of a desirable analysable quantity.

Yin (1994:p102) regards analysis as “one of the least developed and most difficult aspects of doing case studies “. There is no set procedure for analysing data in case studies. Very often analysis takes place at the same time as data collection (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Since the procedure can be repeated and modified, it may seem as if there is no plan for the research and this may be perceived as a lack of rigour.

There is also criticism that pure qualitative studies do not apply scientific techniques in the research design, so the outcome of the research may appear too subjective. Stenhouse (1976) argues that since subjectivity in various aspects of the research is unavoidable, researchers should try to manage subjectivity in a discernible manner. In other words, researchers should present rich description of the case from various aspects of the research and make the particularities of the case salient. This is in fact the strength of qualitative research and enables a rich knowledge of the context in which the case takes place.

3.5.3 Qualitative Data Collection

The process of data collection, data validation and reflective theory building is critical in a qualitative study “the process of theory building depends on the adequacy of the study as a whole, rather than solely on the quality of the analysis: no amount of sophistication can compensate if the right people were not asked the right questions in the right way” (Fisher, 1997: p93).

For the purposes of this research data collection was by means of:

1. Reviews of secondary documentation (journal and newspaper articles);
2. Unstructured, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and key members of the project teams;
3. Focus Groups with stakeholders and key members of the project teams.

Details of the data collection are provided within the field work section of each case study.

Stake (1995: p64) notes that:

“Much of what we cannot observe for ourselves has been or is being observed by others. Two principal uses of case study are to obtain the descriptions and interpretations of others. The case will not be seen the same by everyone. Qualitative researchers take pride in discovering and portraying the multiple views of the case. The interview is the main road to multiple realities”.

Interviews are generally designated as structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Robson, 2002: p229) with the latter two types sometimes grouped together and designated qualitative interviews (Bryman, 2001: p313). On the one extreme is the structured interview, where interviewees are asked the same questions in the same order. The other extreme is unstructured interviews where interviewees are not directed, but are free to talk about anything. Unstructured

interviews, sometimes referred to by Robson as informal interviews, are times when the researcher, “... *takes an opportunity that arises to have a (usually short) chat with someone in the research setting about anything which seems relevant*” (Robson, 2002: p.282). In semi-structured interviews the researcher uses an interview guide in the form of a list of questions, themes to explore, or specific topics to be covered, but these are flexible (Bryman, 2001, p.314). The interviewer can seek clarification and /or elaboration and may enter into a dialogue with the interviewee (May, 2001: p121).

3.5.4 Focus Groups

Focus groups are a method of data collection, often associated with qualitative research, in which a group of respondents (generally numbering 6-12) are guided through discussion by a moderator in the hope that group interaction will stimulate comments that may not otherwise be elicited. The advantage of focus groups is that they allow interviewers to study people in a more natural setting than a one-to-one interview. Participants are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes which in turn can raise unexpected issues for exploration.

Group discussion produces data and insights that would be less accessible without interaction found in a group setting—listening to others’ verbalized experiences stimulates memories, ideas, and experiences in participants. This is also known as the group effect where group members engage in “*a kind of ‘chaining’ or ‘cascading’ effect; talk links to, or tumbles out of, the topics and expressions preceding it*” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002: p182).

However, focus groups also have disadvantages as the researcher or moderator has less control over the data produced (Morgan, 1988) than in quantitative studies or one-to-one interviewing. The researcher or moderator has to allow participants to talk to each other, ask questions and

express doubts and opinions while having very little control over the interaction other than generally keeping participants on the topic. Thus time can be lost on issues irrelevant to the topic and by its nature focus group research is open ended and cannot be entirely predetermined. The data are difficult to analyze because the talking is in reaction to the comments of other group members; observers/moderators need to be highly trained, and groups are quite variable. It can be very difficult to find people who will be prepared participate and the logistics can be difficult and time consuming to organise. Moreover, the number of members of a focus group is not large enough to be a representative sample of a population; thus, the data obtained from the groups is not necessarily representative of the whole population, unlike the data of opinion polls

3.5.5 Data Analysis

The analysis of data collected from a case study approach has to be carried out with rigour.

Fellows and Liu (1997: p.19) point out that:

“In qualitative research the belief, understanding, opinions, views etc. of people are investigated - the data gathered may be unstructured, at least in their ‘raw’ form, but will tend to be detailed, and hence ‘rich’ in content and scope. Consequently, the objectivity of qualitative data often is questioned, especially by people with a background in the scientific, quantitative tradition” (Fellows and Liu, 1997: p19).

3.5.6 Textual/Content analysis

Content Analysis is one of the recognised methods used in the social sciences for analysing qualitative research by studying the content of communications. It is most commonly used by researchers in the social sciences to analyse recorded transcripts and interviews with participants. It is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content

categories based on explicit rules of coding (Berelson, 1952; GAO, 1996; Krippendorff, 1980; and Weber, 1990). Holsti (1969) offers a broad definition of content analysis as, "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages". It can be a useful technique for allowing the researcher to discover and describe the focus of individual, group, institutional, or social attention (Weber, 1990).

Perhaps the most common notion in qualitative research is that a content analysis simply means doing a word-frequency count. The assumption made is that the words that are mentioned most often are the words that reflect the greatest concerns. While this may be true in some cases, there are several counterpoints to consider when using simple word frequency counts to make inferences about matters of importance and the technique extends far beyond simple word frequency counts. What makes the technique particularly rich and meaningful is its reliance on coding and categorizing of the data. The categorizing can be summed up in these quotes: "*A category is a group of words with similar meaning or connotations*" and "*Categories must be mutually exclusive and exhaustive*" (Weber, 1990: p37).

In the 1960s the content analysis method was adapted by Glaser and is referred to as "The Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis" in an article published in 1964-65. Glaser and Strauss (1967) refer to their adaption of the method as 'Grounded Theory'. The approach involves a systematic method called comparative analysis in which descriptive data are coded and organised into conceptual categories. By comparing where the facts are similar or different, the comparison brings out the distinctive elements or nature of the case studied (Glaser & Strauss 1967: pp24 - 25). In a revised version of the grounded theory method Strauss and Corbin (1998: p12) explain:

“A researcher does not begin a project with a pre-conceived theory in mind... Rather, the researcher begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data. Theory derived from data is more likely to resemble the ‘reality’ than is theory derived by putting together a series of concepts based on experience or solely through speculation (how one thinks things ought to work)”.

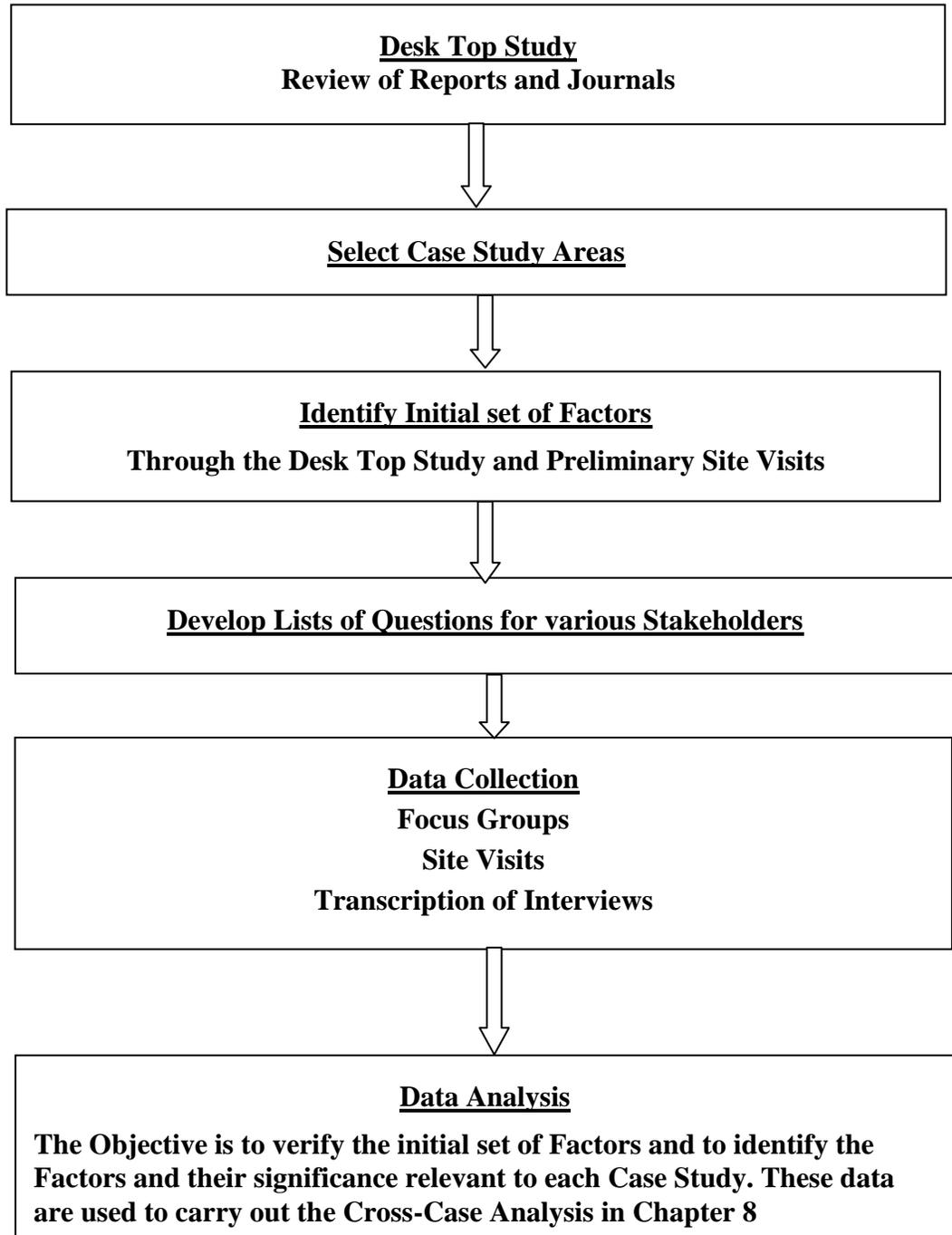
It was mentioned earlier that content analysis is most commonly used by researchers in the social sciences to analyze recorded transcripts and interviews with participants. The Researcher has adapted the content analysis method to analyze the factors or variables that leads to the resulting impact of transport infrastructure. The details of the method are described in Section 3.7.

3.6 Implementing the Methodology

It is important that the research questions are processed well and the limitations of the research are well recognised. Figure 3.1 shows a flow chart which summarises the steps that have been followed in implementing the case study approach to the research. It follows a logical sequence in which the choice of Case Study sites is made after a Desk Top Study. This is followed by a detailed desk study and preliminary site visit in order to identify an initial set of ‘Factors’ that are felt to be important. It is then possible to develop a list of questions to be put to the various stakeholders. Data collection is undertaken by means of Interviews and their transcription, Focus Groups and Site Visits. Data is analysed by the use of contextual analysis.

Figure 3.1

Flow Chart showing the steps in implementing the Methodology



3.6.1 Case Studies Selected

The case study areas were chosen for the reason that they represent:

1. Examples of regeneration projects which involve new transport infrastructure and an opportunity to observe the impact the development has on land value especially in a property market down-turn.
2. Examples of public and private partnerships and an opportunity to observe the role of transport in underpinning the case for public policy intervention – who derives the greatest benefit and who may be excluded.
3. The aim to improve connectivity and accessibility and an illustration of the impact that enhanced infrastructure has on the local community.
4. Samples of developments either arising from/needing new transport enhancement – the Fastrack busway is used as an example.
5. An opportunity to draw parallels with the Jubilee Line Extension and its impact.

The details of the three chosen case study areas are given in Table 3.1. Each case study provides an opportunity to observe the development of the scheme within a framework of the current planning policies. An investigation of the current workings of the planning system and the policies influencing individual case studies formed part of the research. The chosen case study areas fall under different government policy and funding policy agreements. They examine a range of development area size and impact as well as different modal types as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Details of the Case Study Areas

Case Study Area	Transport infrastructure	Nature of Development	Principal Financing
Dalston Junction	Extension to the East London Line	The site comprises an area of 1.07 hectares The Dalston Junction Interchange (DJI) and Oversight above the station development comprises a Raft over the railway to accommodate a railway station entrance, 309 new residential units, 3,000 m ² of commercial space, bus stands and bus stops. In conjunction with the development of a site immediately to the east owned by LB Hackney (known as Dalston Lane South) it will also provide some 4,900 m ² of new Public Realm and a new Library.	£40m more than the cost of the base scheme of a station in open cutting. £10m from TfL major projects, 10m from the ODPM's Communities Infrastructure Fund (CIF), LDA were to provide the balance to develop the site from a combination of themselves and the developer Barratt's who won the option to develop in open tender.
The Bridge Kent Thameside	Fastrack Rapid transit bus service	The development area of 28 sq. miles involves the communities of Dartford, Stone, Greenhithe, Knockhill, Northfleet and Gravesend – plus tracts of underused or vacant land between these communities. The regeneration target is 30,000 new homes and 50,000 new jobs	Fastrack Financed by developers under S106 agreements and Dartford Borough Council.
Rainham Essex	Enhancement to TfL Bus service	The redevelopment of the Mardyke Housing Estate 4.91 hectares	£80,000 from Homes and Communities Agency

3.6.2 Identifying initial set of factors

A number of preliminary factors were identified in the literature review (see Table 2.2) as being important components for achieving communities that are sustainable for all. These factors have been inserted into Table 3.2 for the purpose of analysis within each case study. Those factors in italics are connected to the factor immediately above shown in bold.

Table 3.2 Key findings of Case study: Within-Case Analysis

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Components of Sustainable Communities			
Accessibility/Connectivity			
<i>Affordable Housing</i>			
<i>Schools/ Further education</i>			
<i>Job retraining schemes</i>			
<i>Employment</i>			
<i>Health care</i>			
<i>Shopping</i>			
<i>Leisure facilities</i>			
Good place to live			
<i>Safe and Clean</i>			
<i>Green space</i>			
<i>Diverse Community</i>			
Political/Policy factors			
<i>Working in Partnership</i>			
<i>Strong Local Leadership</i>			
<i>Financial Backing</i>			
Power of Place			
<i>Cultural Heritage/ Local distinctiveness/Design Local History/knowledge</i>			
<i>Consultation/ownership</i>			

Key: In particular the table identifies **red = Fixed Factors**; **blue = External Factors**

3.6.3 Interviews with Stakeholders

It was considered that semi-structured interviews were most appropriate for this study. Although there were occasions when it was considered that the interviewee would perhaps feel more relaxed if the interview were of an unstructured approach.

These semi-structured interviews were carried out with representative stakeholders i.e. **developers, members of the local community, transport planners and local authority officials** to identify who derives the greatest benefits from the introduction of new transport infrastructure and who may be excluded from such benefits. Table 3.2 is divided so that there is a column for each stakeholder group, in this way it is possible to identify the significant importance of the factor to the different stakeholder groups.

The purpose of the interviews was to evaluate the information collected against the key issues central to the research and the factors that had an influence on those issues. The factors were derived, in the first stage, from desk top research.

The following are the issues that were explored:

1. The factors that influence the choices of developers, land owners and potential users of the development.
2. The factors that contribute to the impacts on the local community of the extended infrastructure.
3. The factors that give rise to benefit and dis-benefits for the local community due to the provision of transport infrastructure.
4. The factors that are needed to ensure that transport providers deliver maximum benefit to new and existing local community and encourage 'ownership'.

5. The factors that influence the image that residents, users and agents of change (e.g. planners, developers) have of an area.
6. The factors that influence the state of the environment – noise, smell, pollution, crime etc.

The time and effort taken to collect data from stakeholders must not be underestimated. The first stage in each case study is to find a balanced cross section of people in the above mentioned categories that are prepared to give their time. A portable tape recorder was used to record the interviews which sometimes took over two hours. The interviews were transcribed and returned to the interviewee/informant for verification and they were then invited to make alterations to the text. The transcriptions then went through an iterative process until the transcripts were suitable for contextual analysis. The interviews often produce a large amount of data and it is important to select the material that is most relevant. At this stage of the analysis process some researchers use a computer programme for the coding process to identify words of potential interest. However, as explained earlier the researcher has adapted the content analysis method to analyse the factors or variables that leads to the resulting impact of transport infrastructure. Computer programmes are not always able to discern the subtle nuances essential for this research. The researcher prefers to code manually by using different coloured marks in the margin – a different mark for each factor. The analysis of each case study is transferred to the table (see Table 3.3) where the Cross-Case analysis of the four case studies takes place in Chapter 8.

3.6.4 Respondents interviewed

The following four categories of respondent were interviewed:

1. Representatives from the local community in areas selected (Figure 3.2)

2. Decision makers in the property field namely, Developers, Estate Agents. Local Businesses (Figure 3.3)
3. Local authority officials namely, planners (Figure 3.4)
4. Transport providers (Figure 3.4)

The boxes below identify the lists of questions were asked of each group of stakeholders.

Fig 3.2: Questions for local community representatives :

1. Was sufficient information given about the proposed transport enhancement and related development in the area?
2. Was such information easily accessible?
3. Did the consultation process allow you to voice your opinion?
4. How would you expect the proposed transport enhancement affect you?
 - a) Will you use it to travel to work, shopping or other activities?
 - b) Will you use it in place of other forms of transport (such as buses) or to make new journeys?
5. How would you expect the proposed transport enhancement to affect the area as a whole?
 - a) Will it bring more jobs and activity into the area?
 - b) What other benefits or costs might arise for the local community?
 - c) Would you expect it to affect house prices?
6. Was sufficient consideration given to the delivery of the new development and was it phased to minimise inconvenience to the local community?
7. What could have been done better?

Fig. 3.3 Questions for Developers

- 1. What are the main deciding factors which determine whether to develop a site?**
- 2. What influence has good accessibility/connectivity and new transport enhancements have on your decision to develop the area?**
- 3. Have you been involved in schemes where you have funded contributions/ partnerships between the public and private sector?**
- 4.a Funding Transport infrastructure**
- 4.b Affordable Housing**
- 5. How efficient/helpful do you find local authority officials in the planning department?**
 - a. Do you find local authority officials well informed with an understanding of the needs and interest of the local community**
- 6. Will you employ local labour when developing the site and if so what percentage?**
- 7. Will the new development provide employment for unskilled labour?**
- 8. Are there retraining schemes that will help local people access the new employment opportunities?**
- 9. Would issues of crime/personal security be a factor in some cases?**
- 10. What does local community participation mean to you and how important do you consider it to be?**
- 11. What does a sustainable community mean to you and how can developers help to achieve sustainable communities?**
- 12. How important is good design and a sense of place to the success of the development?**
- 13. What are your greatest challenges and specifically what is going to be the challenge with this development and in what way will the down turn in the property market affect this development?**

Fig 3.4 Questions for Local Authorities and Transport Providers

- 1. What influenced the decision making process?**
- 2. Was a SWOT analysis conducted and what was its outcome?**
- 3. What options were discussed?**
- 4. What were the perceived needs of the local community at the time of the discussions about the scheme?**
- 5. Has the enhanced transport infrastructure contributed to the success of land use development in the area and in what way?**
- 6. How was the transport infrastructure funded?**
- 7. Is further development in the area planned and if so will the existing transport be able to provide a service for that area? If not what further transport enhancement would be needed and how will it be funded?**
- 8. Does the new transport enhancement improve connectivity?**
- 9. What do feel has been the greatest achievement of this development?**
- 10. What were the challenges?**
- 11. What lessons have been learnt and what with that magical quality of hind sight would you do better or not do at all?**
- 12. How could or could the service be improved or are other service needed to make sure, using the ODPMs criteria, that the development supports a sustainable community?**

ODPM (2004) define Sustainable Communities as:

Places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all.

3.6.5 Focus groups

In addition to interviews, focus groups were conducted within each study area. The focus groups were guided by the author who took the role of moderator. The questions/topic guides listed in Appendix A were used to control the discussion in order to ensure that it met the initial research objectives.

The following questions were asked of the focus group within each case study in order to ascertain their perception of a good place to live and how they thought it could be achieved. Summaries of the key factors emerge from each question.

Questions for Focus Groups

Q1 *What are the components of a good place to live?*

Q2 *What could have been done better and how could the new transport links and the new development have better benefitted the community?*

Q3 *What improvements/additions need to be put in place to make sure that all members of the community benefit from the new transport infrastructure?*

Q4 *How can a sense of belonging/identity be achieved?* The objective of this question was to elicit discussion on those factors that make up *Power of Place*.

3.7 Analytical process

3.7.1 Testing theories

Glaser and Strauss (1967) state that “*Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the*

data during the course of research". The following theories for further investigation have emerged from the interviews and case studies.

The central theory to be explored in this research is that: **the provision of transport infrastructure can influence the choices that developers, land owners and potential users make on land use.**

A secondary and related theory that was explored is that: **transport infrastructure is necessary but not sufficient on its own to ensure that all members of the community benefit.**

These theories were examined with respect to different types of development by means of the case studies. The studies focused especially on the decision making processes of developers and their interaction with transport providers particularly in the light of the down turn in the financial market.

It was important to further test and develop these early theories through the empirical research and the results of the Focus Groups and Interviews were used to examine the following research questions for each case study:

Q1. What are factors that might influence the developer's decisions to develop?

Q2. Who derives the greatest benefit and least benefit from the introduction of new transport infrastructure and are there any disbenefits?

Q3. What factors are needed to enable all members of the community benefit from new transport infrastructure?

It was intended that the case study analysis (see Table 3.2) would provide answers to Question 3.

3.7.2 Within-Case Analysis

Within-case analyses were carried out by the using the data from Interviews and Focus Groups. In order to answer Question 3 “What factors are needed to enable all members of the community benefit from new transport infrastructure?” the analysis of the case studies was used to identified those factors that are important in determining the success or otherwise of a given development. At the same time the analysis was intended to separately highlight those factors that are important to the various stakeholders (see Table 3.2).

Within each case study there is a summary of the responses to each of the questions asked as well as a list of the key factors identified as important to the different group of stakeholders. A complete summary of the data is given in an Appendix to each chapter.

After the process of contextual analysis the factors that are important to the different group of stakeholders are revealed and shown as dots in the stakeholders’ column; the number of dots denotes the number of times that factor was cited as important to that group of stakeholders. It is inevitable that there may be a level of subjectivity in the process but this is more than compensated by the richness of data that is revealed. Ultimately the researcher’s interpretation is based on her experience and knowledge of the case study.

The process is as follows:

- Identify the factors using the preliminary list of factors identified in Chapter 2 as an aide-mémoire, see Table 2.2.
- Using Table 3.2, identify the importance of each factor to the different group of stakeholders.

In summary the criteria used for evaluating the data given in Table 3.2 for each case study were (i) the identification of individual factors by respondents either directly or by implication, (ii) the results of the contextual analysis leading to the emphasis placed on a factor by a respondent and (iii) the researcher's knowledge of the particular case leading to the application of her judgement on the relative importance of individual factors.

It is very important to note that the respondents in each case study area were asked exactly the same questions. However, the answers in each case study varied and focused on the particular issues of concern to the stakeholders in each area.

3.7.3 Cross-Case Analysis

The cross case analysis was carried out by comparing the various factors, stakeholders and case studies in a combined Table 3.3. The Jubilee line extension study was used as a comparator. The theory was then further developed, re-tested and refined by considering it alongside comparator data.

Table 3.3 Key findings of Cross-Case Analysis

Factor/Driver	Dalston Junction			Kent Thameside			Rainham		
	L.C	D	T.P.	L.C.	D	T.P.	L.C.	D	T.P.
Components of Sustainable Communities									
Accessibility/Connectivity									
<i>Affordable Housing</i>									
<i>Schools/ Further education</i>									
<i>Job retraining schemes</i>									
<i>Employment</i>									
<i>Health care</i>									
<i>Shopping</i>									
<i>Leisure facilities</i>									
Good place to live									
<i>Safe and Clean</i>									
<i>Green space</i>									
<i>Diverse Community</i>									
Political/Policy factors									
<i>Working in Partnership</i>									
<i>Strong Local Leadership</i>									
<i>Financial Backing</i>									
Power of Place									
<i>Cultural Heritage/ Local distinctiveness/Design Local History/knowledge</i>									
<i>Consultation/ownership</i>									

Key: L.C. = Local Community; D. = Developers'; T.P. = Transport Providers and Local Authorities

Red = Fixed Factors; Blue= External Factors

3.8 Factors and Variables

A key objective of the analysis was to identify those factors that are important in determining the success or otherwise of a given development i.e. the factors that make the difference. To do this it is essential to distinguish between those factors that can be controlled and those that cannot easily be controlled. In order to approach the analysis in a consistent and rigorous manner the following definitions have been adopted.

3.8.1 Definitions

A Factor: “A Circumstance that contributes to a result”

A Variable Factor: “A factor which may change or be changed”

We need to consider the influence of factors for **a given development**.

1. **Fixed Factors:** Some factors will be fixed and cannot be changed for a given development. We can call them fixed factors. An example of a fixed factor would be the historical context of an area being considered for development. Understanding the historical context may be of outstanding importance but it cannot be changed. It would be worth considering whether there are other examples of fixed factors. Perhaps the geography, the present demography and possibly others.
2. **External Factors:** Some factors may vary in a way that cannot be realistically controlled for a given development. We could call them external factors. Once again they may be of great importance to the success or otherwise of a development. External factors might include outside economic factors such as interest rates, changes in Government economic policy, the price of land etc. Perhaps external factors need to be regarded as “risks” and assessed as such. It is important to recognise them and perhaps build in a way of allowing for them.

3. **Controllable Factors:** Some factors are capable of being controlled by the various parties involved for better or for worse. We can call these controllable factors. It would seem to be very important to identify the key controllable factors.

In Tables 3.2 and 3.3 the Fixed Factors are shown in red and the External Factors are shown in blue.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSPORT AND LAND USE POLICIES WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANARY WHARF

4.1 Introduction

As noted in the previous chapter the Jubilee Line Extension (JLE) was completed in 1999 thus providing an opportunity to observe in detail the impact of a new transport system. Comprehensive study surveys were conducted by the University of Westminster Jubilee Line Impact Study to measure and evaluate the transport, environmental, social and economic impacts of the line (Jones et al, 2004). The study reports were completed in 2004 using data collected up to 2001, which was only two years after the JLE came into operation and so could not capture the longer-term impacts of the investment.

The JLE has now been running for eleven years, the author considered that data from this study (see 3.3.2), could provide an opportunity to develop Canary Wharf as a historical comparator for discussing the impact of transport infrastructure on the following case studies; namely Dalston Junction, Kent Thameside and Rainham in Essex. This was considered useful because the case studies are at different stages of completion and so it was often difficult to physically capture or anticipate their economic impacts and the regeneration effects on the local community during the fieldwork stages of the research.

Using Canary Wharf as an historical comparator study has also helped to contextualize the influences of the various transport and land use policies during the period 1980 – 2010. The development of each case study and the Canary Wharf historical comparator study is considered within the wider context of the many and far-reaching changes which

have occurred in transport and planning policy over the past thirty years. As the author has argued within the methodology chapter of this thesis, this is considered a prerequisite for understanding the decision framework of users and providers of transport services.

This chapter is divided into two parts. *Part 1: Transport and Land Use Policies 1980 - 2010*, discusses the details of the transport/land use policies that have influenced the development of each of the three case studies, and the comparator – Canary Wharf. By looking at the related government policies it has been possible to consider to what extent the policies and political agenda influenced the regeneration strategies and ultimately the impact of the development on the communities in the areas under study. *Part 2*; describes the development of Canary Wharf, with reference to the transport and land use policies described in *Part 1*.

PART 1 TRANSPORT AND LAND USE POLICIES 1980 -2010

4.2 The Planning and Political Background to the Regeneration of Docklands

4.2.1 *The Thatcher Years*

The extent of the change brought about by the Conservative administration between 1979 and 1997 can scarcely be exaggerated. Planning was driven by a policy which favoured privatization and deregulation as a means of rolling back the frontiers of the state in order to secure the greater economic efficiency which could be delivered by a competitive market for transport as for other goods and services (Glaister et al,1998: p11).

Hall (1996: pp343-344) explains that the root cause was economic and that conventional land-use planning had flourished in the great boom of the 1950s and 1960s. He considered that this had perhaps been the greatest sustained period of growth the capitalist economy had ever known. The recession of the 1970s and 1980s was therefore bound to change the nature of the basic perceived problem with which planning had to deal, "*and thus to threaten its very legitimacy*". Hall explained that the recession hit the British economy with a force that exposed deep structural weaknesses: a large part of the country's manufacturing base disappeared bringing a loss of 2 million factory jobs between 1971 and 1981 alone. As a consequence a new geography emerged with a contrast between the decaying inner cities - which now included not only old problem cases like Glasgow and Liverpool but once proud seats of manufacture like London and Birmingham. "*Over a wide area of the country the call was no longer for the control and*

guidance of growth: it was for the generation of growth promoting activities by almost any means” (Hall, 1996: pp343-344).

Keith Joseph (1976a) indicated in his aptly titled booklet that: *Monetarism is Not Enough*. He pointed to the pressing need to generate a strong climate for entrepreneurship and risk-taking. He feared that ‘*monetary contraction in a mixed economy strangles the private sector unless the state sector contracts with it and reduces its take from the national income*’ (Joseph 1976a: p52). Thornley (1991: p37) observed that as a result we have a set of parallel policies promoting the free-market and cutting back on state economic interference and state expenditure. The strong climate for entrepreneurship advocated by Joseph can be compared to the views of supply-side economists. They see a need for the reduction of taxation and regulation in order to energise the market economy. Such views led to an emphasis on removing unnecessary bureaucratic constraints, such as planning regulations, and ensuring the right material conditions such as land and infrastructure.

4.2.2 The Philosophy that created Thatcherism

The following section explains the philosophy behind the various policies implemented during the Thatcher years. Most commentators on the Thatcher government accepted that its philosophy derived from a variety of sources (Thornley, 1991: p35). A typical description is that of Riddell (1983), who stated that Thatcherism was influenced by different, and very often conflicting, creeds ranging from monetarism, via moral authoritarianism, to an anglicized view of Gaullism’ (1983: p11). Many writers identify two strands in these influences which can be broadly described as concerned with, on the one hand , how the economy should be organized and on the other, the style and content

of government. It has been claimed that since 1979 Britain '*has been moving towards a freer, more competitive economy and towards a more repressive, more authoritarian state*' (Gamble, 1984: p8). Riddell suggested the Thatcherite commitment was to private enterprise as opposed to the public sector.

Thornley (1991) queried why the state should command any loyalty or allegiance especially under conditions of inequality and high unemployment. It has been observed that '*in so far as unimpeded market forces tend to generate inequality, resentment and hostility, government must pay closer attention to the problem of political stability*' (Eccleshall, 1984: p109).

Central themes of Conservatism:

1. Support for Law and order
2. The importance of strong leadership and a sense of patriotism
3. The importance attached to the protection of the acquisition of wealth and the rights of private property

Norton and Aughley (1981: p33) explained that '*ownership facilitates independence and encourages a sense of good husbandry and caution that is essential to the stability of the social and political order*'. These views are shared by Gilmore (1977) who links property to the family and presents them as the vehicle for protecting the individual and promoting freedom. He says '*in their defence of the individual against socialism and excessive state power, Conservatives rely chiefly upon family and private property. The family is the citadel of individual freedom but that citadel needs its moat of private property*'

(Gilmore, 1977: pp148-9). The wide spread acceptance of these principles means that a policy such as the sale of council houses gains universal Conservative approval.

4.3 Planning Policy 1979-1990s

The following section examines the various influences of Thatcherite policies on planning and land use in order to understand the framework of planning policy and economic regulations within which decisions have been made by developers and providers of transport services.

4.3.1 *Special Development Orders*

Thornley (1991: p164) explains that when Secretary of State, Heseltine extended the use of Special Development Orders, Section 24 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1971 gave the Secretary of State the power to make Special Development Orders (SDOs) which altered the controls or procedures in the General Development Order. This initiative had the effect of by-passing the normal planning procedures.

Section 148 of the Local Urban Planning and Land Act 1980, stated that SDOs can be used in Urban Development Areas for giving planning permission to any development. Mac Donald (1983a: p7) suggested that the planning system becomes pretty meaningless *‘if planning permissions are to be merely stepping stones to enable the market to find its own best use for the sites’*.

The process using the SDO ignores local interests and avoids the planning system which attempts to incorporate local needs and involves the public through participation. It has been reported in relation to the second scheme for Hays Wharf that *‘at no time did St Martins or the LDDC make any plans available to the public or send out notification to*

those living or working on or around the site, or hold any meetings' (Thompson 1983: p11). This has led one commentator to conclude that the use of the SDO at Hays Wharf:

'.... reveals how fragile the planning system is despite steady progress over the last twenty years to become more participatory and more open. Central government still has the power to act as if that system does not exist and as if the patient work of many to make the system more locally sensitive had never happened' (MacDonald, 1983b: p269).

4.3.2 Urban Development Corporations

Thornley (1991: p165) thought that the Urban Development Corporations were the most important of the 'bypassing' initiatives especially in terms of their broader ideological impact. He considered that they played an important role in the 1987 election campaign when their application was extended.

Thornley went on to explain that the idea was first adopted by Heseltine very soon after the 1979 election victory. In a press release on Inner City Policy issued on September 14, 1979 he announced the intention of setting up Urban Development Corporations in the London and Liverpool Docklands because in these areas there *'is a need for a single minded determination not possible for the local authorities concerned with their much broader responsibilities'* (Thornley, 1991: p165).

According to Ambrose (1986) the post 1947 planning system has been effectively bypassed in Docklands since 1981. The area has been:

'taken into care' by central government because its natural parents, the local boroughs, were too leftist, too committed to local needs and too sensitive to local feelings to carry out the kind of private sector led redevelopment strategy the Thatcher government has in mind' (Ambrose, 1986: p251).

This comment illustrates the ideological dimension of the Urban Development Corporation initiative and the major area of debate it has generated, namely the lack of emphasis given to local needs and the removal of local democracy. The anti-democratic nature of the Corporations, with their boards appointed by the Secretary of State, created adverse comment in both Liverpool and London. In London the antagonism persisted between the Corporation and local authorities and community groups in the area. The government stated its case for replacing local authorities to the House of Lords Committee. They claimed that the problem of regeneration of the area was a national one not a local one and that *'the boroughs tend to look too much to the past and too exclusively to the aspirations of the existing population and too little to the possibility of regenerating docklands by the introduction of new types of industry and new types of housing'* (Select Committee of the House of Lords, 1981: para 6.4).

Thornley explained that the regeneration of the two Docklands areas was organised by the government appointed Boards accountable only to the Secretary of State. The Boards had the discretion to judge how much they inform the public or consult with local authorities and local organisations. Latterly these bodies continually complained about secrecy and lack of information. This arrangement was justified by the government on the grounds that the regeneration is in the national interest and thus the appropriate democratic body is parliament and not the local authorities (Thornley, 1991: p170).

McAuslan (1981: p255) has neatly summarised the situation as one of replacing the development approach of partnership between the local community, the local authority

and central government with an approach of appointed officials developing a piece of real estate in the public or national interest.

As has been pointed out by a number of commentators (for example, Colenutt, 1981; Newman and Mayo, 1981; Lawless, 1986) that the reason for disregarding local democracy and limiting consultation in the London Docklands was to enable the Corporation to downgrade certain criteria and to promote a different kind of development in the area. As Brookes, the first chairman of the LDDC, said '*we are not a welfare association but a property based organisation offering good value*' (quoted in Ambrose, 1986: p228). The previous plans had emphasised industry and public sector housing which, because of the decline in manufacturing industry nationally and the cuts in public housing finance had been slow to materialise. In contrast to this the Urban Development Corporation promoted private housing, offices and leisure developments. The action of the Urban Development Corporation implied a shift to developments that had no direct or immediate benefit for existing residents and a strategy that was based upon bringing into the area new residents that could afford the expensive housing and who worked for the service sector.

In September 1984 the public inquiry was held into the London Borough of Southwark's North Southwark Plan, which had been produced with great involvement of local community groups. This plan stressed the need for industrial jobs, public housing with gardens and a ban on more offices. Thus it ran counter to the LDDC's strategy of stimulating the market and the resultant use of land for offices and luxury housing. In a newsletter about the inquiry the local authority expressed their concern:

'The Council's plans for Greenland Dock show clearly how the LDDC's interests conflict with the community. A planning application for new industrial units was turned down by the LDDC and now has to go on to appeal. Instead of new jobs, the LDDC want to kick out existing employers and use the land to build luxury housing way beyond the reach of local residents. The North Southwark Plan challenges their legal and moral right to behave in this way' (Southwark London Borough, 1984a).

In looking back at the designation of the LDDC and referring to local authorities, Heseltine said *"we took their powers away from them because they were making such a mess of it"*.

Hall (1996: p354) discussing the policies of the Conservative Government under Margaret Thatcher, draws an interesting historical irony:

'Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for the Environment, abolished the South East Economic Council and all its regional counterparts... to establish an Urban Development Corporation for the London Docklands and their equally derelict Merseyside counterpart'.

Here's the irony:

'The Development Corporation was the centralist, top-down, non-democratic, bureaucratic device preferred by Clement Attlee's radical labour government of 1945 for the construction of British new towns. Detested at that time by the solid Tory voters...the Development Corporation now became the preferred Tory device for the regeneration of inner cities, and for precisely the same reason as the Reith Committee on the new towns had argued 35 years before: bypassing the democratic niceties of local government, it could be effective and above all quick...The Tory party now became the party of centralizers ...exercising ...planning as property development The task of planning in this view, was to facilitate the most rapid feasible recycling of derelict urban industrial or commercial land to higher and better uses...This created...anti-long term strategic planning, anti almost any published plan at all: freewheeling, freebooting, unworried if – as happened in

Docklands – developments had to be demolished almost before they were finished, because something more profitable had come along: concerned only to exploit opportunities as they arose’.

Hall explains that: *“It was not planning as anyone had yet understood it for the previous forty years.”* (Hall, 1989: p355).

As the Docklands Chief Executive explained:

The sheer scale of dereliction which the LDDC was charged with addressing was of such an order that the only way to tackle the problem without an enormous influx of public funds... was to generate a kind of critical momentum, a development ‘snowball’ that would create a real credibility for Docklands early on amongst potential commercial and residential developers. Thus it was necessary to be opportunist with regard to proposal from developers. (Ward, 1986: p118)

The critics continue to say that the whole plan amounted to nothing more or less than the “yuppification” of the East End, London’s traditional working class stronghold. In Brownhill’s opinion the history of planning since 1981 revealed evidence of the impact of market-led planning and its method of operation through stimulating the market and property value. As a consequence the benefits have gone to private developers who have had easy access to relatively cheap land and who were aided by the LDDC and in particular by those shrewd/lucky sellers of land in 1982. The result has been that the high levels of housing needed have not been met by the housing-for-sale approach and local residents, apart from those few able to buy subsidised housing, have lost out (Brownhill, 1991: p86).

4.3.3 Enterprise Zones

In his famous speech at the Waterman's Arms in the Isle of Dogs, Sir Geoffrey Howe put forward the idea of Enterprise Zones (EZs) aimed at giving enterprise more freedom to 'make profits and create jobs' in the worst afflicted urban areas' (Howe, 1978: p1) In his account of the failure of previous policy to deal with the problem of urban areas and national economic decline, Howe made a number of comments on the effects of planning. For example, he said: '*while whole communities have been virtually blitzed by 'planning' and stagnation, whole industries have fallen off the edge of the economic table*' (Howe, 1978: p.186).

When Howe first launched his EZ idea he acknowledged the influence of Peter Hall. Howe said '*he was delighted last year to discover that a distinguished socialist Professor Peter Hall, was beginning to reach for the same prescription as myself.*' (Howe, 1978: p188).

Hall, (1996) explains that he first mentioned the idea in an address to the Royal Town Planning Institute's conference at Chester in 1977,

Reviewing possible ways of rebuilding these cities' economic bases, Hall came up to the possibility that 'none of these recipes can really perform the miracle for some areas

"The best may be the enemy of the good. If we really want to help inner cities, and cities generally, we may have to use highly unorthodox remedies...a final possible remedy, which I would call the Freeport solution. Small selected areas of inner cities would be simply thrown open to all kind of initiatives with minimal control. In other words, we would aim to recreate the Hong Kong of the 1950s and 1960s inside inner Liverpool or inner Glasgow"

Hall explains that the idea *'was part of a rather obscure academic debate'*. He continued that:

'despite his total skepticism as to the possibilities of action ...In 1980 the new Conservative Government in Britain introduced provision for Enterprise Zones, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer specifically cited him as the author of the scheme. During the 1980-1, eleven zones were designated – one of them on the Isle of Dogs, in the heart of Docklands. The whole notion, and its hapless author, were duly attacked by radical academics form both sides of the Atlantic'.

It is evident that the planning was dominated by the need to construct major transport links between Canary Wharf and the rest of London. Glaister (1998: p.165) states that:

"The Conservative government of the 1980s and 1990s, so distinctive in their insistence that the markets should decide where transport investment would take place, included more interventionist ministers such as Michael Heseltine, who introduced the 'planning devices' of Urban Development Corporation with their consequences for travel and transport".

According to Glaister the calculations of economic benefit was only one of the many factors in determining government decisions to construct the Jubilee Line Extension at a cost of more than £2.5bn. Olympia and York, the developer of Canary Wharf commercial offices scheme, had agreed that it would make a contribution of a series of cash payments over a period of more than twenty years. It totalled a nominal, cash sum of £400m, though Glaister thought its real value to be somewhere between £250m, depending upon assumption about rates of inflation and rates of discount: in other words, not more than 10 per cent of the cost... Glaister (1998: p.258).

The Jubilee Line Extension which was first given the authority to deposit a private members bill as a result of the contribution offered by the developers and their effective lobbying of senior ministers...The subsequent need to rescue the developers from bankruptcy became the final spur to the second key decision, once the bill had cleared Parliament, to commit resources to construction (Glaister 1998: p.259).

4.4 Planning Policies post 1990

In the 1990s the pendulum began to swing back towards the town halls as it was increasingly recognised in Whitehall and Westminster that local authorities have a major contribution to make to the solution of local problems (Glaister et al, 1998: p12).

Glaister believed that local authorities and their regional associations had much to teach central government departments on how to cooperate in the strategic planning of land-use and transport (Glaister et al, 1998: p77). After John Major became Prime Minister, there was some repairing of the relationships between central and local governments, particularly in the relation to transport policy (Glaister et al: 1998, P.77) .

In 1997 a new government was elected with a stated commitment to establish and develop an effective and integrated policy at national level that would provide genuine choice to meet peoples transport needs (Labour Party manifesto 1997: 29). In response to this challenge, the Government set out its policy for the future of transport in the white paper *A New Deal for Transport: Better for Everyone* (July 1998), to extend choice in transport and secure mobility in a way that supports sustainable development . The New Deal for Transport aims to deliver an integrated transport policy. This means integration:

1. within and between different types of transport
2. with policies for the environment

3. with land use and planning and
4. with policies for education, health and wealth creation

(Planning Policy Guidance 13 Transport, March 2001 updated January 2011)

4.4.1 Local Transport Plans

The Transport Act 2000 gave local authorities a statutory duty to produce Local Transport Plans that followed guidance issued by central government. These five-year plans replaced the Transport Policies and Programmes under which local authorities submitted annual bids for individual capital schemes laying the stress in local policies on road schemes rather than public transport cycling and walking (Glaister, 2006: p85).

The first LTPs covered the five year period up to 2005/06 and a second set was then prepared for the period from 2006/07 to 2010/11. For the second set, authorities were expected to engage with the public in drawing up the plans but to prioritize four transport-related issues agreed between the DfT and the Local Government Association (the organisation bringing together all local councils); congestion, air quality, accessibility and road safety (Glaister, 2006: p85).

Whitehall guidance (DfT 2004c: 5-6) for the second round of LTPs emphasized four key themes that derived from the experience of the first round.

Box 4.1 Whitehall guidance (DfT 2004c: 5-6) four key themes:

- 1. *Setting Transport in a wider context* : LTPs are expected to take account of the new regional economic and spatial strategies and of other local plans set for the area.**
- 2. *Locally relevant targets*: such targets include sustainable economic growth, new housing, social inclusion and the protection of the environment**
- 3. *Identifying the best value for money solutions*: LTPs should demonstrate how the best possible outcomes can be delivered for the available funding.**
- 4. *Indicators and trajectories*: authorities are expected to set key targets that reflect the planned implementation of policies and programmes**

In addition to the Transport Act 2000 the Government has published Transport 2010: The 10 Year Plan. This is based on a partnership between the public and private sectors to provide a modern integrated high quality transport system. (Planning Policy Guidance 13 Transport, March 2001 updated January 2011)

4.4.2 PPG13

The objectives of PPG13 is to integrate planning and transport at the national, regional, strategic and local level and to promote more sustainable transport choices both for carrying people and for moving freight. It also aims to promote accessibility to jobs, shopping, leisure facilities and services by public transport, walking and cycling and to reduce the need to travel, especially by car (Planning Policy Guidance 13 Transport, March 2001 updated January 2011).

To deliver these objectives, the guidance says that local planning authorities should actively manage the pattern of urban growth, locate facilities to improve accessibility on foot and cycle, accommodate housing principally within urban areas and recognise that

provision for movement by walking, cycling and public transport are important but may be less achievable in some rural areas (Original release date March 1994). This updates *Planning Policy Guidance 13* published on 20 April 2001 to reflect changes to parking standards and charges.

Box 4.2 PPG13 states that:

23. Where developments will have significant transport implications. Transport Assessments should be prepared and submitted alongside the relevant planning applications for development...

25. Prospective developers should hold early discussions with the local authority in order to clarify whether proposals are likely to be acceptable in transport terms and to scope the requirements of any Transport Assessment...

81. Local planning authorities should take a more pro-active approach towards the implementation of planning policies on transport and should set out sufficient detail in their development plans to provide a basis for the for the use of planning conditions if appropriate, and for negotiation with developers on the use of planning obligations as appropriate

PPG13 supports the arguments of those who would like to see public transport provision improved. However PPG13 is not and perhaps cannot be helpful in saying exactly how additional public transport to replace car travel will be provided... Local authorities need to know what the national financial, legislative and political context will be for their tenures as passenger transport authorities – particularly in the light of the structural changes that have recently taken place to both publicly-funded transport and local government or they will be wary of planning for reduction in motorized travel (Glaister et al, 1998: p162)

Box 4.3 The government white paper CSR07. P103

At the local level the review recommended more coordinated infrastructure planning and delivery with mechanisms to support up-front investment, including a more systematic approach to planning and delivering housing related infrastructure, involving key infrastructure providers at an early stage

4.4.3 Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP)

Partnership working is of increasing importance for councils. Working together with other services delivered locally, such as police, health services, bodies involved in skills or economic development, is an important means of meeting the council's overall ambition for the place it represents, sometimes referred as the 'place shaping role'.

The council generally leads by bringing together a Local Strategic Partnership (LSP). The ambitions for the area are set out in a Sustainable Community Strategy and related thematic strategies. The formal agreement with other public services is set out in a Local Area Agreement (LAA), which became a legal requirement under the Local Government and Public Involvement in Health Act 2004.

However, the substantial cuts in public spending are going to mean that councils and their partners are also going to need to develop a strategy for the emerging Localism and Devolution agenda, the 'big society'. Regional development agencies (RDAs) are to be replaced by 2012 by Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) - a voluntary partnership between local authorities and businesses. LEPs were formed in 2011 by the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, (BIS), to help determine local economic priorities

and lead economic growth and job creation within its local area, (Department of Communities and Local Government, 2010).

The current round of LAAs were still going to run until March 2011. The coalition government has yet to make any definite announcements on their future (August 2010). A further round would need to be started on the instructions of the Secretary of State, under the Local Government and Public Involvement in Health act 2007.

The coalition government has proposed no major change to the status and role of LSPs (as of August 2010) and continues to encourage joint working at local level. Making efficiency savings, reducing any duplication between agencies, and ensuring best use of assets are all aims which have moved up the agenda as part of the 2010 Comprehensive Spending Review.

4.4.4 Local Area Agreements (LAAs) and Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs)

The case studies in this research up to the date of writing have not been influenced by the recent changes. It is therefore relevant to look at the impact of LAAs and LSPs.

Local area agreements were introduced in 2004, as a framework for partnership working at local level; and between local areas and central government.

LSPs have a significant leadership role in their area. This may vary between areas, as it remains up to LSPs themselves to decide how to go about their business. Partnership working is an evolving process, and local history and context do make a difference.

In its structural reform plan (July 2007) Communities and Local Government (CLG) said that their intentions for local public service delivery were to

"...design and implement a new approach with less reporting burdens on local government and greater transparency for local people" (CLG, July 2007)

This was in line with the view of most councils and LSPs that LAAs had become too top-down and over-bureaucratic.

Both Local strategic partnerships (LSPs) and Local Area Agreements (LAAs) brought together local councils, other public sector agencies, the business sector, and the third sector – voluntary and community organisations. They were non-statutory partnerships, established over the past decade in each local authority area in England. Their role has developed significantly since 2006.

4.4.4.1 *What did LAAs aim to do?*

As defined by the previous government, a local area agreement (LAA):

"... sets out the 'deal' between central government and local authorities and their partners to improve the quality of life for local people. As such, the LAA is also a shorter-term delivery mechanism for the Sustainable Community Strategy (SCS)."

From the local perspective, LAAs started life as a key feature of a more devolved form of local governance. LAAs were a move away from 'one-size-fits-all' solutions because they recognised that not all areas have the same priorities. Through these negotiated

agreements, areas could begin to channel public resources towards the priorities of their own areas, alongside national outcomes and targets.

The LAA framework has had significant impact since 2004, it has changed the way in which central government works with local government and its partners. The main aim was to '*deliver genuinely sustainable communities through better outcomes for local people*' (CLG 2006a). Secondary objectives were improving central-local government relations enhancing efficiency, strengthening partnership working and offering a framework within which local authorities can enhance their community leadership role. As the policy developed, the link with Sustainable Community Strategies became more explicit and the intended role of Local Strategic Partnership more prominent.

4.4.4.2 *Experience of working in partnership with LAAs*

Gillian Gillanders and Sophie Ahmed (2007), explore the early experiences of Local Area Agreements (LAAs) and reflect on the extent to which they have reshaped governance relationships between local government and local agencies. It was based on research conducted between October 2004 and March 2006.

The focus is on governance relationships between the many participants and the LAA process. It is driven by their belief that improved governance ought, at least over the longer term, to lead to better decision making and improved outcomes. The paper draws on the Audit Commission's working definition of governance: '*ensuring [the organisation] is doing the right things, in the right way, for the right people, in a timely, open, honest and accountable manner*'. This definition of governance has relationships

between organisations and with communities at its core – their purpose and scope, the relative power of different actors, and tenor of interactions and how these are managed and co-ordinated (Gillanders & Ahmed, 2007).

At the heart of the rationale for decentralisation is a recognition that over-control by the centre crowds out local decision making and impedes local authorities ‘place shaping’ ability (Lyons, 2007). Over centralisation prevents local agencies from setting priorities and shaping services in response to local needs and impedes innovation.

Gillanders & Ahmed argue that partnership working can present governance challenges. They explain that various commentators have observed that partnerships on policy implementation is achieved by circumventing or curtailing norms such as transparency and accountability conventionally required on public governance (Mather *et al*, 2003) and that such partnerships demonstrate a significant democratic deficit (Sullivan & Skelcher, 2002). The Audit Commission also pointed out that working across organisational boundaries brings complexity and ambiguity which can generate confusion and weaken accountability.

Sullivan explains that LAAs were conceived as a ‘bargain’ between local and central government. However, the process of bargaining has been complicated by the complex nature of the relationship involved. Sullivan concludes that there is no single central local relationship but a myriad of relationships that co-exist and overlap (Sullivan *et al*, 2005).

The research conducted by Gillanders & Ahmed revealed that strain was placed on the local partnerships because most agreements were led by the local authority, and some

councils failed to engage partners adequately or soon enough. Many localities did not have in place strong partnership governance arrangements fit for this purpose or a set of agreed or evidence-based local priorities and strategies that could be drawn on. As the process developed, concerns in central government over the capacity and fitness-for purposes of local partnerships grew (Gillanders & Ahmed, 2007: p751).

Gillanders & Ahmed found that many localities failed to engage local politicians effectively in what seemed to many 'boring bureaucracy'. This had repercussions later, for instance as district councillors woke up to the implications of signing up to the LAA priorities and funding commitments. Many areas also struggled to see how best to involve the voluntary and community sector, particularly at the strategic level, and the tight time table made this much harder; effective engagement of the sector was also impeded in many areas by its fragmented nature and lack of capacity (Gillanders & Ahmed, 2007, p 752).

Gillanders and Ahmed concluded that their research revealed a lack of clarity about the aims and scope of LAAs in the early years, it was considered that the flexibility to allow for different aspirations, interpretations and circumstances was in many ways a positive feature of the policy. However, Gillanders & Ahmed thought that many of those involved underestimated the challenge of recasting central-local relationships and found it hard to reconcile the different governance relationship that departments have with different elements of the local system. While LAAs have contributed to the development of a more collaborative relationship between local and central government, questions remain over the right balance between 'top down' and 'bottom up' priorities and the extent to which local differentiation is feasible and acceptable. It is understandable to see

that central government is anxious to see its money spent on the delivery of national targets, but many localities would argue that these still crowd out truly local priorities (Gillanders & Ahmed, 2007: p758).

The Labour government paid considerable attention to re-casting the relationship between central and local government as collaborative and consensual (Sullivan & Gillanders, 2005). However, despite its aim to devolve power and responsibility, central government has continued to have concerns about local authorities' capacity to deliver. This has posed a dilemma for government, which it sought to resolve through differential treatment of individual local authorities. Jones and Stewart (2002: p22) argued that *'government was prepared to concede to local authorities a measure of local autonomy, but it is 'earned' or 'conditional' autonomy, that is, conditional on local authorities doing what central government want and in ways it approves'*.

4.5 The London Plan

The London plan, first published in its final form on the 10th February 2004, replaced the previous strategic planning guidance for London issued by the Secretary of State and known as RPG3. It is a requirement of the Greater London Authority Act 1999 that the document is produced and that it deals only with matters that are of strategic importance to Greater London. The plan is a spatial development strategy for the Greater London area and has six objectives:

1. To accommodate London's growth within its boundaries without encroaching on open spaces
2. To make London a better city for people to live in

3. To make London a more prosperous city with strong and diverse economic growth
4. To promote social inclusion and tackle deprivation and discrimination
5. To improve London's accessibility
6. To make London a more attractive, well-designed and green city (London Plan, Mayor of London , February 2011).

4.5.1 Opportunity areas

The plan identifies dozens of areas of opportunity, which are where the bulk of efforts will be concentrated, with an aim at reducing social deprivation and creating sustainable development. The opportunity areas will be able to accommodate around 5,000 jobs each or about 2,500 homes, or a mixture of the two. The opportunity areas will mostly be town centres as opposed to suburban developments in the boroughs, although those are mentioned as important in terms of job growth and quality of life (London Plan, Mayor of London, February 2011).

4.5.2 Alterations

There have been a number of amendments to the London Plan which have been incorporated into the version published in 2009. Early alterations covered housing provision targets, waste and minerals. Further alterations covered climate change, London as a world city: The London Economy: housing: Tackling social inclusion. The current version was published in February 2008. The latest proposed amendments to the

London Plan were published in April 2009 with consultation starting in October 2009 and replacement plan expected to be published in 2011.

Several of the Mayor's strategies (London Plan, 2004) stressed the importance of increasing the sustainability of activity in London "*that sustainable development runs through the plan and all its policies, starting from the Mayor's visions and objectives*". In their comments on the new draft of the London Plan (2009), Holman and Thornley (January, 2010) consider there is "*no coherent structural element to bind together policies that balance society, economy and the environment*". They argue that by not addressing and defining sustainability in some fashion early on the Plan lacks strength where sustainability is concerned.

Holman and Thornley (2010) comment that the draft is heavy on pragmatism, localism and decentralisation to Boroughs. They are concerned that the watering down of the affordable housing requirements with more Borough control is another example of the withdrawal from strategic responsibility (Holman & Thornley, 2010). Whereas, the British Property Federation (BPF) have no objection to the establishment of affordable housing targets on a Borough by Borough basis as set out in the draft plan but would ask that the Boroughs formalise their affordable housing policies expeditiously in order to provide certainty for developers (BPF Final Response, January 2010: p 5).

Furthermore Holman and Thornley feel there is an issue regarding the new relationship the Mayor pledges to build with the Boroughs. This is best illustrated in the new plan (para.1.43) which states that: "*The Mayor intends to take a new, more consensual approach to planning for London...*" and continues that "*This will focus more on*

delivery of agreed and shared objectives, less on structure". Holman and Thornley are concerned there has been a conceptual shift as a move towards a more decentralised metropolitan style of government and they fear that it could easily lead to piecemeal planning and a lack of a common approach to London .

The BPF explain that the provision of social infrastructure, particularly in relation to major developments, is a complicated process. It requires an understanding of how services are provided and by whom, a knowledge of the likely needs of the new community and the impact on the existing community, and a great deal of collaborative working to ensure that the right blend of services are available to local communities in the right locations and at the right time (BPF Final Response, January 2010: p 5).

With regards to planning obligation (policy 8.2) and CIL (policy 8.3) the consultation draft replacement acknowledges, both of these policy areas are in a state of transition as the Government seeks to reform the mechanism by which the development industry contributes towards infrastructure to mitigate the impacts of development. The BPF believe there needs to be a clear statement in both of these policies - that planning obligations and a potential community infrastructure levy (CIL) cannot be used to seek a contribution from developers for the same item / category of infrastructure. For example, if CIL is introduced, the Mayor it would seem will use it to obtain a contribution from developers to help fund Crossrail. The BPF are concerned the Boroughs and the Mayor (when planning obligations come under his jurisdiction), should not then seek to obtain a contribution from the developers for Crossrail through a planning obligation. This will

constitute ‘double-charging’ which will make development economically unviable (BPF Final Response, January 2010: p10)

4.6 Regional Spatial Strategies

Regional Spatial Strategies (RSS) provided a regional level planning framework for the regions of England, outside London where spatial planning is the responsibility of the Mayor. They were introduced in 2004. Their revocation was announced by the new Conservative/Liberal Democrat government on 6 July 2010.

RSS emerged from the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 which abolished Structure Plans, and replaced Regional Planning Guidance (RPG) with RSS which then became the strategic level plan charged with informing Local Development Frameworks (LDS). These were required to be in ‘general conformity’ with an RSS, which is a statutory, legal document (Communities and Local Government Regional Spatial Strategy, 2005).

4.6.1 Objectives of RSS

Regional Spatial Strategies were expected to:

- establish a ‘spatial’ vision and strategy specific to the region - for example, identifying in general terms areas for development or regeneration for a period of about 20 years ahead
- contribute to the achievement of sustainable development
- establish regionally specific policies, which are expected to add to rather than replicate national ones
- address regional or sub-regional issues that may cross county, unitary authority or district boundaries

- outline housing figures for district and unitary authorities to take forward in their Local Development Frameworks
- establish priorities for environmental protection and enhancement, and define the 'general extent' of areas of green belt
- produce a regional Transport Strategy as part of the wider spatial strategy
- outline key priorities for investment, particularly in infrastructure, and identify delivery mechanisms, in order to support development
- identify how the region's waste should be dealt with
- be consistent with and supportive of other regional frameworks and strategies.

They were each subject to a Strategic Environmental Assessment.

4.6.2 Process

RSS were prepared by the relevant Regional Planning Body (RPB), in the form of the Regional Assembly, and were then submitted to the Secretary of State. Once the RPB prepared a draft RSS, it published it for at least 12 weeks public consultation.

Following public consultation, an Examination in Public was held to debate and test the RPB's proposals. A Panel formed by the Planning Inspectorate - independent of the RPB and central Government - oversaw this process. Following the Examination in Public, the Panel prepared a report of findings and recommendations to the Government on how the draft RSS might be improved. The Government then issued Proposed Changes to the draft strategy, taking account of the Panel's recommendations and representations on any matters not considered at the Examination in Public.

The Secretary of State then made any final amendments in the light of the responses to the Proposed Changes consultation, and issued the final 'Regional Spatial Strategy'.

Local authorities then prepared Local Development Documents, which were to be consistent with the Regional Spatial Strategy, identifying specific locations for development and conservation, and establishing local policies for managing development.

4.6.3 Revocation

In May 2010 the new Government announced the abolition of the Regional Strategies. They were formally revoked, under s79(6) of the Local Democracy Economic Development and Construction Act 2009, on 6 July 2010.

Supporting guidance to local authorities upon the revocation of RSS stated: *"In the longer term the legal basis for Regional Strategies will be abolished through the "Localism Bill" that we are introducing in the current Parliamentary session. New ways for local authorities to address strategic planning and infrastructure issues based on cooperation will be introduced."*

4.7 Regional Transport Strategies (RTS)

Regional Transport Strategies (RTS) are an important element of Regional Spatial Strategies (RSS), which set out a broad development strategy for each region for at least 15 years ahead. The RSS should identify, amongst other things, the scale and distribution of future provision for new housing, the priorities for economic development, long term environmental and social considerations and the implications for transport needs and priorities within the overall framework of sustainable development. Planning Policy

Statement 11 (PPS11) outlines the scope of a RSS and the requirements for preparing a RTS.

The underlying aim of a RTS is to provide a long term planning framework for transport in the region. It should be developed as an integral and clearly identifiable part of RSS and contribute towards the integration of realistic and affordable transport, spatial and economic planning policies within the RSS. Transport policies and priorities set out in a RTS should be consistent with national policies but they should also reflect and support the aims of the spatial strategy and the plans for housing growth and economic regeneration in the region. Spatial policies need in turn to fully recognise the importance of delivering more sustainable travel patterns and of matching locations of housing, commercial development and key services to areas of high public transport accessibility.

In respect of housing figures, the guidance stated that: "*Local planning authorities will be responsible for establishing the right level of local housing provision in their area, and identifying a long term supply of housing land without the burden of regional housing targets. Some authorities may decide to retain their existing housing targets that were set out in the revoked Regional Strategies. Others may decide to review their housing targets*" (Retrieved from: Communities and Local Government Regional Spatial Strategy, 2005).

4.8 Regional Planning Guidelines (RPGs)

RPGs were first adopted in March 2004 as a key implementation mechanism of the Governments overall framework for achieving more balanced regional development and more strategic physical and spatial planning - the 2002 National Spatial strategy (NSS).

The principal function for RPGs is to link national strategic spatial planning policies to the planning process at City and County Council level by co-ordinating the Development Plans of 34 local authorities through Regional Planning Guidelines.

Given the six-year lifespan of the RPGs as designated under the 2000 Planning and Development Act (section 26 of the Planning and Development Act 2000), the 2004 Guidelines were reviewed during late 2009 and 2010 and new Regional Planning Guidelines for the period 2010 to 2022 have now been adopted .

Regional Planning Guidance Framework RPG9a identifies Kent Thameside (see Chapter 6) as one of two growth areas of regional significance - the other being the Royals and Stratford, stating that the area can provide significant opportunities for employment, helping to reduce Kent's current reliance on London for jobs. It recognises that with a commensurate reduction in the need to travel this can offer a significant step towards a more sustainable form of development. This approach was ratified by Regional Planning Guidance for the South East (RPG9) and taken forward through the Kent & Medway Structure Plan (2006) and Thames Gateway Interim Plan (2006).

4.9 Planning Applications

Throughout the research for this thesis the planning application process was identified by most Stakeholders, particularly developers, as a cause for concern, they complained that it was over bureaucratic, inefficient and cumbersome. Respondent KH (developer) mentioned the size and cumbersome nature of many applications - that amendments to planning legislations were added on to the original act creating a large, unwieldy document. Discussing one application in particular, “...*I waded my way through this thing which took three weeks of work in a six month consultation period*”.

Lord Rogers in an interview on radio 4's 'You and Yours' in January 2009 was particularly critical of the planning system. He felt it was over bureaucratic and inefficient with a lack of appropriate understanding of the design by planners.

The author discussed Local Authority planning departments with Respondent LA a developer from the Leighmouth project, who thought that, “...*local authorities need 'quality' officers - someone who is pro-active and understands what works in policy terms. A need for better informed councillors...*”and he thought,”...*training is needed for planning officers and councillors*”.

The Killean Pretty Review has attempted to address and to look objectively at the above issues raised with the planning process, to identify how it could be further improved, and in particular to consider ways to reduce unnecessary bureaucracy, making the process swifter and more effective for the benefit of all users.

The Terms of Reference for the Review were: “*To consider how, within the context of the Government's objectives for the planning system and building on the reforms already*

announced, the planning application process can be improved for the benefit for all involved." (Personal communication Respondent DP).

In June 2008 Killian and Pretty published their interim document, *A Call for Solutions*, asking stakeholders for ideas and solutions to the 17 questions laid out in the document. The Final Report was published on the 24th November 2008 and was launched by Hazel Blears MP and Margaret Beckett, Minister of State for Housing and Planning, at the Work Foundation

The review discovered that very early on all stakeholders ranging from local authorities to business and civic groups believed that the planning system should be, "*customer focused, fair, proportionate, and transparent. It should allow local people to have a meaningful say and deliver the right decisions with the appropriate speed*". (Killian Pretty (Nov. 2008).

There was a large consensus of opinion that agreed with the Killian Pretty Review findings amongst the many respondents to whom the author spoke. Despite improvements, planning decisions still take longer in the UK than in other European countries and it is often the developments that could do most to boost the local economy that are subject to the greatest delays (Killian Pretty, 2008).

The recommendations will require changes in culture. The review discussed the need to encourage higher quality applications to ensure that the likely on-going shortages of skills and resources in planning departments do not adversely affect the planning service.

There is also a need to provide better incentives for the efficient and effective handling of

planning applications than the current time-based performance targets. Instead the target should focus on the overall quality of service provided by a council.

The shortage of resources and skills in planning departments mentioned by Lord Rogers has been considered by the House of Commons Select Committee on Communities and Local Governments. The Review proposes additional measures which will include the better use of support staff, including technicians, and making the most use of opportunities for joint working. The review made a strong recommendation that local authorities should not make any dramatic reductions in the number of planning staff in reaction to the changing economic conditions but instead to refocus resources on reorganisation, to deliver a more positive and proactive approach to development management. This will ensure that the local planning authorities are in a good position to respond to the recovery – when it arrives – to the benefit of all.

With reference to Respondent KH, concerns at the lengthy and cumbersome planning legislation - The review suggests, “*a removal of duplicative objectives and to call a halt to ad hoc additions of objectives*”

The above transport and land use policies mentioned cover the period 1980 – 2010, as this is the period that relates to the case studies in this research. The case studies described in this thesis will include a section which discusses the relevant policies for that particular case study and regeneration project. The government introduced the localism bill in 2011- after the research period. Therefore this bill will not be discussed in the research.

CHAPTER 4 PART 2: CANARY WHARF

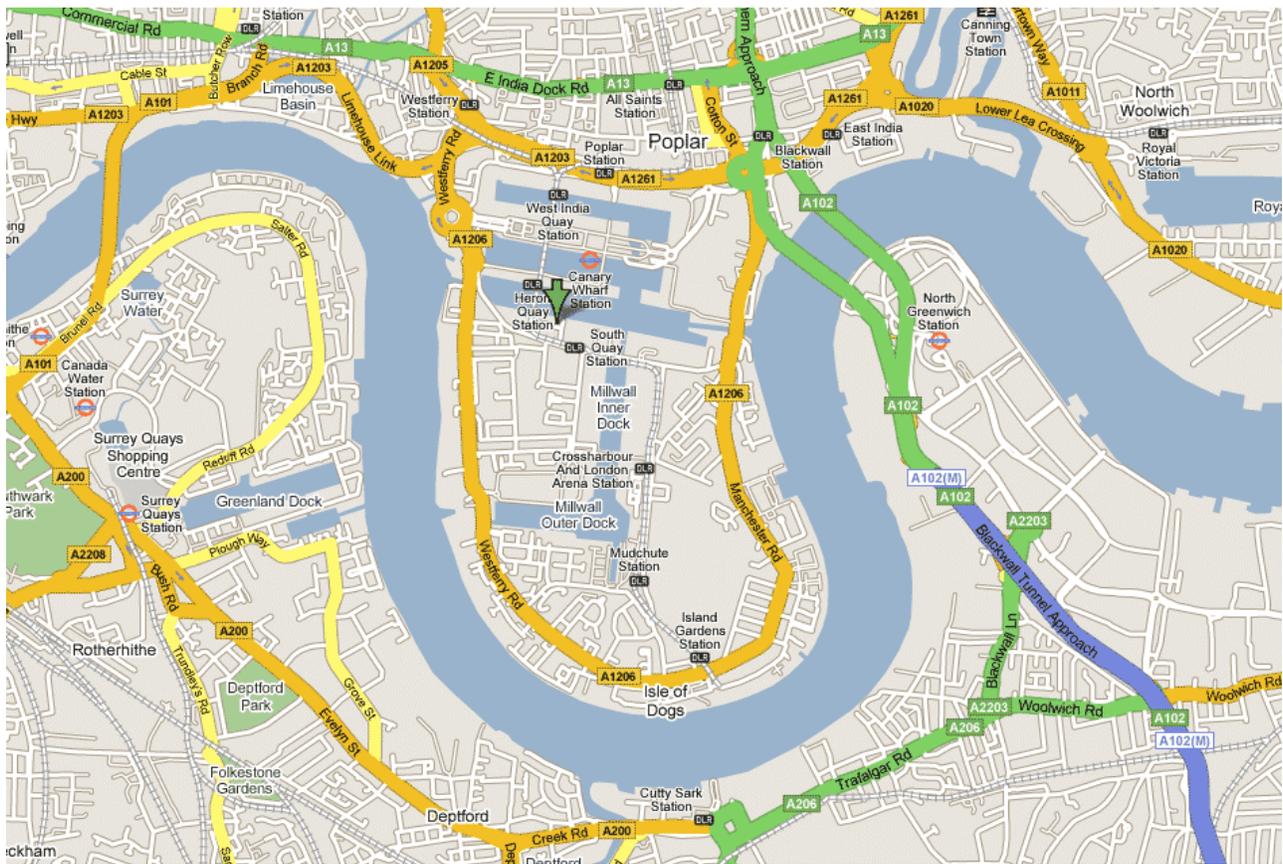


Figure 4.1: Canary Wharf

4.10 Canary Wharf - the site

Canary Wharf is a large business and shopping development in London, located on the Isle of Dogs – a peninsula on the Thames, downriver from the city of London, in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets (see map in Figure 4.2). The area is 392,559 sq.m. and provides 1,300,000 sq.m of office and retail floor area of which 734.000 sq.m are owned by the Canary Wharf Group. It is built on the reclaimed land of the old West India Docks. The ground consists of highly variable fill, alluvial deposits and peat, overlying London clay - making foundation conditions for buildings very difficult.

Figure 4.2: Canary Wharf Area Map



4.11 History of the Isle of Dogs

The Isle of Dogs was originally sparsely populated marshland known as the Stepney Marsh. The land was drained and planted in the 13th century and protected from flooding by a bank or wall. After a catastrophic break in the riverside embankment in 1488 the area returned to its original marshy condition. This was not reversed until Dutch engineers successfully re-drained the area in the 17th century.

Successive Royal Commissions were appointed to survey and maintain the wall, and following a flood in October 1629 responsibility for its upkeep was given to a permanent body of Commissioners of Sewers for Poplar, who with a jury of marshmen, constituted a

court with powers to regulate activities impinging on the wall and drainage of the marsh (LDDC, 1997).

The urbanization of the Isle of Dogs took place in the 19th century following the construction of the West India Docks which opened in 1802. This began the area's most successful period of trade. From 1802 to 1980, the area was one of the busiest docks in the world, with at one point 50,000 employed. The East India Docks subsequently opened in 1806, followed by Millwall Dock in 1868. The three docks system was unified in 1909 when the Port of London Authority took control of the docks (LDDC, 1997).

The Isle of Dogs, virtually made into an Island by the construction of the docks, was connected to the rest of London by the London and Blackwall Railway in 1840. In 1902 the Ferry to Greenwich was replaced by the construction of the Greenwich Foot Tunnel. However, the road system on the Isle of Dogs itself was inadequate and poor road communication hampered industry on the Island almost from the start. As a result of the poor road system there was a high demand for premises on the river and hardly any for inland sites, therefore wharf side building were almost essential for loading and unloading. The Isle of Dogs was notoriously difficult to get into or out of. Traffic was subjected to bottlenecks and frequent stoppages at the dock bridges. In 1929 Poplar Council and local businessmen condemned the roads as, "a disastrous burden upon industry, a serious hindrance to passenger traffic, and a grave drawback to the transport of goods to and from the Docks" (LDDC, 1997).

During the Second World War the docks area was bombed heavily and nearly all the original warehouses were destroyed or badly damaged. After a brief recovery in the

1950s, the port industry began to decline. The Isle of Dogs, however, had seen a gradual deterioration of industry throughout the century, the degradation of the premises from prestige manufacturing to nondescript light industry, wharfage and warehousing, down to mere scrap dealing and use as depots. A common feature was the multiple occupation of premises originally used by a single concern (LDDC, 1997).

During the 1970s there was massive disinvestment in Docklands as businesses closed or moved away with the progressive closure of the dock's system. New technology and containerisation meant that London Docklands could not keep up with its competitors such as the out-of-town sites like Felixstowe and Harwich so that by the early 1970s most of the docks had closed – West India Dock closed 1980. Once the river transport declined the inadequate road system made it impossible for the Isle of Dogs to support a large number of industrial and commercial enterprises. Between 1966 and 1976 the five docklands Boroughs lost 150,000 jobs.

Fig.4.3: A community in transition: regeneration on the Isle of Dogs in the late 1980s



4.12 How has the history influenced the development of Canary Wharf?

The previous Section may be summarized as follows:

1. The Isle of Dogs was originally sparsely populated marshland known as the Stepney Marsh. Throughout its history there have been attempts to drain the land and maintain the flood wall.
2. The area was made virtually an island by the construction of the docks
3. The road system on the Isle of Dogs itself was inadequate and poor road communication hampered industry on the Island almost from the start.
4. The Isle of Dogs, had seen a gradual deterioration of industry throughout the 20th century, the degradation of the premises from prestige manufacturing to nondescript light wharfage and warehousing, down to mere scrap dealing and use as depots.
5. The massive disinvestment in Docklands in the 1970s as businesses closed or moved away with the progressive closure of the dock's system.

Taking these factors into consideration in addition to the poor unstable soil conditions, the poor accessibility and connectivity of the area and the disinvestment in the docklands area as a whole, the abject dereliction of the area is not surprising.

4.13 The Regeneration of Docklands

The Price Waterhouse Baseline Study for London Docklands showed clearly that Docklands Wards were the most deprived wards in the three Boroughs. The study disclosed that in 1981 all markets were adversely affected with little or no activity for land, commercial premises and private housing - the area had an image of dereliction and inaccessibility (DETR, 1998).

“The three London Boroughs of Newham, Southwark and Tower Hamlets are respectively first, second and seventh in the degree of deprivation as measured by the Department’s 1991 Index of Local Conditions, amongst all the 366 Boroughs/Districts in England” (DETR,vi, 1998).

Speaking of the plight of London Docklands in July 1981 the then Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine said:

“The area displays more acutely and extensively than any other area in England the physical decline of the urban city and the need for urban regeneration. It represents a major opportunity for the development that London needs over the last twenty years of 20th century: new housing, new environments, new industrial developments, new architecture all calculated to bring these barren areas back into more valuable use” (Quoted by LDDC, 2007 also Heseltine, 2009)

The project to revitalise the eight square miles of derelict London docks began in 1981 with the establishment of the London Docklands Development Corporation by the Government of Margaret Thatcher. The LDDC was wholly financed by the Government and the income was generated by the disposal of land for housing, industrial and

commercial development. When the LDDC came into being there was no consensus of ideas about the way the area should be regenerated. The Docklands Strategic Plan (1974) produced by the Docklands Joint Committee and the GLC identified land for housing and employment but there was no indication as to how the proposals would be implemented. When the LDDC took over there was also no fixed life programme for the Regeneration of Dockland's and no termination date was stipulated. The Docklands regeneration and its momentum was going to be partly dependent on the response of the private sector to the LDDC's regeneration package and to strategic transport projects generated, requiring long construction periods (DETR, vi).

The strategy needed to be flexible and to provide scope for initiative in order to harness private enterprise. There was a belief that the market would provide the solution to the problem that had eluded the public sector.

Under the 1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act the LDDC's remit was initially similar to that for the Urban Development Corporation – the LDDC's principal objectives were to:

1. Bring land and buildings into effective use
2. Encourage the development of existing and new Industry and Commerce
3. Create a more attractive environment
4. Assist in the provision of housing and social facilities to encourage people to live and work in the area (DETR, ix, 1998).

The LDDC's Responsibilities

The Corporation was not the Planning Authority for the UDA, only the development control authority. The three London Boroughs of Tower Hamlets, Southwark and Newham remained the planning authority with responsibility for the Local Plan. LDDC was not accorded transport and road infrastructure responsibilities and powers. These remained with the Department of Transport, the Greater London Council, London Transport and the local authorities. The original intention was that LDDC had no responsibility for, and no involvement in, social housing, community development and support, training, education and health. All these responsibilities were to remain wholly with the local authorities and statutory agencies. Specifically, LDDC was not permitted to directly fund any commercial, industrial or housing development on its own. LDDC was intended to be a marketing and promotion-led "development agency" dependent for its success on persuading the private sector to find and spearhead development. Financial control for the Corporation was with the Department of the Environment. All expenditure had to be separately approved through the submission of project information summary applications. (*DETR, ix*)

Box 4.4 LDDC's Responsibilities

The LDDC had the power to acquire land by agreement or compulsory purchase and in the case of the large amount of land in the public sector, there were powers for it to be vested in the Corporation by the Secretary of State. This ensured the supply of land for development. A high proportion of the land was held by public bodies who had neither the will nor the capital to make it available for redevelopment. Relatively little land was in private holdings. Thus the supply of land was constrained by a pattern of ownership which was not market sensitive. The box above defines the LDDC's responsibilities.

In the early 1980s development frameworks were prepared for sub-areas of Docklands to promote regeneration. They were not prescriptive but rather sought to raise the profile of

the area to generate investment. Thus the role seemed to be confined to activities such as:

- Illustrating the potential opportunities and options for development with a willingness to respond pragmatically to what the private sector was willing to do at different points in the economic cycle.
- Responding to changes in the emphasis of Government regeneration policies.
- Generally to accommodate the needs of the local authorities and local communities and to other changing pressures and priorities (DETR, ix, 1998).

4.14 The Redevelopment of Canary Wharf

On the 26th April 1982 the Corporation formerly obtained Enterprise Zone designated for the Isle of Dogs which lasted for ten years. There were no planning controls (with minor exceptions), rates (property taxes) were paid by the Government and capital investments could be written off against a company's tax liability. The EZ covered 195 hectares including the West India Docks, together with a small part of the Leamouth area.

Canary Wharf redevelopment was initially focused on small-scale, light industrial schemes and the largest occupier was Limehouse Studios, an independently-owned television studio complex built in No. 10 Warehouse (30 Shed) of the South Quay Import Dock. This was located at the eastern end of Canary Wharf and opened in 1983. The building was demolished just six years later, in 1989, to make way for the Olympia & York development of Canary Wharf which now occupies the site.

Despite the Island's Enterprise Zone status it was difficult for the LDDC to attract development even though the zone offered special planning concessions and tax allowances for investors and developers. It became crucial to develop the transport

infrastructure on the Isle of Dogs. In 1976 the London Docklands Strategic Plan identified the need for a major upgrading of all forms of transport. It also established priorities such as the immediate need to improve bus services, a new underground line into docklands and the building of a new relief road between Canning Town and Limehouse. In October 1982 the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) was approved at the cost of £77million and an expected opening date in 1987.

G. Ware Travelstead proposed building a 10 million sq foot office complex on Canary Wharf. They were unable to fund the scheme and it was taken over by the North American developer Olympia and York. At the end of 1985 the Board of the Corporation approved in principle an outlining scheme involving Credit Suisse and Morgan Stanley for 18m sq ft of high grade office space. After two years of discussions an agreement was signed with Olympia and York in July 1987. This led to a surge of interest in Docklands and by the end of 1987 there were commitments amounting to almost 9m sq ft of development predominately of high quality office space.

It was anticipated that the development on the Isle of Dogs would create 100,000 jobs or more. However, the Isle of Dogs is surrounded on three sides by water with no cross river capacity and the only rail access into the Island was the Docklands Light Railway from the City to Stratford which opened between Tower Hill and Island Gardens and Stratford in July 1987. The LDDC recognised that the area could not reach its full potential without further major investment in Public transport. The Jubilee Line played a crucial role in extending transport access to and from the Island and providing regional links between the south and the Isle of Dogs.

In November 1985 there was a Private Members Bill for the extension to Bank on the Docklands Light Railway. In 1986/87 the transport and infrastructure requirements for Canary Wharf and the Royal Docks were built into a strategic transport plan devised for Docklands overall covering:

- DLR upgrades and extensions to Bank and Beckton
- DLR extension to Lewisham
- A full strategic road link connecting from the M11 to the east, through the Royal Docks to Polar under Limehouse to Tower Bridge and the City.

These projects were funded not in the usual way by the Department of Transport but from the DoE on regeneration grounds.

Between 1987 and 1989 the following transport initiatives were undertaken:

1. Docklands Light Railway (DLR) opened.
2. London City Airport opened.
3. Contract signed for Canary Wharf and on the Docklands Light Railway to Bank
4. Construction begins for first building contract at Canary Wharf and on the Docklands Light Railway to Bank.

Between 1990 and 1999 further transport developments included:

5. 1990 Extension to the Jubilee Line authorized
6. 1991 DLR to Bank completed
7. 1993 Construction of the Jubilee Line Extension officially started
8. 1999 Opening for final section and link into existing Jubilee Line.

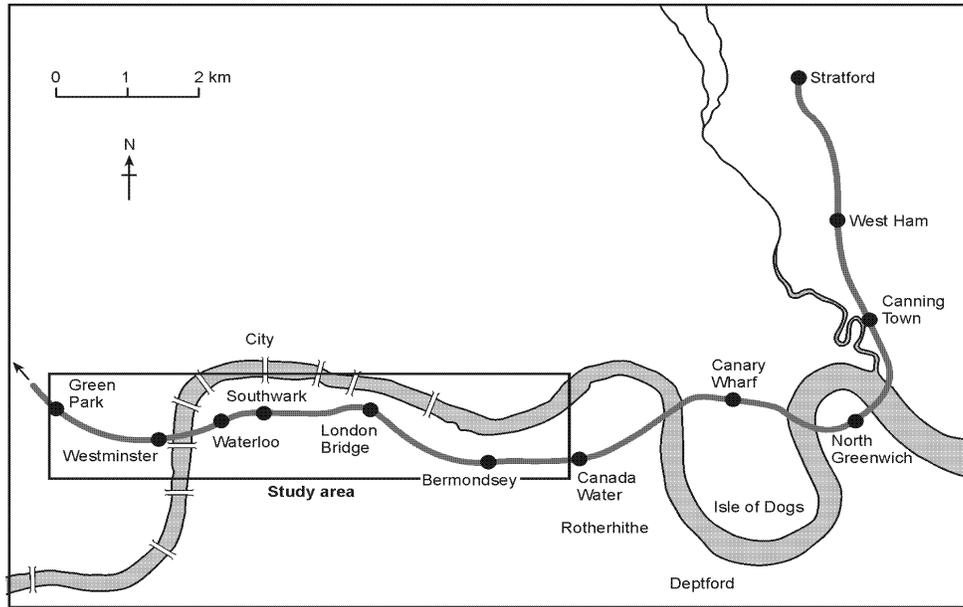


Figure 4.5: Route of the Jubilee Line Extension

In August 1991 the first tenants moved in to Canary Wharf and when it opened in 1991 there were seven buildings – the tower and six buildings and there were only 2,000 people working there. Respondent CA (see details of interviews in (box 7.4) explains that: *“the population has progressively gone up to approximately 90,000 in 2007. Ultimately there could be as many as 200,000 people working in Canary Wharf”*.

Numbers of people employed in Canary Wharf - Predominately in the financial and business sector	
1991	– 2,000 people
2007	– 90,000 people
Predicted	- 200,000 people

Box 4.5 (source J. Berry, 2007)

Total Modal Share of Transport into Canary Wharf in 2007
DLR 32%
JLE 40%
Other 28%

Box 4.6 (source J. Berry, 2007)

Canary Wharf has also become a major shopping destination both for the people who live in the Docklands area but also for people who live as far away as Clapham or Romford or Woolwich – they drive here. There is estimated to be a foot fall of 650,000 to 700,000 a week – with Saturday being the busiest day. These figures were before the ‘credit crunch in 2008 (Figure 4.6).



Figure 4.6: Canary Wharf circa 2009

4.15 The Background to Decisions Taken to Extend the Jubilee Line

The following statements from the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committee on the London Underground Bill (February & December 1991) give an insight into the background of the decisions taken to extend the Jubilee line.

When discussing the area between London Bridge and Canada Water. Mr Henderson QC (promoting the Bill) stated that:

“in this area there is very poor public transport indeed. The nearest station is at South Bermondsey”. . . . “Our submission is that the Jubilee line extension is essential for the continued development of Docklands” He later added that: *“it was hoped that the construction of the JLE would assist in the regeneration of the totality of the area.”*

When questioned about the benefits of the JLE (David Bayliss, Director of Planning, London Transport) stated:

“ Perhaps the most important general benefit is . . . that this extended line will connect with all other underground lines on the London Underground system and therefore contribute to accessibility not just in the corridor but more widely through north-west London, the West End, south of the river and Docklands.”

It could be argued that the JLE was developed without a clear plan as to how it would bring regeneration to the areas affected. This can be demonstrated in the following selection of statements in which Mr Henderson surmised that the local community would benefit by way of enhanced job opportunities:

“...one might hope to have a progression of confidence that as the work began, as it proceeded, as contracts were placed and as the line was built the local communities would benefit...”

“Sir, we would see this line as benefiting not simply Canary Wharf but . . . would go some way to achieving the benefit that the type of work which would be available would be apt to the local community.”

And:

“... that the Committee ... have regards to the need for regeneration of local communities and local industries in and around the areas of London Docklands and the Lower Lee Valley”

Not only were there no clear plans as to how the JLE would regenerate the area but the following statements make it clear that the impact of the JLE on the local community was not considered to be the responsibility of transport planners and engineers:

“Although, of course, as the mere purveyors of transport, we cannot determine the character of regeneration, as to whether it provides local employment and local housing - that in the end will be decided by others and by other forces”...

(Hansard p.26 Mr Henderson QC)

Mr Bayliss was asked about regeneration as follows:

Q: *“It may be helpful to know what you understand by the term ‘regeneration...’”*

Mr Bayliss replied: “Yes. As a transport planner I am straying a little bit out of my territory, but I think it is important to recognise this project is not simply a transport project. It is designed to have wider economic and social benefits, and that is reflected in this instruction to the Committee. I believe regeneration is concerned with improving the economic and social fabric of an area. As part of this, the re-use, refurbishment and appropriate redevelopment of buildings is a key part in order to engender an economic activity, and this in turn will play an important part, although not provide a guarantee in fostering a healthy social dimension to the local community.”

When speaking to respondent CA an executive from the Canary Wharf Group who was responsible for transport issues he explained:

“One of the biggest challenges that we faced then and to a lesser extent now is the whole business of how you get here. And so if you look around the room just about most of the pictures you’re going to see have something to do with transport whether its rail transport, bus transport, connectivity on the underground, air transport from here to Europe or from here to Heathrow or to Stansted whatever the case might be. So transport is a critical factor in making

this place happen and quite frankly its part of the history of how this place has evolved”

Respondent CA went onto say that the first real step of making this place happen was the creation of the DLR ... *“and when Canary Wharf came along the question was how are we going to get this place connected into the city and the idea was that the extension from Bank station would get created for which the company contributed £100,000,000”* and he added ... *“we also ended up paying for the station here at Canary Wharf”*.

Olympia and York did much lobbying to get the DLR to Bank. The Author also questioned Respondent CA about the discussion as to whether they should continue CrossRail and leave JLE till later. Did he think developing the JLE to be the right decision?

CA: “If they had built CrossRail and they had not built the JLE this would not be here. You couldn’t have built this on the back of the DLR (referring to Canary Wharf)... but it certainly can’t grow to the potential that’s available here without CrossRail”

According to Berry, (2007 personal communication), the JLE would not have happened at all if Olympia & York had not developed Canary Wharf and been involved in contributing £100 million with a promise of £400million to fund the Line. Interrelated to this was recognition that the JLE was critical to Canary Wharf particularly Phases 2 and 3 of the development. (The JLE scheme was estimated to cost £2.1 billion). In the end the scheme cost £3.5 billion because of huge cost overruns during its construction. Originally it was intended that the developers should for a large part of the scheme; however, their final contribution was less than 5%.

4.15.1 *The Impact on Property Values*

In the ‘South Bank Report’ produced by Knight Frank the residential market along the entire stretch of the riverside to Canada Water is stated as offering ‘*considerable potential to developers, investors and owner-occupiers*’. The report also goes on to state that: ‘*The improved transport infrastructure in the area, together with the increased choice and availability of rental and leisure facilities has proved the key to the renewed interest*’ (Knight, Frank, Special Report 2000).

Jones Lang LaSalle estimated that the total value of property has increased by £3.9 billion at Canary Wharf and £2 billion at Southwark. They have estimated that between £0.75 billion and £1.9 billion of the increase at Canary Wharf would not have occurred without the JLE and that between £150 million and £650 million of the increase at Southwark would not have occurred without the JLE (Jones et al, 2004).

There was evidence that property values along the corridor were increasing but that it was difficult to isolate whether this had occurred directly as a consequence of the JLE. It should be noted that the report was completed in December 1999 therefore information would have been collected prior to this date.

4.15.2 *The Impact on Employment*

The JLE corridor has historically suffered from high unemployment. The large increase in employment in Canary Wharf has been of only limited benefit, to established local residents:

“Given the positive impact of the JLE in increasing employment levels, it is disappointing that the JLE has not had more success in reducing relative unemployment levels in its catchment areas”, (Jones et al, 2004).

In 1991, 31% of the residents were employed in managerial, professional and technical employment. Over a decade later in 2001 the proportion of residents employed in managerial, professional and technical employment had increased to 51%. This represents a significant structural change in employment patterns.

4.15.3 The change in the demographics of the people living in Canada Water

The demographics in the area reveal a shift to a growth in single occupation with an increase in the buy-to-let market, as young professionals on short term contracts see the location as an “ideal place to live”.

An indication of the social change to the culture of the area was revealed by an article in *The Telegraph* on 24th October 2001, which announced that the “the first Pizza express, cappuccino bars and gyms have arrived”. The article went on to state that property values have risen sharply over the last 15 months with increased demand and favourable price comparisons with prime Docklands residential prices.

The most common reason for people to move into the area was the convenience for work. The Household Panel Surveys conducted by the University of Westminster revealed: “In the catchment areas between Bermondsey and Canary Wharf ‘convenience for work’ was cited by 39%-57% *in-movers* and by 53%-59% *new-build* occupants” (Jones et al, 2004). The survey also revealed a marked difference in culture and demographics of the permanent residents and the ‘in-movers’:

4.15.4 *Main Impacts Identified*

- The in-movers were generally younger, more likely to be white, more likely to be employed and likely to be much more highly qualified than the permanent residents.
- There is a large increase in the proportion of residents in the 25-44 age group with a corresponding reduction in the proportion of people aged 45 and over.
- The in-movers were also likely to have much higher incomes and be more likely to own a car.
- The reported household income of permanent residents was at around £15,000 pa. Those occupying new build had annual incomes of £51,463 - £48,375.
- Lone parent households have increased from 2% of households in 1971 to 12.8% in 2001. Childless couples have shown the largest decline from 40.3% to only 16.1% and single person households have increased from 24.7% to 41.0%.
- In-movers are much more likely to travel to Central London and are more likely to shop outside the area. (Jones et al, 2004).

The Jubilee Line Extension Impact Study concluded that more attention needed to be paid to the impact on the local community and to some broader policy issues.

The Summary Report of that project dealt with some of the lessons learned and concluded that the JLE was conceived primarily as a strategic transport link in the London rail network with the hope that it would also encourage the regeneration of the area through which it passed (Jones et al, 2004). This conclusion is supported by the evidence given during the Parliamentary Committee described in Section 7.5 (February & December 1991). The Report states that:

“As a consequence, less attention was paid to local impacts and to some broader policy issues than would be considered appropriate in the current policy

climate... The separation of planning and transport responsibilities at a strategic level may have contributed to the lack of development at the stations as well as the prevailing market conditions". (Jones et al, 2004).

In keeping with earlier policy priorities, no sustainability audit was undertaken to assess the contribution that the JLE could make (Jones *et al*, 2004). An important issue to be considered is the extent of the role that could be played by transport infrastructure in the social, environmental and economic regeneration and development of an area.

Section Eleven (Lessons Learnt) of "*The JLE Summary Report*" prepared by the University of Westminster explains that:

The study identified five aspects that "would now demand greater attention".

- *Complementary land use policies: at the time the JLE was commissioned, local authority policies did not encourage higher density development around stations, nor reduce parking standards, although this is now changing.*
- *Non-vehicular transport, while much emphasis was placed on good bus/rail interchange, relatively little effort was put into ensuring good local access on foot or by bicycle ;*
- *Social inclusion: it was assumed that local residences and businesses would benefit from regeneration along the route of the JLE, but there were no complementary policies to ensure that these benefits were maximised (e.g. by retraining local unemployed residents);*
- *Sustainability: several of the Mayor's strategies now stress the importance of increasing the sustainability of activity in London, Again in keeping with earlier policy priorities, no sustainability audit was undertaken to assess the contribution of the contribution that the JLE could make.*
- *Land value capture.*

4.16 Conclusion, Summary and Discussion

For over a century London's Docklands had been a focal point of the economy of London which attracted Industry alongside the docks. Therefore when the Docks went in to decline in the 1960s and started to close in the 1970s, London lost an important part of its economy. Heseltine spoke of the dereliction:

The area displays more acutely and extensively than any other area in England the physical decline of the urban city and the need for urban regeneration. It represents a major opportunity for the development that London needs over the last twenty years of 20th century: new housing, new environments, new industrial developments, new architecture all calculated to bring these barren areas back into more valuable use” (Quoted by LDDC, 2007 also Heseltine, 2009).

There is no doubt that it was vital to regenerate the docklands area to improve London's economy - indeed the country's as a whole. However the financial crisis which began in the mid-1970s meant that there was a shortage of public money available for development and regeneration projects. Desperate measures were needed, this led to successive governments restricting public expenditure and exerting a greater control over local spending (Brownhill, 1993) which was achieved by the planning policies at the time. The process using the SDOs ignores local interests and avoids the planning system which attempts to incorporate local needs and involves the public through participation.

The previous plans for the Docklands area had emphasised industry and public sector housing but, the decline in manufacturing industry nationally and the cuts in public housing finance meant that funds had been slow to materialise. It was therefore necessary to rethink the strategy. In contrast, the Urban Development Corporation was

promoting private housing, offices and leisure developments. Without the influence of locally elected representatives the action of the Urban Development Corporation offered an initiative which was a shift to developments that had no direct or immediate benefit for existing residents and a strategy that was based upon bringing into the area new residents that could afford the expensive housing and who worked for the service sector.

It has already been demonstrated in section 4.2.1 - 4.3.3, that the policies during the Thatcher years (1979- 1997), encouraged the market to dominate the decision making process. As, Thornley (1991) states: *“There was a shift in balance between central and local government, an erosion of local democracy and an increasing emphasis on policies aimed at facilitating the role of private investment”*. Both Thornley (1991) and Hall (1996) draw attention to the change in emphasis that took place from the needs of the community to the aspiration and imperatives of the market place.

It would therefore appear that the regeneration was focused mainly on creating an increase in land and property values without looking at the wider social issues.

Regeneration of this kind is particularly problematic in areas which were traditionally working class. There is a need to provide employment training so that local people are able to take advantage of the opportunities offered by Canary Wharf. It also must be considered that employment in the financial/commercial sector may not be suitable for people that once worked in the manufacturing industry and Manufactures would find the price of land prohibitive in the Dockland area today. Therefore there is a need to improve accessibility in areas like London Riverside that would encourage manufacturing back to the area thereby providing employment for people who once worked in the manufacturing industry.

Respondent CB (travelling on the DLR) thought that regeneration was about improving the conditions for the local people, especially in areas of deprivation.

He went on to explain that we were travelling on a railway line, “...*which goes through a very, very deprived area...*”. That until the DLR was built the Royal Docks area was cut off from the rest of London , “ *there was one road in and one road out... so this is a very deprived community and it still remain a deprived community*”. CB thought there were lots of housing schemes but what they needed was employment schemes - employment schemes that would match the skills of the local residents. He said, “*There’s a lot of effort going into re-skilling our population...*” so that when the jobs in Stratford are available, (he thought there should be 34,000 jobs post 2010), the local people will have access to these jobs and they are not ‘swallowed up’ by Essex commuters or people who now work at Canary Wharf:

“...That’s the only way were going to get our populations regeneration to happen. Regeneration isn’t about building railways or about building new residential units or new offices. Regeneration only happens when people have money in their pockets. We’ve got examples over on the Beckton branch of the DLR where they’ve built a massive office development and it sits idle because no ones in there and until that building’s full up with people being productive, until people are earning a wage out of that building, there is no regeneration – you might as well flatten it and leave it as a fallow site. Bear in mind when we talk about regeneration it’s always with an end purpose which is to see an improvement in the social; base of our community- that’s where we’re coming from”.

CHAPTER 5: DALSTON JUNCTION CASE STUDY



Fig. 5.1 Dalston Junction Station (2010)

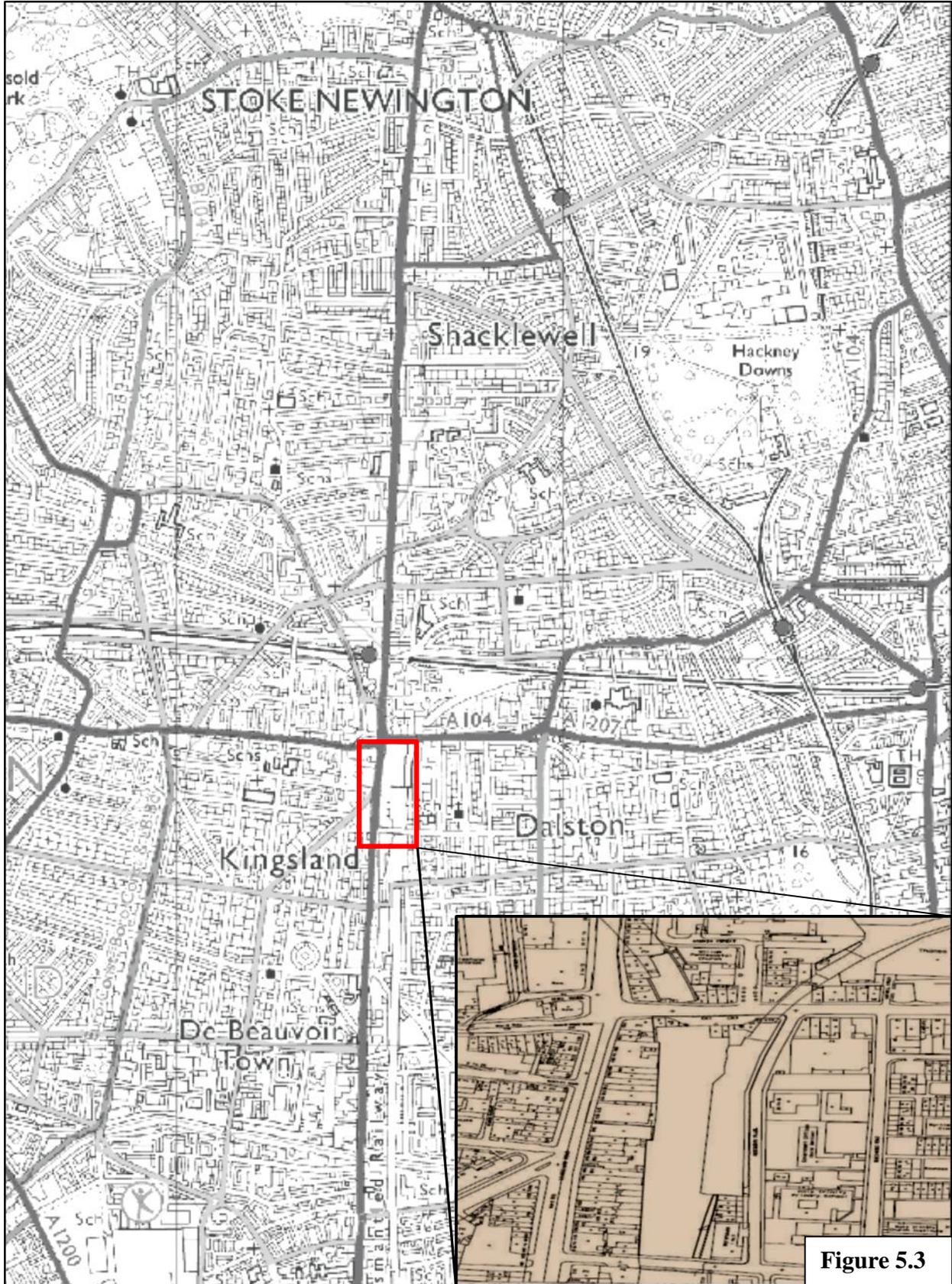
5.1 Introduction

Case study one is Dalston Junction, Stoke Newington, London, E8. The site comprises an area of 1.07 hectares in North East London, which is bounded by Dalston Lane (A104) to the north, to the east by Beechwood Road and Roseberry Place to the west. To the south of the site lies the Holy Trinity Primary School beyond which lies Forest Road (see location maps in Figures 5.2 and 5.3).

Within the site there were a number of three storey buildings with single storey extensions that front on to Dalston Lane and a derelict former theatre which had its entrance on Dalston Lane. A vacant two storey building stood at the rear of the site. All these have now been demolished.

To the west of Roseberry Place is a former scrap yard and railway cutting. The cutting site once housed Dalston Junction Station and forms part of the East London Line Project new station development. There are also five two-storey terraced houses and some small industrial or warehouse premises at the south end of Roseberry Place (Dalston Lane South, Concept Design Report, Arup Associates, 2006).

Figures 5.2 & 5.3: Location map with inset



5.2 Background

The data for the background information has been provided by an extract from the report commissioned for ODPM in the successful bid for Community Infrastructure Funding (CIF), 2005.

5.2.1 Demographics

The present population of Dalston ward is 10,392¹. The population living within 800m of the East London Line Project site was 21,910 in 2001. Hackney's population is growing proportionally at a faster rate than the population of London as a whole – between 1991 and 2001 the population of Hackney increased by 11.9% compared to 8.2% for London as a whole. Projected population growth for the Borough between 2016 and 2031 is 20%, which is significantly more than the projected population growth in London as a whole (13%). This reflects the high-growth option for the East London sub-region in the London Plan. Clearly population growth of this magnitude will place significant demands on the borough's land resources and transport and other infrastructure.

The population of Hackney is particularly demographically diverse, and the area's proximity to the City of London means that there is a high incidence of mobile young professionals moving into the area, while the longer-term residents tend to have a much more deprived demographic profile.

The borough is also changing rapidly, with its growing influence as a gateway for the East London growth area and the financial services industries in the city fringe resulting in an increase in the number of jobs in Hackney of 29% between 1996 and 2002. In

¹ ONS Mid 2002-2003 estimate

addition the opening up of Eastern Europe continues to enable and attract overseas immigrants into Hackney. As a result of these factors Hackney tends to gain 15-29 year old population through migration and to lose the over 45s.

The Dalston area is also one of the most ethnically diverse areas in London, and this has become a strong and important characteristic defining the area. Only 9% of the population of England and Wales is made up of ethnic minorities, but this rises to 40% in Hackney and to 43.7% in Dalston.

5.2.2 The Culture and Community of Dalston today

Dalston has a very cosmopolitan atmosphere and a diverse community with a quarter of the population black or black English, there is also a strong Turkish and Kurdish community. The Ridley Road Street market creates a lively street atmosphere during the day and in the evening Gillett Square is an area of activity with the Vortex Jazz Club and restaurants bordering the square. The square was formally opened in November 2006 and describes itself as a simple, hardwearing and flexible urban space for Dalston. In 2003 Gillett Square was adopted as one of Mayor Livingstone's new urban spaces for London, which led to the involvement of the Greater London Authority's (GLA's) Architecture and Urbanism Unit in the Gillett Square partnership. In addition to Gillett Square the Rio Cinema – a purpose built cinema dating from 1915 with a 1930s art deco façade - offers a wide-ranging programme with a mix of mainstream and specialist films designed to appeal to a variety of audiences.

5.2.3 Housing

Overcrowding in Hackney is generally high, with over a third of households living in

homes considered to have one room too few. Overcrowding in Dalston is comparable with the Hackney average. Rented accommodation from the council is very high when compared with the London and National averages.

There is growing demand for new housing in Hackney. For housing demand in the Borough to be met up to 2016 it is estimated that the Dalston Ward would need to accommodate approximately 150 units per annum, 1,650 in total up to 2016. To meet the Council's target for new affordable housing it is recommended that 50% of these units should be affordable. The current shortfall in affordable housing across the whole Borough is estimated at 1,500 units per year.

5.2.4 Unemployment and Deprivation

Unemployment levels in Dalston ward (7.5%) are over twice as high as London-wide levels (3.5%), and are high in the context of Hackney also (6%)². The public sector is the largest employer in the Dalston Ward with council and healthcare employers providing the bulk of employment.

Dalston, and Hackney in general, has some of the highest levels of social and economic deprivation in the country. The Index of Multiple Deprivation (2004) identified Hackney as the most deprived local authority in England, based on the average ranks of the Super Output Areas (SOAs). Approximately 20% of Hackney's SOAs are in the top 20% most deprived in England. The majority of the SOAs in the Dalston Ward are within the top 10% of the most deprived areas in the country and a number of the SOAs are within the top 5%.

² April 2005 figures.

5.2.5 Safety

The crime rate in Dalston is higher than the London and National average. Dalston is identified in the Area Action Plan (AAP) Stage 1 report as a hotspot for street crime and violent crime in Hackney. The station and the retail area are particularly badly affected in this respect. Street crime and violent crime rose by 8% and 6.6% respectively in 2003/4 and this trend is having a negative impact on the image of Dalston and the quality of life of people living in and working in Dalston.

5.3 History of Dalston Junction

As stated in Section 3.4.1 an historical approach to the research has been adopted. It was explained that it was considered that the understanding the historical development of an area can be vital to gaining insights into planning decisions and attitudes of local communities. The ownership of the land and how this was sold on and divided up can be seen from ancient maps. It is also relevant to the way in which the area can be developed today.

The material collected for the history of Dalston has been gathered from 'History on line' for Dalston, Hackney and the De Beauvoire town. Historic maps of the locality have also been used to document the development of Dalston..

The name Dalston is Anglo Saxon in origin (Derleston) the name was probably derived from Dedrlaf's tun or farm on the banks of Hackney Brook. By 1300 it had become a Hamlet known as Derleston centred around the junction of the present day Ridley Road and Dalston Lane. The hamlet of Kingsland grew up in medieval times at what is now known as Dalston Junction; the junction of Dalston Lane and Kingsland Road. The main

economy of the area would have been farming with the hamlet of Dalston being surrounded by fields and market gardens (see the John Roques Map Circa 1746 in Figure A.1, Appendix A). The historic maps of the area reveal the changing character of Dalston from an agricultural landscape of hamlets and villages to part of London's urban sprawl.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century speculative ribbon development was starting to occur along the main arterial routes in the area. Greenwood's map of 1830 (see Figure A.2, Appendix A) shows the development of terrace buildings and roads around Kingsland Road although the area was still partly arable - Bassington's Nursery can be clearly seen marked on the map.

By the 1830's the hamlets had merged and linked to the north with the hamlet of Shacklewell and to the new development of De Beauvoir Town in the south as London expanded into the surrounding countryside. Until the mid 19th century Dalston was still largely rural but by the 1830s all the principal landowners in the area, the de Beauvoir, the Rhodes and the Tyssen-Amhursts were selling plots of land to developers which gradually created the Victorian suburb that is evident today. The demand for vast quantities of bricks was supplied locally from Hobson's brickfields on the east side of Kingsland Road – the market gardens were dug up for the clay beneath.

The Ordnance Survey map of 1873 (see Figure A.3, Appendix A) shows how the roads in the area had developed and extended to form a rough grid - many roads were half a mile long. The map also shows the railway and by 1878 the East and North London Lines had been constructed and were connected by both east and west spurs. The map shows substantial urban development on either side of the railway - the middle, eastern

sections of Dalston Lane were largely cut off from the south by the North London Railway branch line and were linked more directly with the high road by Ridley Road.

The area is shown largely unchanged on the 1889 Booths Map (see Figure A.4, Appendix A), except for the widening of the railway. The area changed little until the Second World War when bombing made way for the first estates in Dalston. Between 1966 and 1972 a considerable number of terraces were demolished to make way for the Holly Street estate. Figures 5.4 to 5.6 show photographs of the area taken between the 1980s and 2006 from which an impression of the state of the buildings can be gained.

Twenty first century Dalston, like much of Hackney, is a patchwork of Victorian housing and council estates. The replacement of 19th century buildings leaves parts of Dalston Lane and the high road looking neglected. It lacks impressive public buildings and open spaces even though it adjoins London Fields.

The dominant function of Dalston town centre is retail activity - the Kingsland Shopping Centre was intended to regenerate the district. However, the main retail activity occurs within traditional shopping frontages at street level along the high road, Dalston Lane and the Ridley Road market.



Figure 5.4
View of Dalston Junction Station, c. mid. 1980s



Figure 5.5
View of Dalston Junction Station, c. mid. 1980s



Figure 5.6:
View looking north to Dalston Lane, c. mid 2006

5.3.1 *The History of the North London Colosseum*



Figure 5.7: Dalston Theatre 2005

The demolition of the theatre in Dalston Lane has caused much anger and mistrust for the Local Authority amongst the local community (Open Dalston³).

The North London Colosseum and National Hippodrome, as it was originally known, was built in 1886. The theatre experienced several reincarnations from the venue for a circus, a variety theatre to a cinema, Finally Doreen Raddon, Charles Collins and Newton Dunbar founded the music clubs at 12 Dalston Lane and for the next 33 years, the old theatre was to become the home of black music in North London and a second home to black musicians.

The theatre was to take on a new lease of life when in 1977 Hackney Council bought the building site for £1.8million from Tesco and in 1995 the Council declared the Gaumont Cinema, as it was then called, suitable for redevelopment. By 1998, despite deputations and petitioning of the Council, the occupants were evicted. The buildings were boarded up and the theatre's roof coverings were removed and as a consequence the theatre became derelict. Declared unsafe and derelict, permission to demolish the theatre together with 4-14 Dalston Lane was granted in February 2006. Saving the theatre

³). Although the History of the Theatre was provided by 'Open Dalston' the Author has only reported the facts and from her research it was clear there was much anger about the loss of the theatre..

became a very vigorous campaign with local residents and local groups like Open Dalston.

5.3.2 History of Dalston Junction Station

Dalston Junction station was opened by North London Railway on the 1st November 1865. It was an impressive station with six platform faces – see Figure 5.8. The main entrance was sited on the south side of Dalston Lane. Beyond the station there were two partially covered curves with trains running to Richmond and Watford via the west curve and to Poplar via the east curve.

The original idea for the North London Line came from the London & Birmingham Railway which was keen to reach the docks situated on the lower reaches of the Thames. In 1909 the North London Railway went into joint management with London and North Western Railway (LNWR) and in 1922 the latter company absorbed the NLR completely before itself becoming part of London Midland and Scottish Railway (LMS) the following year.



Figure 5.8: Dalston Junction Station c1905

Many of the North London stations were damaged in the nightly bombing during the blitz and one by one the stations were closed; including Dalston. The closure was described as temporary and all the booking offices remained open - issuing tickets for an emergency bus service calling at all stations. Just before the end of the war the bus service was withdrawn and most of the line remained closed to passengers. The freight services to the docks remained until the closure of the docks and the Richmond and Watford passenger service operated until 27th June 1976 when Dalston Junction station on the Broad Street Line finally closed on 30th June 1986. However, the NLL continued to Stratford and North Woolwich from Dalston's Kingsland Station.

5.4 How has the history influenced the development of Dalston Junction?

From the history of the area it would appear that the following important factors decided the way that the area developed and contributed to the way the area would be able to be developed in the future:

- The land in the Dalston area was owned by three principal landowners, the de Beauvoir, the Rhodes and the Tyssen-Amhursts.
- By the 1830s these landowners were selling plots of land to developers which gradually created the Victorian suburb that is evident today.
- The distribution and ownership of this land influences future development that could take place in the area (see Section 5.5).
- The extension of the North London Line which created the Dalston Junction station in 1865.
- The subsequent development of housing and industry around the station
- The closure of the Dalston Junction station in 1986.

5.5 The History of the Development of Dalston Junction and overland site

As part of a wider effort to increase accessibility in areas poorly served by public transport, and to help boost urban regeneration, LUL proposed to extend the East London Line to the north of its current alignment (London Underground, 1993) - see map of completed East London Line in Figure 5.9. A request for Transport and Works Acts Order for the East London Line Project (ELLP), was made on the 30th November 1993

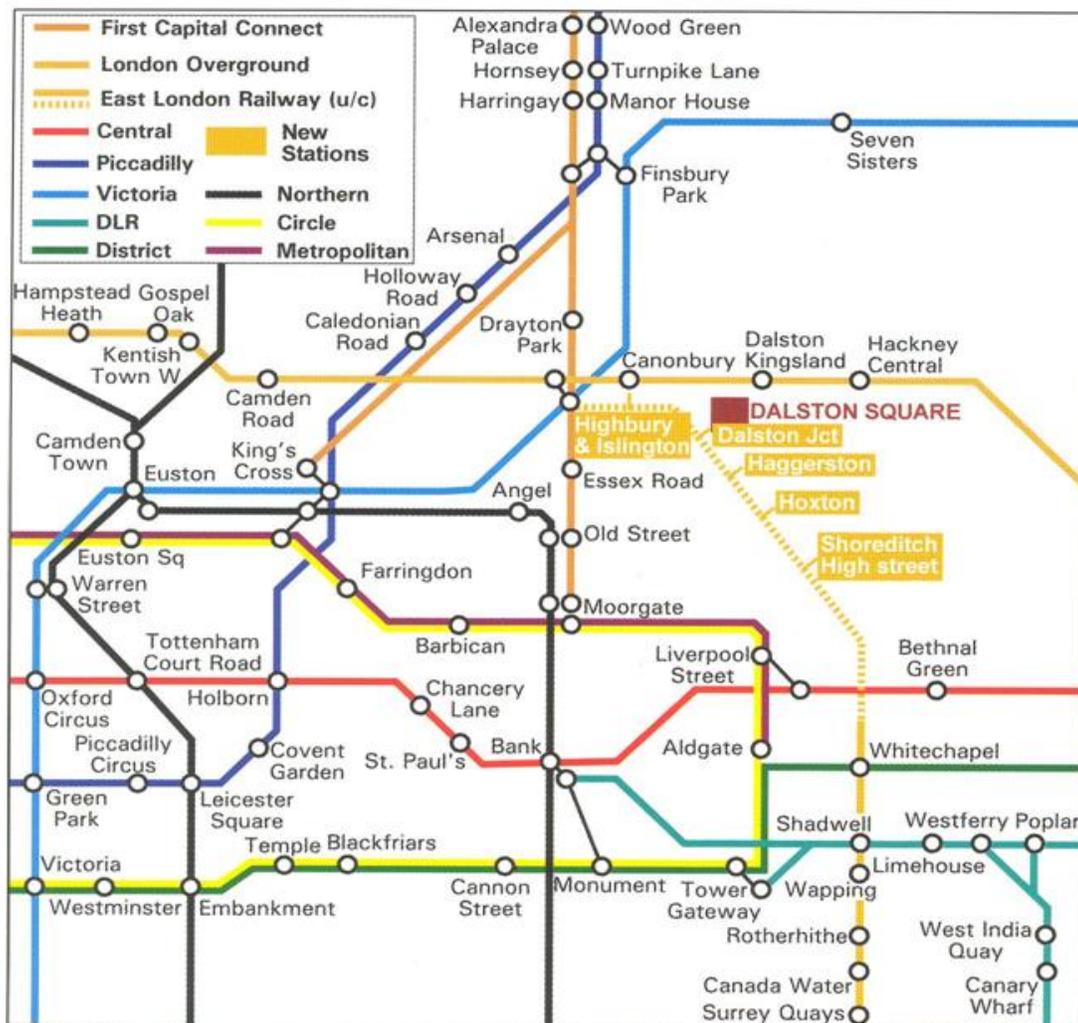


Figure 5.9: Underground Map with Dalston Junction Station

and a Public Local Enquiry was held in October and November 1994. Planning permission for the East London Line Project was deemed to have been granted through Statutory Order 1997 No 264 Transport and Works Transport entitled 'The London Underground (East London Line Extension) Order 1997'. The order was granted on the 20th January 1997 and came into force on the 10th February 1997. The permitted scheme drawings are those marked by the Secretary of State as "Plans and Sections" for the purpose of the Order dated 1993-1994 (Hepher Dixon, 2006). No part of the new extension was underground other than a short section running through the then disused Kingsland Covered Way in the London Borough of Hackney and Islington (London Underground, 1993).

The Government gave the go-ahead on the 9th October 2001, on the basis of the line being funded through a Private Finance Initiative (PFI) and the construction of the northern extension was due to begin in December 2001. However, it was held up when it came to light that the Grade II listed 19th century Braithwaite arches in the former Bishopsgate Goods Yard were to be demolished as part of the project. Campaigners launched a legal action against London Underground in an effort to prevent the demolition, but the project finally received legal clearance in the Court of Appeal on 7th July 2003.

It was intended that all the new stations established along the East London Line would share the same design features and all stations would be located at viaduct level, except for Dalston that was intended to be in a cutting (London Underground, 1993).

5.5.1 Background Evidence from stakeholder interviews

According to Respondent DF (see Section 5.8, Box 5.2), originally the Strategic Rail Authority developed the East London Line Project as a straightforward railway job, and at Dalston the existing unused alignment was in a cutting. This was due to level issues as the railway needed to be at a suitable elevation to join the North London Line, and the SRA project simply put a small station in the cutting. At this stage there was not a master plan for the project.

When the author spoke with Respondent DE, an executive from Design for London, he explained that Dalston Junction: “*started off as just being a bus slab on top of a cutting on the East London Line ... they were going to have a ramp up and down for the buses to run*” and it was respondent DE’s opinion that; “*they were going to completely cut off the two parts of Dalston for ever more*”.

Respondent DA (See Section 5.8, Box 5.2), explained that “*the genesis of Dalston*” was in the political will of both the London Borough of Hackney and the Mayor of London who desired that TfL should do more than install a railway station in a cutting at Dalston, but rather should deliver a mixed development over the new railway. The LDA and TfL London Rail agreed to take this forward. There was strong encouragement from both City Hall and London Borough of Hackney to look at improving the urban integration of East London Line Project (ELLP) at key sites, especially Dalston and Bishopsgate Goodsyrd.

In January 2004 a team of all the key stakeholders was assembled to include Transport for London (TfL) Interchange team and Buses as well as John McAslan and Partners with Arup as architects and engineers, the London Development Agency (LDA), the Greater

London Authority (GLA) and representatives from the London Borough of Hackney. Later in the process Respondent DE (See Section 5.8, Box 5.2), who was at the time TfL's Design Champion, became aware of the process and he was welcomed into the team. The process was supervised by a Steering Group made up of senior members of LB Hackney, LDA, London Rail and the Mayor's Office. The team also interacted with Richard Rogers as Head of CABE.

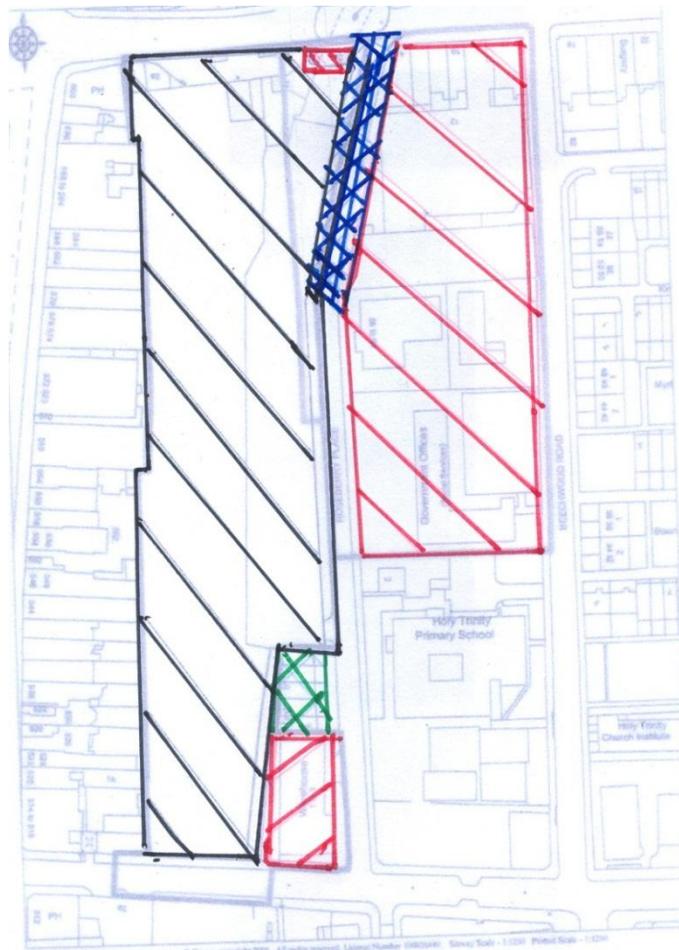
The solution adopted was to cover the railway with a large 2 acre reinforced concrete suspended slab. The Dalston Junction Interchange (DJI) and Oversite above the station development comprises a Raft over the railway to accommodate a railway station entrance, 309 new residential units, 3,000 m² of commercial space, bus stands and bus stops. In conjunction with the development of a site immediately to the east owned by LB Hackney (known as Dalston Lane South) it will also provide some 4,900 m² of new Public Realm and a new Library.

The cost of building the slab is about £40m more than the cost of the base scheme of a station in open cutting. Paying for the work was a problem and in the end the Interchange Team extracted nearly £10m from Buses, £10m from the ODPM's Communities Infrastructure Fund (CIF), and LDA were to provide the balance from the developer Barratt's who won the option to develop in open tender. The political support for the scheme was so positive that it was possible for TfL to take the project from zero to submission of a full planning application in about 18 months, and planning permission was granted on the 30th March 2006 just over 2 years after they started. This was essential as the East London Line Project was to be the delivery agent for the slab, and they could not afford to hold up such a significant project even for a key site like

Dalston. The slab was successfully integrated into East London Line Project's (ELLP's) programme. The first stage of the development is now completed and the developers have started the second phase of the development (Figures 5.12 to 5.20 at the end of the Chapter show photographs taken at various stages of the development).

It is important to note that the site of the Dalston Junction development was owned by four different parties and required careful negotiation - see Figure 5.10. In interviews the author was informed by the Developers that without the four sections it would not have been a viable proposition for them or any other developer to develop the site.

Figure 5.10: The ownership of the Dalston Junction Site



Respondent L DF explains the ownership as follows:

1. The red hatched area was owned by London Borough of Hackney
2. The black hatched area was owned by TfL (through LUL who had the powers to build the railway)
3. The green cross hatched (the five cottages) was originally in 5 private ownerships but subsequently bought out by London Development Agency (LDA)
4. The blue cross hatched area was the challenge

TfL (acting effectively on behalf of LDA/LB Hackney) originally sought to acquire the blue cross hatched area from British Rail Board Residuary (BRBR). BRBR were acutely aware that TfL did not need the land for the purposes of constructing the East London line and sought to create a ransom situation whereby they would happily sell the land to TfL but as part of a package which would include the Dalston Lane Bridge. This was not acceptable to TfL as the bridge represented an unnecessary maintenance/renewal liability. TfL's negotiations therefore ground to a halt. The LDA eventually succeeded in acquiring the subsoil rights from BRBR after some high level discussions between the Mayor of London's Office, Government office for London and various Government Departments. (Section 5.3.2 explains the history of the ownership of this land and see appendix A for the maps referred to).

5.6 Development Plan for Hackney

The Environmental Statement Main Report outlined the detail of the Development Plan for Hackney and explained that it comprised of the Borough's Unitary Development Plan (UDP) and the London Plan. It also included a number of Supplementary Planning Guidance (SPG) documents and Planning Briefs. One such planning brief discussed

further below, specifically relates to the East London Line and the proposed development site (Hepher Dixon, 2005: p.6).

The report goes on to explain that the Town Planning was in a transitional phase, whereby Development Plans were slowly changing over to Local Development Frameworks (LDF), which are now required by the Planning and Compulsory Purchase act 2004. The Borough UDP was to continue as part of the LDF until September 2007 when it was replaced by a series of Local Development Documents (LDD).

5.6.1 Dalston Area Action Plan

As part of the new LDF, the Council were promoting an Area Action Plan (AAP) covering the centre of Dalston, including the proposed development site. The purpose of the AAP was to:

- Co-ordinate transport and public realm proposals within the area:
- Identify opportunities to deliver development, growth and regeneration:
- Manage funding to enable private sector resources to benefit the area :
- Guide future economic development and regeneration programmes

The Council selected a preferred option for the AAP, which was subject to consultation until 16th December 2005.

Box 5.1 London Borough of Hackney (July 2005) Development Brief for the East London Line Project and Dalston Lane South Site

The Council are concurrently producing a Planning Brief for the combined East London Line Project and Dalston Lane South sites. The Brief covers two further sites in addition to the proposed development site. The first is located on Roseberry Place, opposite the proposed development site and is currently derelict. It is bounded to the north by Dalston Lane and to the east by Beechwood Road. To the south by Holy Trinity Church of England Primary School. Second and smallest site lies to the east of Beechwood Road. It is also bound to the north by Dalston Lane with Woodland Street to the east and Crosby Walk to the south. This site is currently occupied by two and three story buildings in community and retail uses.

The purpose of the Brief is to facilitate the comprehensive redevelopment of all the sites and has the following objectives:

Development will provide a mix of uses that will meet both local and London wide needs, contributing towards a sustainable town centre .

Development will improve public transport infrastructure to provide a range of choices to users, facilitate patterns of movement to give priority to pedestrians, cyclists and public transport and increase permeability and public safety.

Development will be designed to the highest architectural, urban and environmental design in a manner that is in keeping with the current town centre setting and in a way that development will be well integrated with links to the surrounding area.

Development will be undertaken comprehensively under a phased, partnership development approach resulting in the successful delivery of the planned ELLP transport interchange.

The partnership approach will set to identify and make available funding in addition to enabling development and section 106 obligations

5.7 In what way has the planning framework influenced the development?

The context for design included the requirements of the London Plan for high density over transport nodes and low car ownership, as well as the mix of dwelling types desired by LB Hackney. Respondent DA explained that *“Developer’s requirements were not paramount as we realised that without the slab over the railway no developer would be interested in the site”*. The LDA were separately tasked with selling the site with its subsequent planning permission to the market. Although they did some optioneering the design constraints of the site allowed very little deviation from the final option as foundations were hard to find.

The height of the blocks was dictated by:

- the aesthetic judgement of the design professionals;
- the density requirement of the London Plan;
- the trade-off between core and useable space where at a certain point creating a higher building on a given area requires more lifts and services resulting in less net space for occupation.



Figure 5.11:
Model of proposal for
Dalston Junction oversite
development (source
Barratt, 2008)

Respondent DA (see Box 5.2): *“In our formal consultation we found a good measure of approval for the scheme although as you are aware we have been opposed by some local people and one or two local groups”*.

5.8 Field Work

Interviews and focus groups were conducted in accordance with the Methodology Section 3.6. A questionnaire was sent out to residents living in the Dalston area. It should be noted that the researcher’s interview results agree with the Dalston Community Consultation Feedback and Analysis conducted in April 2008 by the London Borough of Hackney.

As explained in Section 3.6.6 of the chapter on Methodology, the author adapted the Content Analysis Method to analyse recorded transcripts of interviews and focus groups. The interviews conducted provided the data from which the researcher has been able to identify the relevant factors that are important in determining the success or otherwise of a given development and the impact transport infrastructure has on that development.

5.8.1 Visits to the site

Initial contacts were made through Respondent DA who project managed the Dalston Junction site and Respondent DF who project managed the construction of the slab above Dalston Station. Through the contact with Respondent DF introductions were made to all the other respondents in this case study.

The following box sets out the dates and locations of visits and interviews carried out by the author:

Box 5.2: Details of Site Visits

Interview	Location	Respondents Status	Code
29 th June 2007	DfL Office	Senior Architect Design for London	DE
12 th September 2007	TfL Office	Project Manager for slab Dalston Junction Station	DF
12 th February 2008	Victoria	Project Manager Dalston Junction	DA
28 th May 2008	Dalston	Valuation Surveyor, Regeneration	DC
26 th June 2008		Developer	DB
18 th August 2008		Secretary Open Dalston – local community group	DG
26 th November 2008	Dalston	Resident living in Dalston	DO
25 th September 2009		Landscape Architect	DH
27 th March 2009	DfL Office	Architect Design for London	DI

5.8.2 Focus Group Meeting

The focus group meeting took place on the 6th June 2009 at Hackney Co-operative Developments, Unit D1, 3, Bradbury Street, London, N16 8JN. Respondents DF and DG assisted the researcher in finding participants for the focus group with the intention to represent the various views of the different sections of stakeholders. Although no local authority representative agreed to participate, an architect from Design for London and the director from the Hackney Co-operative Development offered a professional perspective of the development. The other participants were residents in Dalston from different professional backgrounds.

The following people participated in the focus group:

Respondent DE - Design for London

Respondent DG- Co-ordinator, Open Dalston Respondent

DK - Resident living in Dalston area since 1982

Director DL - Hackney Co-operative Development lived in Hackney since 1969 worked principally in the construction industry as a social researcher

Respondent DM - Resident - works in the city

Respondent DN - Resident – ex resident works for Regeneris - Economic and Regeneration Consultants

Respondent DO - Resident

Respondent DP – Resident - lives not far from the new developments in Dalston

The questions discussed in the focus group are listed in Section 3.6.4 of the Chapter on Methodology. A summary of the full transcript of the meeting is given in Appendix A.

5.8.3 Interviews with Stakeholders

Interviews were carried out with a representative number of stakeholders representing broadly the following four areas of interest:

1. Decision makers in the property field namely, Developers, Estate Agents, Local Businesses.
2. Local authority officials, namely planners
3. Transport providers
4. Representatives from the local community in areas selected.

The respondents interviewed are given in Box 5.2 above.

As mentioned in Section 3.6.3 the interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner to give the interviewees an opportunity to enlarge on issues when appropriate. The lists of questions covered for the community representative, developers and transport providers & local authorities are listed in Figures 3.2 to 3.4 respectively of the Chapter on Methodology. A summary of the full transcript of each interview is given in Appendix A.

5.9 Within-Case Analysis

As described in detail in Section 3.7.2 of the Chapter on Methodology the steps involved in the within-case analysis of the data from the focus groups and interviews were:

1. To identify those factors that were raised by the various stakeholders as being important in determining the success or otherwise of the development and
2. A contextual analysis was then carried out to attempt to rank the degree of importance of the key factors identified in step 1 above. After the process of contextual analysis the factors that are important to the different group of stakeholders are revealed and shown as dots in the stakeholder's column; the number of dots denotes the number of times that the factor was cited as important to that group of stakeholders.

5.9.1 Analysis of Focus Group Meeting

Questions were asked of the focus group (within each case study) in order to ascertain their perception of a good place to live and how they thought it could be achieved.

Summaries of the key factors emerge from each question. Please note that the factors used in the Within-Study analysis are extracted from the responses to the questions and so answers vary slightly in each case study. The summaries of the responses to each of the questions are given in the following and the key factors identified are listed in a summary table for each question. It is believed that presenting the results in this way helps to preserve the richness of the data and shows how the analysis was carried out. It should be noted that all the factors identified by the focus group related to the Local Community. The interviews described in Section 5.9.2 were used to identify factors

relating to all the stakeholder groups i.e. local community, developers, local government and transport planners.

5.9.1.1 Question: What are the components of a good place to live?

Summary: Most people present thought an area of green space where children could play to be very important. An area where people can meet and “congregate together” was considered to be equally important. Throughout the meeting issues of personal safety were expressed as a concern for the area and living in an area that was thought to be ‘safe’ was high on the agenda. It was thought by the majority of the group that a supportive community would help to improve personal safety “...a sense of community that is supportive...” “... that sort of street level, that’s community on a really small scale...”. Several of the respondents thought the area needed more schools.

Table 5.1: Main factors identified relating to a good place to live

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Good place to live			
<i>More schools</i>	• •		
<i>Safe and Clean</i>	•		
<i>Green space</i>	•		
<i>Places where people can meet</i>	•		
<i>A sense of Community</i>	•		

5.9.1.2 Question: Could you describe what is positive about Dalston?

Summary: The cultural diversity and street life were considered to be why people liked living in Dalston “...because it has fantastic bit of street life, it really feels like a place.” Affordable places to live and work were also considered to be reason why people want to live Dalston. It was also thought that the affordability of the area probably accounted for its cultural diversity, “ there have been cheap places to work, cheap places to live and cheap places to trade and that is going!”

Table 5.2: Main Factors Identified relating to what is positive about Dalston

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
<i>Affordable Housing</i>	•		
<i>Affordable place to work</i>	•		
<i>Diverse Community</i>	•		
<i>Cultural/Historic</i>	•		

5.9.1.3 Question: What things could be improved?

Summary: It was evident that there was a large degree of anger about the development but what actually transpired was that the anger was because people were not consulted about decisions that were being made about the future of Dalston between Design for London, the LDA, the GLA and Hackney Council. The majority of people in the focus group as well as respondents interviewed agreed that there was insufficient consultation prior to starting the project. There were complaints that there was a lack of engagement between officials involved with the Dalston Junction project and the local community and that integration of the project into the ‘urban fabric’ “... *depends on the engagement process..*” There was a call for transparency especially at a political level. “...*they feel a small group of people decided that’s what we should have they didn’t ask any of us*”. “...*we had no sense of it being anything to do with us...*”

Table 5.3: Main Factors Identified relating to what could be improved

Factor/Driver	Local community		Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Consultation	•			
<i>Engagement</i>	•			
<i>Transparency</i>	•			
<i>Empowerment</i>	•			
<i>Integration</i>	•			

5.9.1.4 Question: What improvements/additions need to be put in place to make sure that all members of the community benefit from the new transport infrastructure?

Summary: Several people in the group were concerned that the new development would increase property prices and thought that there should have been “...*recognition in the masterplan...*” that would include affordable places for people to work giving opportunities to poor but creative and interesting people. It was considered that the third sector groups should have been consulted from the beginning. Respondent DN was in agreement he had observed that the gentrification in London had “*taken away a lot of the lesser known community functions*” and he felt it very important to protect, “*things like the nursery that someone’s running in their own time*”.

Table 5.4: Main Factors Identified relating to improvements

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
<i>Affordable Housing</i>	•		
<i>Affordable place to work</i>	•		
<i>Third sector community groups</i>	•		
<i>Community functions</i>	•		

5.9.1.5 Question: How can a sense of belonging/identity be achieved?

Summary: Most members of the group complained that the lack of consultation and engagement over Dalston Junction meant that members of the local community failed to identify with the project. When the group was asked how can a sense of belonging and identity be achieved in Dalston everyone in the group called out “ *ask us, listen to us, take us into account*”. Respondent DO added “*there’s no transparency at the moment and we don’t know what’s going on and the second was it does feel like all these decisions are made before we get involved – everything is decided before hand rather than us as a community having any input really on what’s going to happen*”.

It was considered import to maintain those things that had become familiar in the area, whether a building or a group that would help to maintain the sense of belonging.

Table 5.5: Main Factors Identified relating to a sense of belonging

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Consultation	•		
<i>Engagement</i>	•		
<i>Transparency</i>	•		
<i>Empowerment</i>	•		
<i>Sense of place</i>	•		

5.9.2 Analysis of Interviews

The transcripts of the interviews with stakeholders (see Section 5.8.3) were analysed to identify the key factors that emerge from a number of research questions posed by the author and listed in Section 3.7.1. As is done for the focus group responses the summaries of the responses to each of the questions are given in the following and the key factors identified are listed in a summary table for each question. Dots are used to indicate to which stakeholder each of the factors relate.

5.9.2.1 Question: *What are the factors that might influence the developer's decisions to develop?*

Summary: Developers decisions are based on the sale revenue that can be achieved and developers interviewed agreed that good transport accessibility and connectivity would increase land values and therefore influence their decision to develop the area. The general environment of the area was also thought important – Leisure and sports facilities, parks, anything that would increase the value of the area.

Respondent D (Developer) also thought public participation to be “very important” and said that the local community at Dalston had been asked how they would like to use the square. He also cited the proposed development on the Downtown site Bermondsey where the local community had gone to appeal and reversed the secretary of state’s decision. He felt that if the local community had been consulted in the first place they would have avoided the cost of going to appeal. When asking Respondent DC what were the deciding factors which determined whether to develop Dalston Junction, he replied that: “... *it's surely a numbers game of housing units to meet the nearest targets*”.

As previously explained in the background evidence (Section 5.5.1), in Dalston Junction it was thought that the positive political pressure made it easier to develop the site.

Respondent DA explained that, *“because the political pressure was so positive at Dalston, TfL was able to take the project from zero to submission of a full planning application in about 18 months, and planning permission was granted just over 2 years after they started”*. He went on to say that, *“this was essential as East London Line Project was to be the delivery agent for the slab, and they could not afford to hold up such a significant project even for a key site like Dalston”*.

Table 5.6: Main factors identified relating to developers’ decisions

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Accessibility/ Connectivity		•	•
<i>Transport</i>		•	•
<i>Housing Targets</i>			•
<i>Green space</i>		•	
<i>Leisure facilities</i>		•	
<i>Land Value</i>		•	
<i>Sale Revenue</i>		•	
<i>Political support</i>		•	•
Consultation		•	•

5.9.2.2(a) Question: What is the impact of the new transport infrastructure on Dalston Junction and who derives the greatest benefit?

Summary: The majority of people interviewed felt that the extension to the East London Line would improve connectivity and accessibility. It would for example allow local people to *“more easily commute to Docklands which had hitherto only been accessible via one very slow bus route through Hackney town centre”*. It was thought it was, *“the*

reason Dalston is becoming a more popular location for middle class people". The area's proximity to the City of London means that there is a high incidence of mobile young professionals moving into the area, while the longer-term residents tend to have a much more deprived demographic profile. It was considered that, "*affordability is a big factor because up to now it has been relatively very affordable – especially in regards to how close it is to the centre*". Respondent DC added that "*Part of the borough is on the edge of the city and there is a bit of overflow development from the city*".

Table 5.7: Main factors identified relating to impact and main beneficiaries

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Accessibility/ Connectivity	•	•	•
<i>Transport</i>	•	•	•

5.9.2.2(b) Question: Are there any dis-benefits from the introduction of new transport infrastructure, if so why and who is most disadvantaged?

Summary:

The increase in property prices has meant that there are less affordable places for people to work and live. There is a shortage of affordable housing in Dalston and the new development is not going to provide for the housing needs of the borough. The borough's unemployment levels are over twice as high as London-wide levels. The new development will provide some non-skilled employment in the form of retail but that will not fulfill the borough's employment needs. Job training schemes are needed to enable people to retrain so they can take advantage of the improved transport connectivity. However, Respondent DC explained there was "*no requirement*" for the provision of retraining.

Several residents and traders were concerned about the plans to demolish and rebuild the Ridley Road market. It was considered that the redevelopment, “*would severely limit and hamper the market as to make it unworkable for long periods ...which ... would render trading on the market impossible meantime*”. There were fears that the Traders would “*have no work and no income during the redevelopments and no incentive to return*”. There was concern that, “*Many of the traders are now unable to afford to live locally even though they grew up here. Most of the traders are ageing second and third generation traders who have known no other work*”.

To sum up, it would appear that there is a lack of provision for those members of the community that are disadvantaged due to low income, unemployment, poor education, sickness or age. In turn this will change the demographics of the area and affect the cultural diversity.

Table 5.8: Main factors identified relating to disbenefits and the most disadvantaged

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Lack of affordable housing	•		
Lack of affordable places to work	•		
<i>Job retraining schemes</i>	•		
<i>Local employment</i>	•		
<i>Loss of Diversity</i>	•		
<i>Loss of Community</i>	•		

5.9.2.3 Question: What factors are needed to enable all members of the community to benefit from the new transport infrastructure?

The answer to this question follows on from the previous question - in order for all the community to benefit from the transport infrastructure they need the complimentary infrastructure previously mentioned – affordable housing, affordable workshops, local employment, job retraining schemes. It is also evident that there was need for more input in the scheme from the local community and a local champion.

Unfortunately it would appear that insufficient time was spent consulting with the local residents prior to the planning stage with the result that the limitations of the site and the possible options were not discussed fully with the local community. It was also felt that the contribution that could be made by the voluntary sector was not acknowledged or valued. There was a need to establish partnerships that were integrated into the community and an integration of the project into the ‘urban fabric’. It was considered import to maintain those things that had become familiar in the area, whether a building or a group this would help to maintain the sense of belonging.

Respondent DH, a landscape architect, explained that her practice has been established for over twenty two years and much of her work was in the “... *public realm and it’s all public money* ...through her experienced she considered that, “... *the consultation is an absolute necessity because it supports the bid which demonstrates that need and then the project comes along....So broad statistics and these broad brush master planning things can’t necessarily pick up the fine grain which is absolutely critical*”.

Respondent DH continued:

“... we’ve not been engaged through the whole life of the Dalston square project we were brought on board about this time last year - when the planning application had already gone through and there was complete anxiety and anger over it. It’s an infrastructure project and with that comes a time table of delivery and I think that drove the project and everyone could see that in the community.... Plus the Dalston theatre was pulled down as a result which probably, I think, had there been time given to engage in the community it might well have happened but in a happier way with provision for some cultural element to be essentially a replacement part for that scheme... What’s interesting – as far as the clients are concerned, sometimes they think this (the consultation) is going to extend our programme, it’s going to be a nightmare – it doesn’t. If you do it (consult) you can accelerate your programme because you will be successful”.

Table 5.9: Main Factors Identified relating to benefit for all members of the community

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Affordable housing	•		
Affordable workshops	•		
Job retraining schemes	•		
Local employment	•		
Community Groups	•		
Consultation	•		
Transparency	•		
Engagement	•		
Empowerment	•		
Cultural Heritage	•		
Power of Place	•		
Partnership	•		
Local Champion	•		

5.9.3 Identification of key factors in determining the success or otherwise of the development

As described in Section 3.7.2 and summarized at the start of this Section, the next stage of the analysis was to carry out a contextual analysis of the transcripts of focus groups and interviews aimed at identifying those key factors that are important in determining the success or otherwise of the development.

Table 5.10 lists the key factors that have been identified in this case study and the dots after each factor denotes how often the factor was cited as important. The discussion of all three case studies takes place in the Cross-Case Analysis in Chapter 8.

It can be seen from the Table that for the Local Community the key factors that emerge are affordable housing, employment, affordable places of work, community groups, consultation/ownership/empowerment. For the developer the key factors are accessibility/connectivity, transport infrastructure and land value. For local government and transport planners the key factors are accessibility/connectivity and transport infrastructure.

Table 5.10: Key findings of Dalston Junction Case Study: Within-Case Analysis of keyfactors in determining the success or otherwise of the development

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government /Transport Planner
Components of Sustainable Communities			
<i>Accessibility/Connectivity</i>	••	••	••
<i>Transport Infrastructure</i>	•	••	••
<i>Affordable Housing</i>	••••	•	•
<i>Housing Targets</i>			
<i>Schools/ Further education</i>	••		
<i>Job retraining schemes</i>	••		
<i>Employment</i>	•••		
<i>Affordable workshops</i>	••••		
<i>Health care</i>			
<i>Shopping</i>		•	
<i>Leisure facilities</i>		•	
Good place to live			
<i>Meeting Places</i>			
<i>Safe and Clean</i>	••		
<i>Green space</i>	••		
<i>Diverse Community</i>	••		
<i>Community Groups</i>	•••		
Political support/Policy factors		•	•
<i>Working in Partnership</i>	•		•
<i>Strong Local Leadership</i>	•		
<i>Financial Backing</i>		•	•
<i>Land Value</i>		•••	
<i>Sale Revenue</i>		•	
Power of Place	•		
<i>Cultural Heritage/</i>	•	•	
<i>Local distinctiveness/Design</i>			
<i>Local History/knowledge</i>			
<i>Consultation/</i>	••••	•	
<i>ownership/Empowerment</i>	••••		
<i>Engagement</i>	•••		
<i>Transparency</i>	•••		

Key: In particular the table identifies red = Fixed Factors; blue = External Factors

5.10 Recent Trends

Subsequent to the focus group meeting and the interviews described above the author has examined recent trends at Dalston in relation to property prices, housing and unemployment and deprivation. These trends are discussed in this section.

5.10.1 *Property prices*

There was concern amongst the local residents that the improved accessibility/connectivity brought about by the extension to the East London Line was seen as negative because it would bring about a rise in property value and thereby make it unaffordable for members of the local community on low incomes. Residents in Dalston were concerned that the rise in property prices would restrict the, “... *opportunity for all sorts of poor but creative and interesting people*”. When asked what is positive about Dalston? everyone in the focus group mentioned the cultural diversity in Dalston as a very positive attribution. However, it is too early to observe whether the extended East London line has altered the cultural diversity in the area.

Fear about rising property prices in the area were justified, in fact according to respondent DC “*property prices went up – this is March 2007 to March 2008– I got the evidence last week 21.8% ... that’s 3.2% in March and April.*”

In October 2009 the author checked current property prices with six Estate Agents in the Dalston/Hackney area and was informed that property prices increased in 2007/2008 but dropped at the end of 2008 with the crash in the property market. Although, they all agreed that the property prices dropped less in the Dalston/Hackney area – about 13% as opposed to 20% in other parts of London. Overall since the development started in 2007

property prices have increased. The estate agents were not, however, sure how much of the increase was due to the Extension to the East London Line and the development of Dalston. Research conducted by the Evening Standard and appearing in the paper on the 23rd August 2010 states that: *“Directories and search group 192.com found that property values are higher around most East London Line stations than they were two years ago”*.

5.10.2 Housing

The Draft Planning Brief for the East London Line Project and Dalston Lane South prepared in February 2005 for the London Borough of Hackney’s application to the Communities Infrastructure Fund (CIF) also states that there is growing demand for new housing in Hackney and for housing demand in the Borough to be met up to 2016 it is estimated that the Dalston ward would need to accommodate approximately 150 units per annum, 1,650 in total up to 2016. To meet the Council’s target for new affordable housing 50% of these units should be affordable. The current shortfall in affordable housing across the whole Borough is estimated at 1,500 units per year. The ten storey development at Dalston Junction will create in the 1st phase of the development 244 housing units of mixed size of which Circle Anglia will provide 21 units of affordable housing in the Dunbar Tower. There are to be another 13 units distributed amongst the development that will be 50/50 partnership. There are to be a further 300 housing units to be built in the 2nd phase however, this is not going to meet the Borough’s housing allocation of 1,500 units per year.

Respondent F thought that central government’s housing target and the GLA’s housing allocation on the borough was the major factor influencing Dalston’s regeneration

project. He thought Hackney's housing target to be the pressure: *"something like - just short of 2,000 units a year..."* And he thought that to be *"a big driver - there is a housing shortage..."*

The housing shortage may have originally been *"a big driver"* but according to Respondent DA *"the costs of the scheme made affordable housing unaffordable"*. He further explained that:

"A Section 106 agreement with Hackney set a formula by which our actual costs would be checked against the estimates. Had the actual cost been substantially lower than the estimates then affordable housing would have been added to the scheme on an agreed formula. In fact the actual costs are significantly higher and LBH (London Borough of Hackney) are in the process of confirming to us that the S106 agreement has been discharged in this respect".

5.10.3 Unemployment and Deprivation

The Draft Planning Brief for the East London Line Project and Dalston Lane South prepared in February 2005 for the London Borough of Hackney's application to the Communities Infrastructure Fund (CIF) States that: *"Unemployment levels in Dalston ward (7.5%) are over twice as high as London-wide levels (3.5%), and are high in the context of Hackney also (6%)"*.

When discussing provision for retraining schemes or employment with Respondent DC he explained there was *"no requirement"* for such provision and added *"...I'm all for retraining but in itself it still doesn't provide work"*. Although he continued, *"there is a requirement to advertise for local jobs here"*. Respondent DC explained that they would employ local people on site and quoted that it would be about 7% of the work force.

However, he added that *"the biggest problem they've got is worklessness – I think it's the"*

worst area in London” but he thought that the Dalston Junction scheme “is obviously not going to generate jobs – a bit of retail and what have you. There’s no job generation here” .

There are proposals to completely replace the Dalston Cross shopping centre built in the 1980s. However, there was some opposition amongst residents to the proposals. There are also proposals to redevelop the Ridley Road Market.

Hackney Council have allocated £1million to the improvements to Ridley Road Market, which they plan to implement in the summer of 2010. A number of design options, including plans for a new market pitch lay-out, have now been developed for consultation with the public. Several residents and traders were concerned about the plans to demolish and rebuild the market. It was considered that the planned redevelopment, *“would severely limit and hamper the market as to make it unworkable for long periods ... which ... would render trading on the market impossible meantime”*. As previously explained in section 5.9.2.2.b, there were fears that the Traders would *“have no work and no income during the redevelopments and no incentive to return”*. For although most of the traders are third and second generation traders, who have known no other work, they are unable to afford to live locally even though they grew up in Dalston.

5.11 Recent statistics supporting the research

The station was completed and started to operate in May 2010 and by May 2011 will be extended to Highbury and Islington. It is therefore difficult to assess in this short period of time the long term impact of the extension of the East London Line and the development at Dalston. However, the Indices of Deprivation 2010 published by Communities and Local Government in March 2011 confirm the author’s initial

assessment. Based on average ranking Hackney emerges as the most deprived local authority in the country. Table 5.11 shows the percentage change between 2007 and 2010.

Table 5.11
Number of Hackney LSOAs in the Top 5% Most Deprived Nationally

Domain	2007	2010	Change (%)
IMD	27	18	-33
Income	52	34	-35
Employment	7	2	-70
Health	5	1	-80
Education	0	0	0
Housing	103	131	+27
Crime	28	12	-57
Environment	36	38	+6
IDACI	53	53	0
IDAPPI	55	54	-2

Figures A.5 to A.7 in Appendix A are taken from the Indices of Deprivation, for 2010 and relate to the Employment, Housing and Crime Domains respectively.

The headline trends are as follows:

- **Population change** - A key determinant in many of the changes seen above is recent population change. Evidence suggests that there has been an inflow of households on higher incomes, in employment and not in receipt of income support. The resulting change in population both at Borough and SOA level is reflected in the IMD data.
- **Improvement in services** – Improvements in local services may also be a determinant factor in some of the changes set out above.
- **Housing** – There are 27% more Hackney SOAs in the worst 5% in England than in 2007. The likely cause for this is a rise in overcrowding, homelessness acceptances, and worsening affordability in Hackney.

- **Crime** – There are 57% less Hackney SOAs in the worst 5% in England than in 2007. The evidence here supports other evidence that crime outcomes in Hackney have improved and are improving.

Note from Table 5.11 that the majority of Domains show an improvement with a reduction in the number of LSAOs experiencing high levels of deprivation.

5.12 Summary and Conclusions

The development at Dalston Junction was originally conceived as part of a wider effort to increase accessibility in areas poorly served by public transport, and to help boost urban regeneration – see Section 4.5. The development was in the political will of both the London Borough of Hackney and the Mayor of London who desired that TfL should do more than install a railway station in a cutting and an initiative to improve urban integration of the East London Line was recommended (see Section 5.5). The solution adopted was to cover the railway with a large 2 acre reinforced concrete suspended slab. Because the political pressure was so positive at Dalston, TfL was able to take the project from zero to submission of a full planning application in about 18 months. The speed was essential because any delays at Dalston would affect the completions of the East London Line Project. The result was that decisions were made centrally mainly between City Hall, Design for London, TfL and the LDA.

The oversight development would not have been possible without the demolition of the theatre. If options had been discussed with the local community could a solution/compromise have been decided upon that could have assuaged what became a very angry *cause celebre*? If the local community had been party to the decisions about

the future of the theatre or its replacement would a compromised solution have brought more support and ownership for the Dalston scheme?

The consultation period prior to planning permission being granted was considered to be another relevant factor. Unfortunately it would appear that insufficient time was spent consulting with the local residents prior to the planning stage with the result that the limitations of the site and the possible options were not discussed fully with the local community. The contribution that could be made by the voluntary sector was not acknowledged. It is interesting to note that the developer also considered consultation an important factor.

The Dalston Case study reveals that the limitations of the size of the Dalston Junction site and the cost of the slab over the station determined to a great extent the type of development that could be built at Dalston Junction and in turn that determined who would most benefit from the scheme as opposed to who most needed to benefit. The only way to establish who has actually benefitted from the scheme would be to return to the site and conduct another study in about ten years time. However this would present the problem that many of the stakeholders would have moved on and would therefore not be available for interview.

Taking the above factors into consideration it would be reasonable to suggest that the new development at Dalston is most likely to favour a younger demographic group without children, who can afford housing and work in the financial sector, it is possible that they would find the improved access to Canary Wharf to be an advantage.

Conversely it would appear that the lack of low cost housing and community based

facilities in the new development at Dalston will offer little benefit to the more deprived group of people in the area.

5.13 Continuing Development

Figures 5.12 – 5.20 show the progress of the Dalston Junction Oversight Development (Dalston Square). The 18/19 storey mixed use development comprises 309 residential units, 1680sq.m of retail and community space, 35 disabled car parking spaces, pedestrian entrances to the new East London Line Station and provision of a new ground floor level bus interchange facility.



Figure 5.12
View looking north towards
Forest Road Bridge, c2008



Figure 5.13
View looking north towards
Dalston Lane, c2008

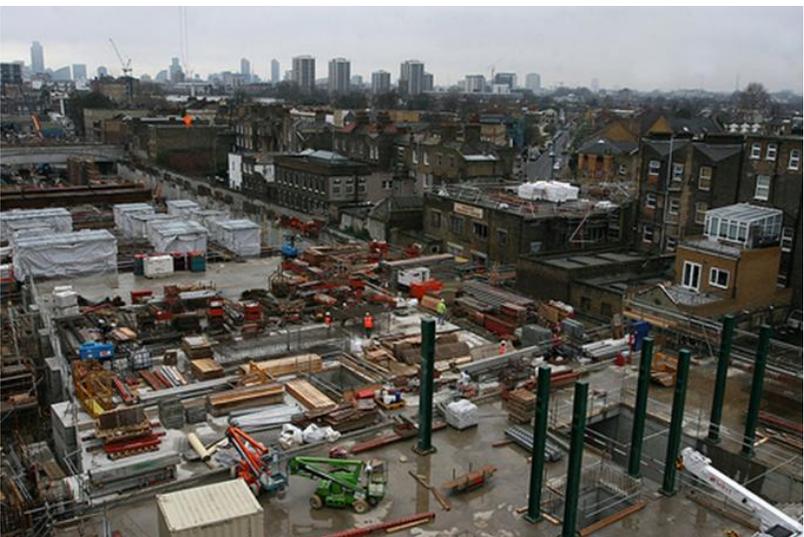


Figure 5.14
View looking south-
westwards, c. late 2008/early
2009 (the green steel
columns in the foreground
support the new station
ticket office and entrance
building and the residential
development above)



Figure 5.15
View looking south, c. late 2008/early 2009 from Dalston Lane (the green columns and beams on the left hand side support the new station ticket office and entrance and the residential development above)



Figure 5.16:
View of the Dalston Lane South development taken from Forest Road Bridge looking north-east, 2011.



Figure 5.17:
View of the northern OSD above DJI, looking south west from the entrance to the gardens on the north side of Dalston Lane, 2011.



Figure 5.18:
Dalston Lane South Development,
courtyard area giving access from
Beechwood Road to the new public
gardens between DLS and DJI, 2011
(view looking west)



Figure 5.19:
Buttresses to remaining building on
Kingsland Road, opposite new bus
stop on DJI, 2011 (view looking
north-east)



Figure 5.20: Part of the new public garden area between DLS & DJI, 2011
(view looking west)

CHAPTER 6: KENT THAMESIDE and FASTRACK CASE STUDY

6.1 Introduction

Case study two focuses on the Kent Thameside area in North Kent in the south of England. Dartford and Gravesend form an area called Kent Thameside. This case study investigates how the Fastrack bus project functions as an integrated part of the Kent Thameside regeneration development framework, and its importance to the success of Kent Thameside. The study includes the history of the area and follows the development of the scheme from its conception to the planning policies that influenced the decision making process.

6.2 Background

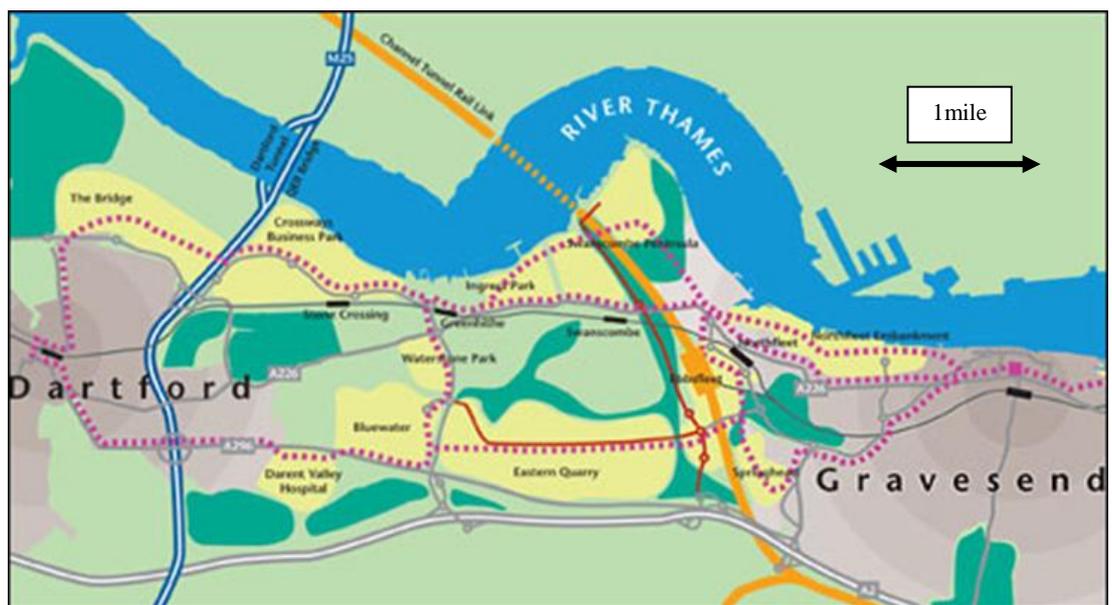


Figure 6.1: The Kent Thameside Area (source D. George)

The Kent Thameside area concerned with regeneration is to the north of the A2, stretching from Dartford's boundary with Greater London in the west through to the North Kent Marshes to the east of Gravesend. It involves the communities of Dartford, Stone, Greenhithe, Knockhall, Swanscombe, Northfleet and Gravesend - plus the tracts of underused and vacant land found in and between these communities. The Kent Thameside initiative

covers 28 square miles and within the area of the initiative live 133,000 people. That is just over three quarters of the combined populations of Dartford and Gravesham Boroughs.

Kent Thameside Delivery Board agreed in its Regeneration Framework a target of 30,000 new homes and 50,000 new jobs for the period 2001-2026. The housing target will be reviewed following the conclusion of the Examination in Public for the draft South East Plan, which currently sets a target for 24,700 dwellings in the period 2006-2026. The majority of these new homes will be on redundant chalk quarries and redeveloped industrial land.

The key economic assets include the Crossways Business Park, where over 5,000 people are now employed, and Bluewater Shopping Centre which attracts 26 million visitors per year.

The development of Kent Thameside has been planned from the beginning around sustainable public transport. Fastrack is a new rapid transport network linking established centres to new developments, encouraging greater use of public transport. The Channel Tunnel Rail Link is the catalyst for the new business and financial services centre at Ebbsfleet International, connecting to London St Pancras in 17 minutes and to Paris in less than 2 hours. Ebbsfleet itself will be the showpiece for Kent Thameside. Some 789,550 m² of development is proposed around the new rail station, including up to 3,000 housing units. International services have run from the station since 2007 with domestic services following in 2009. This will be complemented by expanding and regenerated town centres and waterfront.

6.2.1 *The Geology of the Area*

Dartford is located at the northern side of the area of Kent known as the Weald (see Figure 6.2). The Weald's upper geological strata consist of chalk overlying the upper greensand which in turn overlies the Gault clay. These materials were laid down under marine conditions during the Cretaceous Period between 65 and 120 million years ago. During and subsequent to the deposition of the chalk, and the Eocene sediments overlying it, the Weald

was subjected to uplift caused by Alpine folding giving rise to an elongated dome which formed a long low island or at times a shallow shoal running approximately east-west

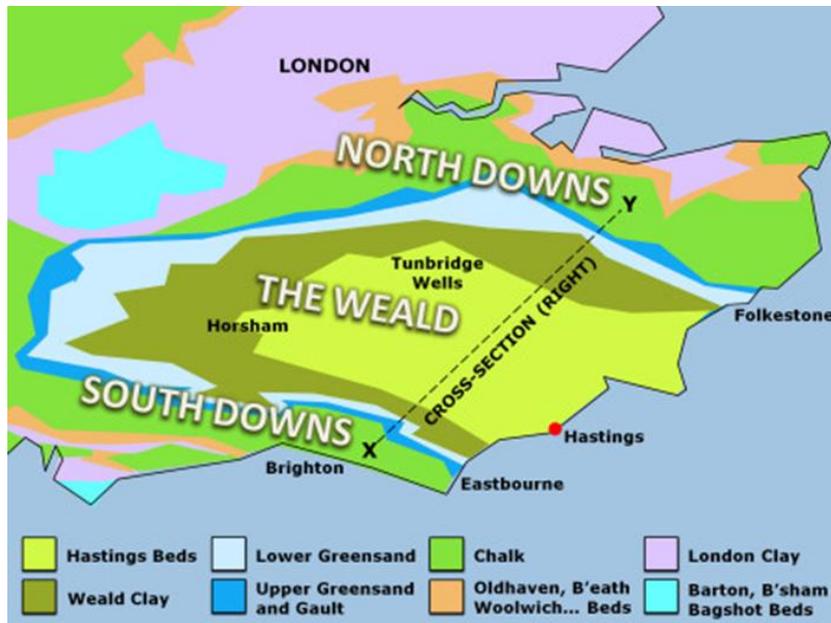


Figure 6.2: Geological map

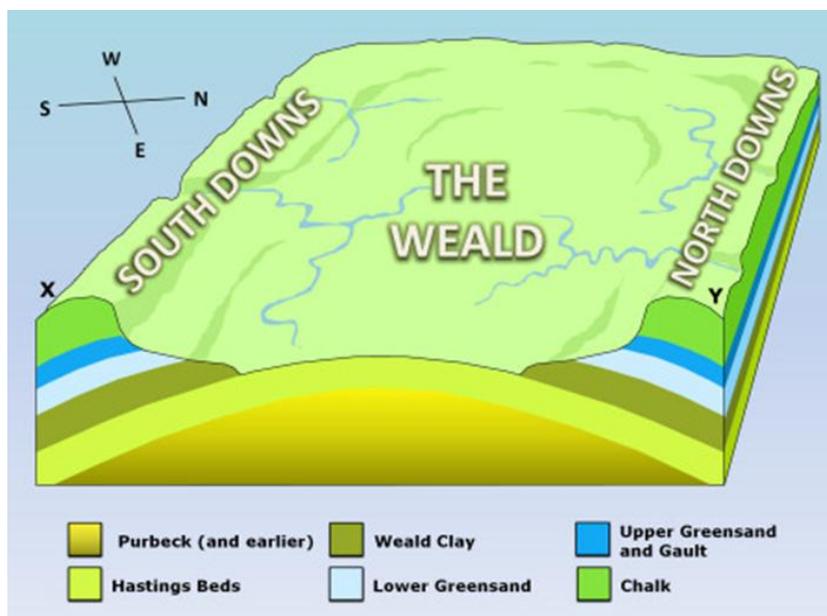


Figure 6.3: Geological section

The top of the dome was eroded away over a period of millions of years exposing the chalk, which forms the North Downs, and the underlying upper greensand and Gault clay (see

Figure 6.3). Thus Dartford and its surrounds had ready to hand all the natural materials that are used in the manufacture of cement together with a ready supply of coal from the Kent coal mines for firing the cement kilns. The cement industry was a key factor in the development of Kent Thameside. The land quarried for cement manufacture became available when cement production in the area ceased, leaving a huge land portfolio in single ownership to be developed.

6.3 The History of the Area

Dartford and Gravesham are the two Boroughs that form part of Kent Thameside and the information relating to the history of the area has been obtained from the Dartford and Gravesham Borough Archives.

Dartford: is situated in a valley through which the river Darent flows and where the old road from Dover to London crossed – hence the name Dart ford. The area has been inhabited through the ages by many different peoples and there have been finds from the Stone Age, Bronze Age and the Iron Age.

Gravesend: Adjoining to Northfleet, north-eastward, lies the town and parish of Gravesend with the river Thames for its northern boundary. The name is derived from the Saxon word Gerefa, a ruler, or in German, Greve. Hence Gravesend signifies the limit or bounds of such a rule or office.

The Parish of Gravesend lies on the north side of the London road which runs along the southern side of it at a distance of about one mile from the town, which is situated twenty two miles from London and eight from Rochester. The port of London ends just before the town at a place called Gravesend Bridge and a customs office was established here.

Industry in the area began as early as 1588 when the first commercially successful paper mill was established on the river Darent in Dartford. John Spilman (Speilman), a German entrepreneur, was granted a Crown lease of two mills probably situated in what is now known as Powder Mill Lane.

Transport improvements, including the construction of roads and the introduction of the stage-coach services opened up new markets for local traders and merchants encouraging a network of local and regional trade. As a consequence the increased traffic necessitated the call for the introduction for improvements to facilitate the passage of carts, stage-coaches and pedestrians.

The 19th century was a period of massive growth and economic expansion. The population of Dartford increased from 2,406 in 1801 to 18,643 in 1901. Many of the developments which made the growth possible had their basis in the 18th century. Papermaking, brewing (hops was grown in the locality), engineering and gunpowder production started in the 18th century but really took off in the 19th century (Boreham, 1990).

The most significant factor was the coming of the railway to Dartford in 1849. Goods could then be moved by train from Dartford to the rest of Britain, and raw materials could be brought in via rail (Boreham, 1990). The new industries opened up many opportunities for employment, for example Dartford Gas Co was established in the area in 1826 and Glaxo (the pharmaceutical company) moved to Dartford in 1889. Many newcomers came and settled in the area and local builders had to build whole new streets to accommodate the influx of people.

The town expanded from the town centre. Suburbs like *New Town* added new structure to the town which had not changed size since medieval times. The rapid growth over a short time led to the inadequacy of the public utilities and infrastructure. The rapid increase in

population and poor sanitation led to outbreaks of cholera. Specialist hospital facilities were set up in the 19th century. The Bow Arrow Hospital for Infectious Diseases opened in 1893, and the Livingstone Hospital on East Hill in 1894. Several hospital ships were moored at Long Reach on the Thames from 1884 onwards, and these ships accommodated smallpox victims (Boreham, 1990).

6.3.1 *Growth of cement manufacturing*

The first cement works were established in the area during the latter part of the 1800s. By 1900 nearly 1,000 bottle kilns were clustered along the estuary of the Thames and Medway. In the early days there were no recognized standards of quality and there was growing pressures on cement manufacturers to improve the quality of the product but the smaller firms found it difficult to raise the capital needed to invest in new efficient kilns and plant.

In 1824, Joseph Aspdin, a British stone mason, obtained a patent for cement he produced in his kitchen. He heated a mixture of finely ground limestone and clay in his kitchen stove and ground the mixture into a powder to create an hydraulic cement that hardens with the addition of water. Aspdin named the product Portland cement because it resembled a stone quarried on the Isle of Portland. This invention laid the foundation for the modern cement industry.

In 1900 twenty four small firms joined forces to create the Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers (today the company trades as 'Blue Circle Industries plc'). Portland cement works were established in the area and extended between 1937 and 1938. Settlement ponds, lagoons and clay pits associated with the new works were formed in the surrounding landscape. Between the 1940s to the late 1970s most of the industrial areas became progressively redundant and reverted to derelict marshland. The cement works was finally demolished in the 1970s and the remaining tramways removed.

The land was developed by Whitecliffe Properties to build the Crossways Business Park - a centre for business innovation. Reclamation of the land began in 1979 and the construction of the first roads on the site was completed by 1985 – this gave access to the new ferry terminal (Thames Europort). In 1988 the first phase of Crossways, Masthead was completed and in 1988/89 the Asda warehouse was finished. Now Crossways is made up of five business areas Mastheads, Newtons Court, Edison Park Admirals Park and Charles Park. It has two hotels and a public house with further facilities planned.

The disused Western Quarry was developed into the Bluewater Regional Shopping and Leisure Centre. Planning consent was granted by the Secretary of State in 1990 and Bluewater was opened in March 1999. This was the joint venture of Blue Circle Properties and Lend Lease (now Whitecliffe Properties). The development was also to be of paramount importance to the success of Kent Thameside.

Respondent KG for date and location of interviews see Box 6.3 (Section 6.6.2), explained that: *“Blue Circle Properties wanted to develop a major retail centre to balance Essex’s Lakeside in what was then called Western Croydon... to bring the West End to Kent... Blue Circle Properties had problems getting Marks & Spencer to the table. Lend Lease said right we’ll get John Lewis’ in and everybody else will follow which they did”*.

6.4 How has the history influenced the development of Kent Thameside?

The author addressed this question to a group of transport planners involved with the Kent Thameside Association from the time it was originally formed.

Respondent KB (for date and location of interviews see box 6.3 Section 6.6.2) thought the development of cement industry to be a key factor in the development of Kent Thameside *“...a series of independent Victorian family-run cement makers joined forces and became the*

Associated Portland Cement. They had a really acquisitive policy as far as land was concerned –”. “Hence this huge single ownership of land portfolio which I think is one of the key factors...”

Respondent KC (for date and location of interviews see Box 6.3 Section 6.6.2), explained that *“the health authority land holding which again was a matter of history putting convalescent hospitals out into what was then the Kent countryside together with Blue Circle’s land acquisition...”*. He went on to explain that land also became available when the heavy engineering in the area closed down leaving brown field sites to be redeveloped. *“... there seemed to be that opportunity to bring together the public sector and private sector interests to see to what extent there would be an advantage in a joint strategic planning exercise trying to bring together the two views each side of the table”*.

6.5 History of the Development

The information in this section has been provided by professionals involved with the Kent Thameside Association and the Kent Thameside’s publications – ‘Looking to the Future’ (1995) and ‘Looking to an Integrated Future’ (1999).

6.5.1 The Kent Thameside Vision for the Future

The Kent Thameside Association was set up in 1993 to help plan and promote the area of Dartford and Gravesham north of the A2. The Association brought together Dartford and Gravesham Borough Councils, Kent County Council, Whitecliffe Properties (a joint venture between Blue Circle – the largest owners of potentially developable land in the area and Lend lease), and the University of Greenwich (which planned to establish a new campus in North Dartford). London & Continental Railways, responsible for building the Channel Tunnel Rail Link, became a sixth member.

In September 1994 the Government published its draft sub-regional planning guidance for the Thames Gateway and Kent Thameside was identified as one of two major areas within the Gateway that are critical to its future plans for the sub-region. It was estimated that nearly 30,000 new homes could be provided in Kent Thameside over the next 25-30 years out of a total of almost 100,000 in Thames Gateway. It is Kent Thameside's intention to use over five square miles of brownfield land to help transform the older area of Dartford and Gravesham into a thriving location within the Thames Gateway.

Following a period of public consultation on the draft guidance, the Thames Gateway Planning Framework RPG9a was formally issued by the Government in June 1995 and in December 1995 the Government announced the decision to provide over £500,000 to the Kent Thameside partnership in recognition of the importance of Kent Thameside to the government's plans for the Thames Gateway. This was in order to fund studies on transport and utilities. (Box 5.1 RPG9a Planning Framework and Box 5.2 Kent Thameside Vision for Transport)

Ebbsfleet had already been selected by the Government in August 1994 as the location for a new international and domestic passenger station on the high speed Channel Tunnel Rail Link. The line was completed in 2007 and domestic services to London have operated from 2009 reducing travel times to central London from 50 minutes to 17 minutes.

The Government decided that the new domestic passenger station at Ebbsfleet must be built at the same time as the High Speed Channel Rail Link. The new station was also seen as a way to help to attract new investment and development to the area and was identified as a new focus of growth in the South East, with planned redevelopment in the Eastern Quarry and Swanscombe Peninsula. The waterfront between Gravesend and Northfleet are also seen as

major development opportunities in the longer term, making the total area of planned redevelopment to be nearly three square miles.

The redevelopment of this land will not be straightforward for much of the redevelopment is in old quarry land and areas of tipped land. It will therefore have to be re-contoured and land by the Thames will have to be raised and there are pockets of contamination that will have to be tackled. However, all but Northfleet Embankment will benefit from the absence of existing building - it will allow for a design that will be able to establish public transport orientated development.

Box 6.1: Planning Framework

Objectives for Thames Gateway:

to improve economic performance, enhancing London's position as a major World and European city;

to maximise the opportunities for new economic activity and jobs, created by the improving transport connections to continental Europe;

to work with the market; building on existing economic and community strengths,

reinforcing the economic base, and at the same time attracting new economic investment; strengthening existing communities as well as attracting new residents;

to encourage a sustainable pattern of development, optimising the use of existing and proposed infrastructure and making the fullest possible use of the many vacant, derelict and under-used sites which previously supported other activities;

to safeguard and enhance natural and man-made environmental assets and, where necessary, raise the quality of the local environment; to encourage the highest quality in the design, layout and appearance of new developments.

Box 6.2: The Kent Thameside Vision for Transport and Development Planned Together

- The integration of land use planning and transport planning to reduce the need to travel;
- The provision of high capacity and high quality public transport systems to provide an attractive alternative to the car;
- The promotion of local facilities (like local shops) and pedestrian and cycle routes to reduce the use of the car for short journeys ;
- The provision of high quality interchanges to ensure that changing between different means of transport is as attractive as possible and
- Encouraging the use of public transport by using a variety of policies (like parking controls charges and pedestrianisation) to discourage unnecessary use of the car

(Looking to an Integrated Future, 1999)

6.5.2 *The need for transport*

Fundamental to the vision of Kent Thameside is the need to provide an alternative to the use of the car and the promotion of walking and cycling. In land-use terms this means providing as many facilities and jobs as possible to where people live. It also means promoting mixed use development as a way of accommodating the greatest range of possibilities, facilities and services in any given locality and providing a network of safe and convenient pedestrian and cycle routes. The emphases would be on movement by public transport rather than the car, where as many people as possible would live close to public transport.

Central to the success of the Kent Thameside Vision is the development of a new, high quality, high capacity local transport system within the area with the potential to enhance services along the north Kent Railway Line. The new transport system was seen as critical to

achieving the high density, mixed use environment foreseen in the vision and the level of development in the Governments sub-regional planning guidance.

Although light rail services have been introduced in Manchester, Sheffield, Croydon and Birmingham the feasibility of such systems is largely based on achieving a transfer of existing car users onto the new systems. In Kent Thameside there is a need to provide a service for future residents who will move into the area as new sites are opened up. It is also important to be able to cater for the existing communities and people coming into the area for job opportunities.

The way forward would be to develop a system that is capable of growing incrementally alongside the development of Kent Thameside and which can respond to the needs and opportunities as they arise (Kent Thameside, 1999). Choosing a bus service with a dedicated bus way would allow a more flexible approach. The use of segregated routes or priority road space, wherever possible, would ensure the speed and efficiency of the service. It would also enable the service to enter the estates and areas that were not able to accommodate a tram.

Respondent DG (for date and location see Box 6.3 Section 6.6.2), explained the dilemma they faced when developing a bus service that would serve the population envisaged in 15 – 20 years. The views expressed can be summarised as follows:

He felt that the “...*whole objective and purpose of Fastrack had to be clearly understood...*” That the job of Fastrack is to, “...*soak up all those trips from the people that are moving into the new communities ...and taking that a bit further. If Fastrack isn't successful doing that job we are in dire straits in ten – fifteen years' time*”. He went on to explain that at the end of the development period it is envisaged there will be an extra 30,000 homes and 50,000 jobs. That having committed to that vision you can't stop in the middle “...*because none of the middle bits as your growing towards it truly work, because it is incremental growth towards the end*”

vision and only when you get to the end vision does everything work and we have to accept everything in between is a stage and a pale imitation that can't truly be judged till you get to the end". (see Section 2.2, Banister & Berechamn, 2001: p.211)

However, on the basis of existing numbers of residents and commuters there would be no justification for a substantial enhancement of the local public transport system - the patronage levels would not be sufficient. Without a new public transport network the extent of redevelopment in Kent Thameside would be curtailed and there would be no incentive or justification for developers to build a mixed use development along a transport corridor.

6.5.3 Delivering the service

Respondent DG (for date and location of interviews, see Box 6.3, Section 6.6.2), discussing the complications of deregulated bus services, explained: *"It's a real dilemma"* How do you plan a transport network that is dealing with issues for a development that is going to be completed in 20-25 years? He expressed the difficulties and uncertainties of a deregulated buses service that can give 56 days' notice that it will cease to operate. He went on to explain *...Developers want certainty they will pay slightly over the odds to buy certainty ... So we had to find a way around it".*

Respondent DG went on to explain that it could not be sustainable commercially and therefore it needed to be what's called a supported service under the Public Services Subsidy Agreement 2090 (2002)¹ under the Transport Act 1985. That meant that the local authority could step in and provide a subsidy for an operator. However neither Kent County Council nor any of their partners wanted *"to step in and put hard money into it"*. So KCC used some

¹ The Service Subsidy Agreements (Tendering) Regulations provided local authorities with the scope to let any individual bus subsidy contract in any one year up to a certain maximum value without the need to competitively tender (the de minimis limits). There was also a maximum value that de minimis contracts could be let with any one operator in any one year.

The above de minimis limits currently stand at £24,999 expenditure in any one year for an individual contract and the limit for the total value of de minimis contracts with an individual operator is £150,000 expenditure in any one year

government Thames Gateway money to buy fourteen buses, these were made available to Arriva the sole operator for Fastrack (the predominant bus operator in the area) as a subsidy to run the service. It was also very important that within their own company, Arriva were able to cross subsidise from the very profitable routes to those for example in the villages that don't make a profit but are socially necessary.

Respondent KI (for date and venue of interview see Box 6.3 Section 6.6.2) continued to explain that they negotiated a five year contract with 'Arriva' on the basis that KCC buy the buses and Arriva guarantee to *“tax, insure and maintain them etc and then Arriva take the fare box risk”*. ... *“The bottom line of that was we could find a way through the regulations... but somehow insert this high quality system over the top at minimal cost and minimal risk to the county council and indeed the district councils.”*

6.5.4 The Fastrack bus design

It was mentioned earlier in Section 6.5.2 that it was decided that the way forward would be to develop a system that could grow incrementally alongside the development of Kent Thameside. Choosing a bus service with a dedicated bus way would allow a more flexible approach. The use of segregated routes or priority road space, wherever possible, would ensure the speed and efficiency of the service. It would also enable the service to enter the estates and areas that were not able to accommodate a tram.

During the initial period of growth Fastrack chose the Volvo Wrightbus B7RLE (see Figure 6.4) – the highest quality vehicle available from conventional bus technology, with the aim of introducing intermediate mode vehicles around 2013 to coincide with strategically important routes across Kent Thameside becoming available - the current fleet comprises 26 vehicles.



Figure 6.4: Volvo Wrightbus B7RLE (D. George)

The Fastrack team chose high quality bus stops and infrastructure - they went for the best they possibly could in terms of shelter. Respondent DG was asked the frequency of the service and he explained that it ran every 10 minutes, *“10 minutes is deemed to be when it becomes get up and go. If its 10 minutes or more frequent it’s called turn up and go. The intention was effectively you don’t need a time table. You turn up at the stop and you know there will be a bus shortly.”* There is also television type screen to inform the passengers when the bus is due to arrive at the stop. The bus shelters have touch screen ticket machines to make ticket purchase as easy as possible.

6.5.5 The Fastrack route

The initial design of the overall Fastrack system was undertaken and reviewed as part of the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) funded study, which looked at the overall Fastrack concept, completed in March 1998 (of the total £535,000 SRB budget £145,000 was found by Kent Thameside Association).

At the meeting on 13th October 1998, Kent County Council’s Strategic Planning Committee supported the outline for a Fastrack public transport network for the Kent Thameside area. It was explained that Fastrack is the combination of routes and public transport services that will support the regenerative development of the Kent Thameside area and will function as

the overall transport network of the area. It was intended to be a network of 35-40 kms of new bus way that is able to serve the new developments and existing communities (Strategic Planning Committee, 13th October 1998).

In order to make sure that the service was viable it was important to concentrate on a route linking Dartford and Gravesend town centres via a number of developments. Those developments are the new Darent Valley hospital at Darent Park, the Bluewater retail and leisure complex, the future Eastern Quarry urban village and the Ebbsfleet Valley development around the Channel Tunnel Rail Link station (Report to the Strategic Planning Committee, 13th October 1998).

The intention is that the developers, as part of the development of the residential and mixed use sites, will provide the network as follows (see Figure 6.5 for a map of proposed development sites and Figure 6.6 for the transport connections):

- ProLogis, the developer of The Bridge site in North Dartford, has provided the Fastrack route from Dartford Home Gardens to Bluewater via The Bridge and Greenhithe Station.
- Land Securities will provide a Fastrack route through Springhead Park, Ebbsfleet Station and Eastern Quarry.
- Crest Nicholson will complete the route from Greenhithe Station into Ingress Park.
- SEEDA are planning a route through the Northfleet Embankment development.

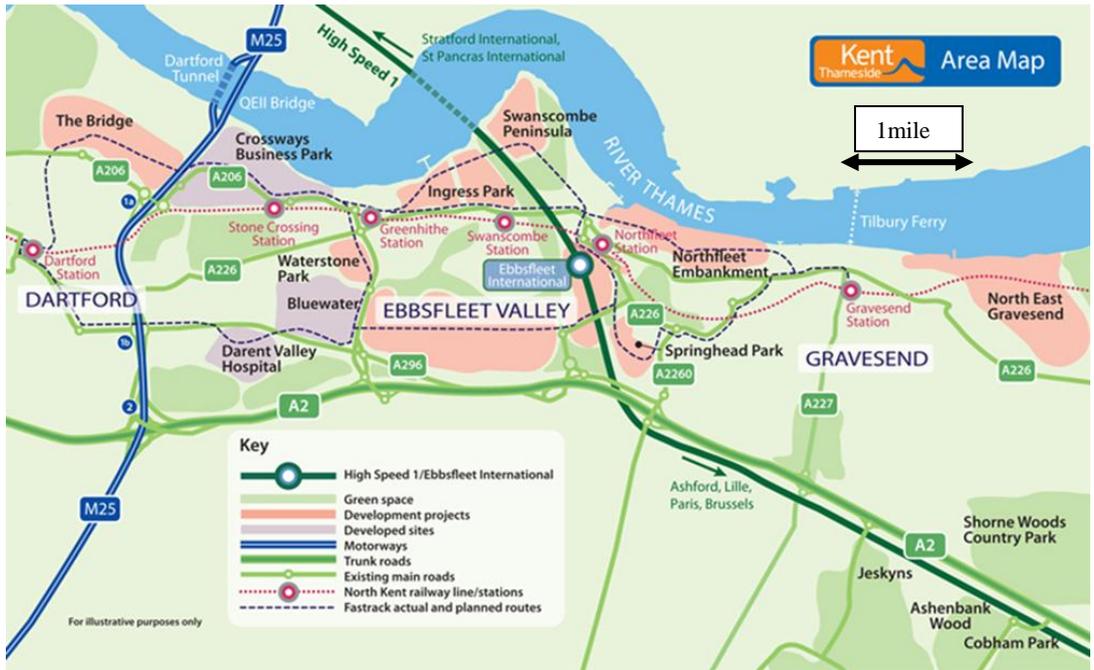


Figure 6.5: Proposed development areas (D. George)



Figure 6.6: Transport connections (D. George)

Although, as mentioned, most of the network will be provided through development contributions there are three sections that are outside major development sites and were felt could not be deemed to be funded by development. Nevertheless they were fundamental to achieving a coherent network and needed to be publicly funded to ensure their early provision. According to KCC's Record of Decision (July 2006), the following sections were to be publicly funded:

- Phase 1, from Home Gardens, Dartford to Greenhithe Station (funded through the Local Transport Plan), Thames Way bus lanes funded through the Communities Infrastructure Fund (CIF) £13.36m), ²Interreg (£2m) and a further £600,000 from the office of the Deputy (ODPM, now the Department for Communities and Local Government).
- Everards Link Phase 2, the continuation of Fastrack into Ingress Park, (funded through Community Infrastructure Funding (CIF), (Kent County Council Record of Decision 06/00850, July 2006)

The first phase of the Everards Link work was the construction of a new bus/rail interchange at Greenhithe Station, with, at the time, plans for a new station building funded from a Dartford Crossing Revenue Toll bid (negotiations were with Network Rail). Within the Ingress Park site, provision has already been made for Fastrack and its link onto Swanscombe Peninsula, as part of a riverside public transport link to Gravesend, The Fastrack Link within the Ingress Park site is being provided as a condition attached to the S106 Agreement, a condition which would lapse if Kent county Council had not completed it part of the link by 2010 (Kent County Council Record of Decision 06/00851, July 2006).

² HST4i Interreg project is related to access to the high-speed train network in North West Europe

The Riverside route complements a southern route, including most of Fastrack Phase 1, which is a link through the Eastern Quarry development and the Ebbsfleet Valley and on to Fastrack Thames Way. The Thames Way scheme will provide bus lanes and priority at junctions, on Thames Way, Gravesend, between Overcliffe and Springhead road.

The development of the Fastrack route over the past four years demonstrates how the route has evolved and changed to accommodate the area as it develops. Respondent DG provided the following information on the development of the route (see Figures 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.10).



Figure 6.7: Fastrack route B 2006 (source D.George)

Fastrack Route B started operating on 26 March 2006. Route B was developed before Route A because of slippage on the developer's programme for 'The Bridge' development. It was originally envisaged that the Fastrack service associated with The Bridge development (i.e. what subsequently became Route A) would open along with the first development

phases sometime around 2003. However, delays during the planning stages meant that Route A did not start until June 2007. Route B infrastructure was constructed during 2004/5 while Route A started on 3 June 2007. At that time the dedicated bridge over the M25 was not complete.



Figure 6.8: Fastrack route A from June 2007 (D. George)

By the 30th September 2007 the bridge was completed and Route A was diverted across the new bridge. The route goes through Dartford - Joyce Green - The Bridge - Crossways - Greenhithe - Bluewater.



Figure 6.9: Fastrack Route A from September 2007 (D. George)

On 18 November 2007 Fastrack Route B was diverted into Ebbsfleet Valley to coincide with the start of Eurostar services from the International Station. The route goes through Temple Hill - Dartford - Darent Valley Hospital - Bluewater - Greenhithe - Swanscombe - Ebbsfleet International - Gravesend (Fastrack A& B Map, Figure 6.10).



Figure 6.10: Fastrack route A & B November 2007 (D.George)

Due to the recession, work has halted on the Eastern Quarry and it is essentially still a large hole in the ground. Although there has been some work to Landscape the site and the construction of what will ultimately become the Fastrack route is now in place. Nevertheless, it will still be many years before Fastrack goes across the old quarry.

At the time of writing Fastrack has been operating successfully for five years and is regarded as an essential part of the Kent Thameside regeneration programme. The function of Fastrack was not according to Respondent DG, *“to cure an existing problem because basically in Kent Thameside there isn’t an existing problem or congestion at the moment - the idea was that Fastrack would pick up lots of future internal trips... So the whole thing was about future mode share not current mode shift. Surveys on the current Fastrack route are suggesting that*

19% of people used to be car users and are now bus users. I think that is just from convenience rather than congestion”.

6.6 Field Work

As explained in Section 3.6.6 the author adapted the Content Analysis Method to analyse recorded transcripts of interviews and focus groups. The interviews conducted provided the data from which the Researcher has been able to identify the relevant factors that are important in determining the success or otherwise of a given development and the impact transport infrastructure has on that development. The major objective is to identify, by the means of a summary of the key findings, the factors that will enable the Researcher to test the hypothesis.

6.6.1 Fastrack Passenger Survey

On the 19th October 2006, the Fastrack Passenger survey was carried out between 7am and 7pm, with 431 questionnaires completed. A further 76 questionnaires not completed on the day were received subsequently, making a total of 507 responses. This represented approximately 9% of Fastrack usage on a normal weekday.

Nearly 40% of passengers are using Fastrack to go to work or school/college. The second highest reason for making a trip was shopping, which reflects the Fastrack connections into Bluewater shopping centre. The Fastrack connection to Darent Valley hospital is also well used which is reflected in 9% health trip purpose.

66% of passengers surveyed said they used Fastrack at least twice a week with 32% using it daily. This suggested a high degree of satisfaction and reliance on the Fastrack service. The organisers were encouraged to learn that 19% of respondents stated they would have used a

car prior to Fastrack being available. The top three reasons that respondents choose to use Fastrack are frequency 25%, convenience 21% and traffic free routes 15%.

Ultimately Fastrack is looking to pick up around 40% of peak time work trips. Box 6.1 and 6.2 show the usage and opinion of the service (the figures in red are for 2007).

Box 6.3: Route B Success – Passenger Numbers 2006 -2007

- **Just under 1.1 million trips predicted in the first year (equals approx 21,150 a week)**
- **First week 23,000 trips, carried up to 37-38,000 a week now carrying 35-36,000 a week**
- **Carried 1.75 million passengers in the first year**
- **Carried over 7.3 million passengers**
- **Route A just over 1 million passengers**

Box 6.4: Passenger Surveys 2006-2007 (Figures in red are for 2007)

- 66% (66%) use Fastrack twice a week 32% (37%) use it daily
- 19% (17%) passengers previously used a car for the trip now made on Fastrack
- 26% (25%) had a car available but chose to use Fastrack
- Overall customer satisfaction rating 53% (59%) excellent, 40% (37%) good, 5% (4%) fair (only 2 passengers) said poor (none said poor).
- Top three reasons for choosing Fastrack: frequency, convenience and traffic free routes (as for 2006) (source D. George)

6.6.2 Visits to the Site

The following box sets out the dates and locations of visits and interviews carried out by the author. *Initial contacts were made through Respondent KK who had worked with the project.

Box 6.5 – Details of Site Visits

Date of Interview	Location	Respondents Status	Respondents Code
3. .2.10	PBA offices Reading	Associate of a transport planning consultancy	KK*
24.2.09	Fastrack Office	Transport Manager and Officer at Kent CC	KG and KI
17.03.09	Fastrack Route and Offices	Field trip the University of Westminster to visit the Fastrack site – presentation Transport Manager	KG
11.05.09 Morning	Offices of Dartford CC	Officer at Kent CC	KI
11.05.09 afternoon	PBA Offices West Malling	2 Transport Planners and a Developer	KA, KB, KC
17.08.09	Developer's Offices London	Developer	KH
11.05.10	Eastern Quarry and Ebbsfleet	Developer	KJ

6.6.3 Focus Group meetings

The focus group meeting was held on the 10th September 2009 at the Fastrack offices in Northfleet, Kent - the following people took part:

- Three council officers from Gravesham, Dartford and Kent CC, - KD, KE, KI
- The manager of the Fastrack project - KG
- A developer - KH
- Community Liaison Officer - KF

The meeting lasted for two hours and was recorded on a portable tape recorder. The recording was transcribed and the transcript was returned to the participants who were invited to make alterations to the text. Finding a representative cross section of stakeholders to participate can be a difficult problem to overcome when putting together a Focus Group. However, the author was helped by Respondent KG who approached various contacts to see if they would agree to participate. It was clear from the outset that although the members were from different disciplines with diverse interests, they all knew each other and the debate was amicable and lively.

The questions discussed in the focus group are listed in Section 3.6.4, page 3/33. A summary of the full transcript of the meeting is given in Appendix B.

6.6.4 Interviews with Stakeholders

Interviews were carried out with a representative number of stakeholders representing broadly the following four areas of interest:

1. Decision makers in the property field namely, Developers, Estate Agents, Local Businesses.
2. Local authority officials, namely planners
3. Transport providers
4. Representatives from the local community in areas selected.

The respondents interviewed are given in Box 6.3 above.

As mentioned in Section 3.6.3 the interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner to give the interviewees an opportunity to enlarge on issues when appropriate. The lists of questions covered for the community representative, developers and transport providers & local authorities are listed in Figures 3.2 to 3.4 respectively. A summary of the full transcript of each interview is given in Appendix B.

6.7 Within-Case Analysis

As described in detail in Section 3.7.2 the steps involved in the within-case analysis of the data from the focus groups and interviews were:

1. To identify those factors that were raised by the various stakeholders as being important in determining the success or otherwise of the development and
2. A contextual analysis was then carried out to attempt to rank the degree of importance of the key factors identified in step 1 above. After the process of contextual analysis the factors that are important to the different group of stakeholders are revealed and shown as dots in the stakeholder's column; the number of dots denotes the number of times that the factor was cited as important to that group of stakeholders

6.7.1 Analysis of Focus Group meeting

Questions were asked of the focus group (within each case study) in order to ascertain their perception of a good place to live and how they thought it could be achieved. Summaries of the key factors emerge from each question. Please note that the factors used in the Within-Study analysis are extracted from the responses to the questions and so answers vary slightly in each case study. The summaries of the responses to each of the questions are given in the following and the key factors identified are listed in a summary table for each question. It is believed that presenting the results in this way helps to preserve the richness of the data and shows how the analysis was carried out. It should be noted that all the factors identified by the focus group related to the Local Community. The interviews described in Section 6.6.4 were used to identify factors relating to all the stakeholder groups i.e. local community, developers, local government and transport planners.

6.7.2 Question: What are the components of a good place to live?

Summary:

The majority participating thought accessibility to a good transport system to be important. KD thought that, “*transport is not an end product it’s only what makes things happen. You have got to have an area with things in it that people want to go to*”. Schooling for the children and employment were also considered important. It was agreed that a vibrant place where people want to live and where you could make friendships was essential. KF added that, “*building relationships within the community is absolutely essential to whether you stay there or not, or feel part of it*”. KI summarised that, “*... a good community is a collection of people that want to live together, have facility to live together and have the facility to get to and from where they want to be and that all goes together. If you leave out any one part of that then you’re missing out on an overall community experience. I suppose one thing that has been left out so far with community is open space*”.

Table 6.1: Main factors identified relating to a good place to live:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Accessibility/ Connectivity		•	•
<i>Transport</i>	•	•	•
<i>Good schools</i>	•		•
<i>Local employment</i>	•		•
<i>Sense of Community</i>	•		••
<i>Open space</i>	•	•	

6.7.3 Question: Could you describe what is positive about the Fastrack scheme in Kent Thameside?

Summary: Fastrack is an example of an integrated transport policy that is linked into Ebbsfleet International station. Fastrack was seen as critical to achieving the high density, mixed use environment foreseen in the Kent Thameside vision. Every person present agreed that Fastrack ‘works’ – it is regular, repeatable, predictable and people use it.

Table 6.2: Main Factors Identified relating to what is positive about Fastrack

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Reliable and Predictable	•	•	•
People use it		•	•
Integrated transport and land use system		•	•

6.7.4 Question: What could be done better and how could the new transport links and the new development better benefit the community?

Summary:

Throughout the meeting the discussion kept returning to the problem of conveying the vision of Kent Thameside to the existing community. Respondent KG explained:

“here there is no middle ground: you either have the existing communities where we are at the moment and all you have is the picture at the end of the development period when you’ve got an extra 30,000 homes and 50,000 jobs and everything with Fastrack is all working hunky dory etc. ... we have to accept everything in between is a stage and a pale imitation that can’t truly be judged till you get to the end”.

Respondent KG added:

“... we’re perhaps not very good at explaining what we’re doing and why we’re doing it and we need to put more effort into doing that and more resources...the trouble is it is very difficult for the general public to see a big picture ... and you can understand why... you can go and consult people on a scheme and they know it’s not going to happen for a year or two at most but the things we’re going to talk about in the terms of regeneration here aren’t going to happen for fifteen/twenty years. It’s very difficult to engage with people and get a meaningful discussion on that time scale”

Everyone present agreed that more effort and resources could be put into conveying the Fastrack vision to the local community.

Table 6.3: Main Factors Identified relating to what could be improved:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Consultation	•	•	•
Communication	•	•	•

6.7.5 Question: What improvements/additions need to be put in place to make sure that Kent Thameside is a good place to live for everyone?

Summary: Respondent KI was concerned that the mixed use development that was, *“...promised will never happen”*. Surely you get this mission creep that goes from a community with houses and jobs to a community of houses that then have no choice but to out commute”. It is a major concern to all involved with the Kent Thameside that without the mixed use development envisaged the area will become a dormitory town for London and it was stressed employment opportunities were needed to complement the housing. It was thought that if the government were to site a department in the area it would help to create a critical mass and encourage other firms to move into the area. It is therefore apparent that sufficient finance to realize the vision is a critical factor.

Members of the focus group also expressed concern about services in rural Kent and that the service needed to be improved.

Table 6.4: Main Factors Identified relating to improvements to benefit the community:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Mixed Use development	•	•	•
Employment Opportunities	•	••	•
Government Department		•	
Finacial backing	•	•	•
Improve rural services	•	•	•

6.7.6 Question: How can a sense of belonging/ identity be achieved?

Summary: It was considered that people feel they belong to a place where they are able to make friendships and in order to establish friendships you need to have communal places where people can meet. Mixed use developments were considered preferable to areas that were only residential. The facilities provided by the mixed use developments; for example health centres, schools, employment centres, leisure centres etc. also act as meeting places. These facilities could be shared by existing communities that are without that facility.

Respondent K1 thought heritage was important. He also thought the accessibility to community facilities vital “... and if you have to go away from the ‘community’, with a small c, to use a facility then the community doesn’t have a sense of being and it’s one of the things that the masterplans of Kent Thameside have looked at”. Respondent KI explained that ... our policies are about getting all those facilities locally... to make sure the schools, the jobs...”. Respondent KE interjects ... “The Health Care”, Respondent KI “...The Health

Care, your right and the ballet class if you want it or the scouts, there all locally within walking distance”.

Table 6.5: Main Factors Identified relating to a sense of belonging:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Heritage	•		•
Good Accessibility	•		•
<i>Mixed use development</i>			•
<i>Local employment</i>	•		•
<i>Local schools</i>	•		•
<i>Medical facilities</i>	•		••
<i>Local shops</i>	•		•
<i>Leisure facilities</i>	•		•
<i>Nurseies</i>	•		•
Community Groups/ Projects	•		•

6.7.7 Question: What are the factors that might influence the developer’s decisions to develop?

Summary: The potential sale revenue and potential land value were seen to be the main deciding factors. It was agreed that accessibility of the location was very important and the huge infrastructure investment in Kent Thameside has improved the accessibility of the area and thereby increased the potential value of the land.

Respondent KB thought that: “*there is absolutely no question that the more accessible a location is by a range of different means...*” he continued “*... There’s no point in building houses or anything else ...if you can’t get there easily and you can’t get out there easily then it’s not worth doing.*” Respondent KI agreed that Fastrack “*... certainly allowed for much more development than would have been possible otherwise. In terms of managing trip*

generation and the road network – it’s allowed a greater density of development than they would have had otherwise - about 25 to 30% more...”

Respondent KH agreed that Fastrack is, “...a good thing it will add value to our houses - greater than the cost we expended on building the road”. Such is the importance attached to the Fastrack service that originally one developer had also committed to paying for the cost of running the service for a further seventeen years.

Persuading a major retailer to sign up to the development was thought to encourage development of retail centres - Respondent KG discussing Bluewater retail centre “we’ll get John Lewis’ in and everybody else will follow - which they did” (see Section 6.3.1).

Table 6.6: Main Factors Identified relating to developers’ decisions:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Accessibility/Connectivity		••	•••
<i>Rail station</i>			••
<i>Transport Infrastructure</i>		•	•••
Land Value		•	•
Sales Revenue		•	••
Major retailer		•	•
Power of Place		••	
<i>Safe Place</i>		•	

6.7.8 Question: What is the impact of the Fastrack Scheme and who derives the greatest benefit from the introduction of new transport infrastructure and who is excluded?

Summary:

The Fastrack system is a fundamental part of the regeneration of Kent Thameside and was designed to provide an integrated bus service for the new developments planned in Kent

Thameside - it was fundamental to the vision of providing an alternative to the car and the promotion of walking and cycling.

Respondent KK, a transport planner, was invited to work with the Kent Thameside Association to design a public transport strategy that would serve the new housing and office development. She explained that it offered her the opportunity, *“to try and build the transport in the way that addressed what I felt had been some of the mistakes that had been made in Canary Wharf and to actually use transport and a new transport system as a way to try and integrate the new and existing communities together...”*.

Respondent KK explained that the first services ran from Greenhithe council estate in Dartford from Temple Hill which is also a council estate into Dartford town centre up to the new Darent Valley Hospital into Bluewater and then into Gravesend. KK explained that the first routes served, *“the existing people and the pensioners”*. That the second routes developed made access available from the new housing estates to Bluewater shopping centre. KK went on to explain that, *“... the first route gets the existing people to the new facilities. The second route gets the new housing to the new facilities”*. Thus integrating the old and new communities and making sure that both communities benefit.

Table 6.7: Main factors identified relating to impact and main beneficiaries:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Accessibility/ Connectivity	•	•	•
<i>Integrated Transport</i>	•	•	•

6.7.9 Question: What factors are needed to enable all members of the community to benefit from the new transport infrastructure?

The original vision for Fastrack, conceived by Kent Thameside, was to produce an integrated land use and transport development to reduce the need to travel. Designing mixed use developments that would promote local facilities and local employment with the intention of benefiting and integrating the existing and new local communities.

When considering the factors needed to realise the Kent Thameside Vision all members involved with the Kent Thameside regeneration programme from council officers, transport planners and developers agreed that the most important factors that contributed to the development of Fastrack and the Kent Thameside Vision were:

1. The involvement of a multi-disciplinary group of people from the public and private sectors who were all working together with the same vision and the same end in view.
2. A local landowner – *“a very visionary chap who would go and talk to the key people at the right time, get them enthused, get them on board”*.
3. The right people. Respondent KG explains: – *“there are examples where you’ve got almost the same thing – exactly the same sort of resources in terms of money and capital to put into it. One will work and one won’t because it’s getting the right people with the right vision, the right drive, who are prepared to be in there for the long term”*..

Table 6.8: Main Factors Identified relating to benefit for all members of the community:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Multi-disciplinary group Working in Partnership		•	•
Local champion		•	•
Drive and commitment		•	•

6.7.10 What Factors contributed to the success of the Kent Thameside programme?

All members involved with the Kent Thameside regeneration programme from council officers, transport planners and developers agreed that one of the most important factors that contributed to the development of Kent Thameside was that there was a multi-disciplinary group of people from the public and private sectors who were all working together with the same end in view. Respondent KC explained that it was thought to be the '*fascinating dynamic*' in the Association that a group of people from different backgrounds and disciplines were meeting 'round the table' to discuss the development of the area. This was not only people from the private and public sectors but between the different councils as well. Over a period of time a trust developed between the various members and the local authorities and private sector developers involved realised they had a 'common cause'.

The other important factor that contributed to the success of Kent Thameside was the aspirations of 'Blue Circle' to maximise the return on their land holdings so when the holdings were exhausted and quarrying activities ceased they had a "*...pro-active eye on what they might do with that land*".

As described in Section 3.7.2 and summarized at the start of this Section the next stage of the analysis was to carry out a contextual analysis of the transcripts of focus groups and interviews aimed at identifying those key factors that are important in determining the success or otherwise of the development. To do this it is essential to distinguish between those factors that can be controlled and those that cannot easily be controlled. The different factors have been identified in table 6.9 – red = Fixed Factors and blue = External Factors. The factors are defined in chapter 8 section 8.3.1.

Table 6.9 lists the key factors that have been identified in this case study and the dots after the factor denotes how often the factor was cited as important. The discussion of all three case studies takes place in the Cross-Case in Chapter 8.

Table 6.9: Within-Case Analysis of key factors in determining the success or otherwise of the development

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government /Transport Planner
Components of Sustainable Communities			
Accessibility/Connectivity <i>Transport Infrastructure</i> <i>Rail Station</i>	••••• •••••	••••• •••••	•••••••• •••••• ••
<i>Reliable and Predictable</i> <i>People use It</i> <i>Improved rural services</i>	• • •	• •	• • •
Mixed Use Development <i>Affordable Housing</i> <i>Housing Targets</i>	••	•	••
<i>Schools/ Further education</i>	•		•
<i>Job retraining schemes</i>	•		•
<i>Local Employment</i> <i>Major Retailer</i>	•••	•• •	•• •
<i>Health care</i>	•		•
<i>Shopping</i>	•		•
<i>Leisure facilities</i>	•		•
Good place to live			
<i>Meeting Places</i>	•		
<i>Safe and Clean</i>		•	
<i>Green/ Open space</i>	•	•	
<i>Sense of Community</i>	•		••
<i>CommunityGroups/Nurseries</i>	••		••
Political support/Policy factors			
<i>Working in Partnership</i> <i>Government Department</i>		• •	• •
<i>Strong Local Leadership</i> <i>Drive and Commitment</i>		• •	• •
<i>Financial Backing</i> <i>Land Value</i>	• •	•	• •
<i>Sale Revenue</i>	••		•
Power of Place		••	
<i>Cultural Heritage</i>	•		•
Consultation/ ownership/Empowerment <i>Engagement</i> <i>Transparency</i>	• •	• •	• •

Key: In particular the table identifies red = Fixed Factors; blue= External Factors

It can be seen from the Table 6.9 that the key factors that emerge are accessibility/connectivity to: employment, schools, further education, shops, health care, community facilities and leisure facilities etc. Transport infrastructure was seen as the essential component that made the accessibility possible. Local employment was also seen as essential.

6.8 Recent statistics supporting the research

For the purpose of this thesis the author focuses within the Gravesham area specifically, where the development will impact on the land to the north of the A2 which is recognized as being a major growth area with the ability to accommodate significant levels of housing and employment development.

6.8.1 *The Indices of Multi Deprivation (IMD) for Gravesham*

The overall IMD 2010 results for Gravesham in particular has an IMD score of 19.46 which saw the borough recorded 142nd (out of 326) most deprived boroughs in the country and fifth most deprived in the Kent County Council area. This represents an improvement on the 2007 results where Gravesham recorded a score of 20.37 and ranked 132nd most deprived boroughs nationally.

Despite an improvement in overall score for the borough, there remains large scale disparity of deprivation in Gravesham. When reviewing the IMD result of 2010, it is clear there are significant inequalities in income deprivation across the borough. There are pockets of the borough, north of the A2 in Northfleet North and Central wards that are in the overall top-40% of deprived areas nationally. Conversely there are a number of LSOA's in rural Gravesham, across Meopham North, Meopham South & Vigo and Higham for example, that are in the top 20% least deprived areas nationally. The challenge to public service providers

in the future will be to establish the best methods to address the levels of deprivation in the borough (Department for Communities and Local Government. 2010).

6.8.2 Employment

Gravesham's skills profile points to a legacy of low-skilled employment and a dependence on declining economic sectors, specifically manufacturing. Unfortunately, in 2013 Glaxo is also to close its factory in the neighbouring Dartford with the loss of about 620 jobs.

It is evident from Fig 6.8 that the manufacturing sector, which has long been Gravesham's traditional economic base, is in decline posting a reduction of 5% in job numbers in the borough between 2008 and 2010. Indeed on a wider timescale manufacturing accounted for 4,300 jobs in 1995. So as an employment sector manufacturing has been reduced in size by 55.81% in Gravesham in the past 15years.

Table 6.10 Changes in Gravesham's employment structure between 2008-2010

Industry	2008	2010	2008-2010 total change	2008-2010 % change
Primary Industries	700	600	-100	-14.3%
Manufacturing	2,000	1,900	-100	-5.0%
Construction	2,400	1,700	-700	-29.2%
Wholesale and retail trade	4,800	4,500	-300	-6.3%
Transportation and storage	1,800	1,600	-200	-11.1%
Accommodation and food service activities	1,900	2,000	100	5.3%
Information and communication	400	300	-100	-25.0%
Financial and insurance activities	400	400	N/A	N/A
Real estate activities	200	300	100	50.0%
Professional, scientific and technical activities	1,000	900	-100	-10.0%
Administrative and support service activities	2,600	2,000	-600	-23.1%
Public administration and defence	2,200	2,100	-100	-4.5%
Education	3,700	3,600	-100	-2.7%
Human health and social work activities	2,200	2,400	200	9.1%
Arts, entertainment and recreation	700	600	-100	-14.3%
Other service activities	500	400	-100	-20.0%
Gravesham Total	27,500	25,300	-2,200	-8.0%

Source: Business Demography, Kent County Council

The largest reduction in both terms of percentage rate and actual total figures was the construction sector which saw a fall of 29.2% (700 jobs) most likely explained by the wider economic downturn and in the fall in demand for the building/construction projects

When considering these sectors as a whole (total employment for all industries) Gravesham total employment between 2008 and 2010 has fallen from 27,500 to 25,300 (-8.0%) during the period. This reduction in resident employee jobs is the highest recorded across KCC electoral area, significantly higher than nearby Dartford (-5.5%) and Tonbridge and Malling (-2.5%) and is also considerable higher than the average seen regionally in the south and east and nationally (-3.4%) over the same period.

According to the 2001 Census 40% of residents in the Dartford area commute to Greater London each day. The figure for Gravesham was considerably less at 23.46% of people commuting to London.

However, over the past few years transport infrastructure development in the borough has seen various major transport schemes delivered which have significantly enhanced local transport capacity. Many of these projects would not have occurred but for the projected growth in the Thames Gateway area. Recent Schemes include:

- A/M2 widening
- Fastrack Routes A & B
- High Speed 1 (HS1) including Ebbsfleet international station and domestic high speed train

Despite these improvements, there is however a potential future transport issue if more employment is not provided locally and the population grows significantly because of the pressure for out commuting (Gravesham Borough Council, 2011).

6.8.3 Rise in House Prices

Fastrack started operating in 2006 at the beginning of the recession and it is therefore difficult to gauge whether land values have increased and by how much. Studies by Hass-Klau (2009) and Vidion (2010), show a variation in house prices between 2000 – 2009, although it has been difficult to assess whether there has in fact been an upward trend.

The Hass-Klau study conducted between 2000 and 2008 found that after Fastrack B opened in 2006 (looking at the average house in the area, a semi-detached house), an increase took place of 10.7% in value for houses within 300m of the Fastrack over houses 600m plus distance from Fastrack (Hass-Klau, 2009).

It was noted in 2009 that house prices in Gravesham had risen higher and at a faster rate than elsewhere because the station is there and the improved connectivity had made it easier for people to commute longer distances. There was fear that the area could become “*just a commuter land*” (Respondent KE, Section 6.6.3).

However, according to Kent House Prices and Sales, by 2011 it was found that, *despite the close proximity to London and associated transport connectivity. Gravesham has a relatively cheap private housing market...*” It was also found that sales figures for 2010 were lower. “*...Ultimately the sales figures indicate that the housing sales market in Gravesham is sluggish at best, likely due to the continued impact of the wider economic downturn,* (Kent County Council, (2011).

6.9 Summary and Conclusions

Kent Thameside is the commercial and residential development of the Thames Gateway region. The previous Labour Government identified Kent Thameside as a priority area for long-term sustainable, economic, social and environmental regeneration. The project’s focus

lies between Dartford's boundary with Greater London in the west and to North Kent Marshes to the east of Gravesend.

The development of Kent Thameside has been planned from the beginning around sustainable public transport. The Fastrack service has now been operating successfully for five years – since 26th March 2006. All respondents interviewed, in particular the developers involved, agreed that Fastrack was fundamental to the successful development of Kent Thameside. The rapid transport network links established centres to new developments, encouraging greater use of public transport. In due course, it is proposed that the Channel Tunnel Rail Link will be the catalyst for the new business and financial services centre at Ebbsfleet International, connecting to London St Pancras in 17 minutes and to Paris in less than 2 hours. International services have run from the station in 2007 followed by domestic services in 2009.

The Ebbsfleet development is intended to be the showpiece for Kent Thameside. Some 789,550m² of development is proposed around the new rail station, including up to 3,000 housing units and job opportunities. It is one of the major objectives of the Thames Gateway project to maximise the opportunities for new economic activity and jobs, created by the improving transport connections to continental Europe. This will be complemented by expanding and regenerated town centres and waterfront. The proposed development is crucial to the employment needs and financial survival of the area.

It was generally agreed by most people interviewed that employment opportunities were of paramount importance to match the housing allocations. However, there was fear that the government's priority was for "*more and more housing numbers*". All respondents interviewed agreed that they were happy to have quite large housing numbers but only when they have the jobs as well. It was considered that the employment opportunities in Kent Thameside would be heightened if the Government was to site one of its state departments in

the area - it would help to create a critical mass and encourage other firms to move into the area.

The impact of the down turn in the financial market cannot be underestimated - it has had a devastating effect on the Kent Thameside regeneration scheme. It has dramatically postponed investment in the area. Several of the executives interviewed by the author have been made redundant. Lend Lease have landscaped the Eastern Quarry and put in place the tracks for Fastrack but further development has been postponed until the financial market is more stable. The development around Ebbsfleet station has also been delayed.

There was concern and an observation amongst several people interviewed that there had been historical precedents for what happens when the financial market is unstable and times are hard for developers, viz. “...*the commercial market ends up driving the masterplan...*” (Respondent KE, see Box 6.3 Section 6.6.2). It was felt that all the important ingredients that contribute to creating a sustainable community would be dropped and the money used to create extra housing which turns a community with houses and jobs into a community only of houses “...*that then have no choice but to out commute*”. It is a major concern to all involved with the Kent Thameside that without the mixed use development envisaged the area will become a dormitory town for London (see Section 6.7.5).

6.9.1 Conveying the Kent Thames side Vision

Throughout the focus group meeting the discussion kept returning to the problem of conveying the vision of Kent Thameside to the existing community. The difficulty is conveying the vision of a regeneration scheme that is not going to be complete for another 15-20 years. It was felt that more resources were needed to consult with the general public. After the focus group meeting, the researcher discussed the difficulty with Respondent KF –

the Community Liaison Officer. He felt that it was important to maintain a high level of communication with all stakeholders including the general public. He stressed that giving out updates/new information is essential as a project progresses, otherwise people lose interest when they hear nothing. This may involve newsletters, web updates, social media news/blogs etc.

6.9.2 *Summing up*

Initially Kent Thameside was chosen to be an example of best practice but due to the downturn in the financial market much of the planned development has been put on hold. The success of Fastrack and the Kent Thameside development is dependent on the financial backing to complete the vision. Vidion (2010, p53) supports the theory put forward by Cervero, (1998) and Hall and Marshall (2000) who argue that for public transport investment to have an effect on development the economy must be buoyant (Vidion, 2010 p.53). However surveys on the current Fastrack route are suggesting that 19% of people used to be car users and are now bus users. Moreover, without Fastrack, the view has been expressed that future development would not be viable (see section 6.7.1). At this stage it is too early to assess whether Kent Thameside and Fastrack are going to be able to fulfill their vision.

In line with the Government's localism and decentralising agenda, the Kent Thameside Regeneration Partnership was disbanded in March 2011. As a result the strategic regeneration of Gravesham, within the boundaries of Kent Thameside, is now being delivered by the wider Thames Gateway Partnership. The success of Kent Thameside was built on the relationships, spirit of cooperation and trust that developed over the years that the various partners worked together. Successfully working in partnership was a very important driver for the project and should not be lost.

CHAPTER 7: RAINHAM ESSEX with PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE MARDYKE ESTATE

7.1 Introduction

The case study described in this chapter was brought to the attention of the author by the Development Manager of Thames Gateway Development Corporation who was concerned that, *“the development may only get started if the transport infrastructure reaches the level necessary for it to be sustainable”*.

The developments in question were part of Havering Council Development Framework (23rd July 2008). Havering Council has been working in partnership with the London Thames Gateway, the Development Corporation (LTGDC), the Greater London Authority, the London Development Agency, Transport for London, The Highways Agency and adjoining local authorities, *“to address the many opportunities the London Riverside Area presents for new development”*.

The author has followed the progress of the proposed regeneration scheme and due to the downturn in the economy the funding has not been available to commence the regeneration.

The Mardyke Estate in Rainham (now Orchard village) completed phase one of the regeneration project on that estate on the 12th April 2011. It is therefore possible, for the objective of this thesis, to use the Mardyke Estate as a case study. The Mardyke Estate offers the opportunity to observe the consequential effects of poor transport accessibility on the community and development in the Rainham area. Figure 7.1 shows a map of the Mardyke Estate in relation to the school, the station, the Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL) and A13 by-pass. It also shows the proposed infrastructure which would have improved the accessibility in the area.

The study includes the history of the Rainham area and follows the development of the Mardyke Estate (now Orchard Village) regeneration project.

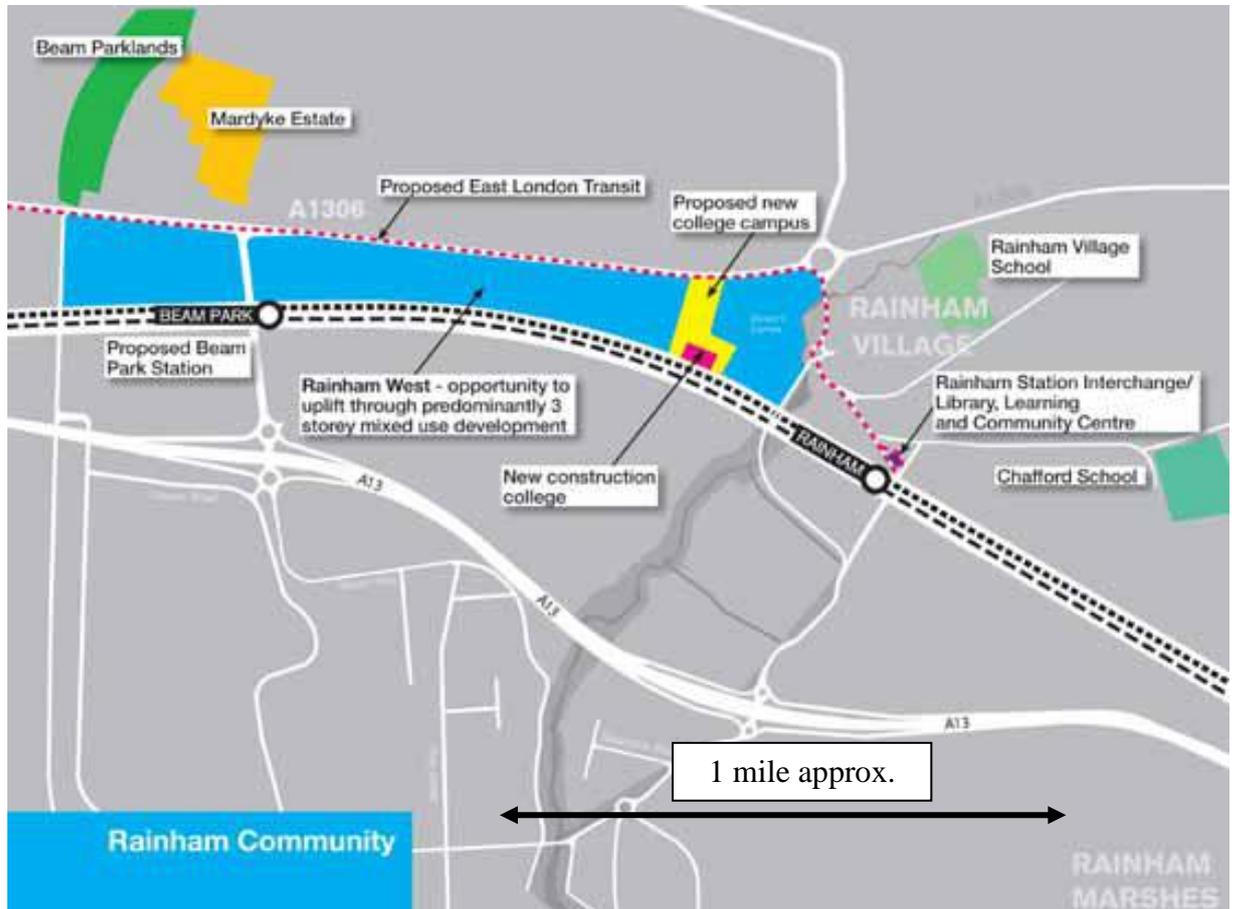


Figure 7.1: Map of Rainham with proposed infrastructure (source London Borough of Havering)

7.2 The Site and Geology of the Area

The Mardyke estate, an area of 4.91 hectares, is the yellow area on the top left hand side of the map in Figure 7.1. To understand the various issues experienced by the residents it is important to view the estate within the area of Rainham as a whole.

Rainham lies beside the Thames 12 miles east of the city of London. A tidal section of the River Ingrebourne forms the western boundary; it is bounded north and north-east by Upminster, and east by Aveley and Wennington. The alluvial marshlands of Rainham run

along the southern boundary of the River Thames and are about 5 feet (1.5 m) above sea level. The rest of the parish consists chiefly of gravel beds, rising to between 60 feet (18 m) and 100 feet (30 m). The land to the south has been affected by gravel extraction. Between 1961 and 1968 the Port of London Authority filled 200 acres of marsh in Rainham and Wennington with 9 million tons of dredged spoil, raising the level of the land by 15 ft. It should also be noted that Rainham is located in a part of London that is susceptible to flooding.

The Rainham Marshes (see Figure 7.5) are highlighted as potentially a regionally important environmental and leisure asset for East London. Rainham Village is recognized by English Heritage as a historic centre in the Thames Gateway (see Figure 7.6)

7.3 Transport in Rainham:

Currently the A1306 road passes through Rainham and acts as an alternative route to the main A13 road between Central London and the Dartford Crossing London-Tilbury-Southend by pass through the area. Rainham is served by the train services running between Fenchurch Street in the City of London and Grays. Several London Bus routes serve Rainham, including routes 108,165,287,365,372 which provide connections to Barking, Elm Park, Hornchurch, Lakeside and Romford. The London Loop key walking route passes through Rainham, and it forms the end point of section 23 from Upminster Bridge and the starting point of section 24 to Purfleet (London Loop, 2010).

There are two key issues around transport for London Riverside: severance and poor accessibility (viz. lack of penetration into many of the development areas). The area south of the A13 has only a few roads and is disjointed and disconnected. Although the A13 by-pass has improved the accessibility and reduced congestion from traffic outside Rainham, it causes severance to the area south of the A13 and acts as a barrier to local movement. The CTRL

(represented by the heavy dotted line in Figure 7.1 running parallel to the older railway) also causes severance to local traffic thus making access to the Industrial sites difficult. The Thames is a natural asset which is currently almost totally inaccessible and under-exploited for transportation and recreation and this impacts on how the area can be developed (unpublished report for the Thames Gateway Development Corporation prepared by URS Corp., 2008 p.10).

Respondent RB (for respondents' details see box 7.1) explained that in order to realise the potential of the area the following is required: an enhanced bus service from Ferry Lane in the Industrial Park to Rainham station, a new station at Beam Park and also an orbital bus routes which would be made possible by a bridge over the Creek. The map in Figure 7.2 shows the suggested enhancements and Figure 7.3 shows the industrial sites and area of potential development.

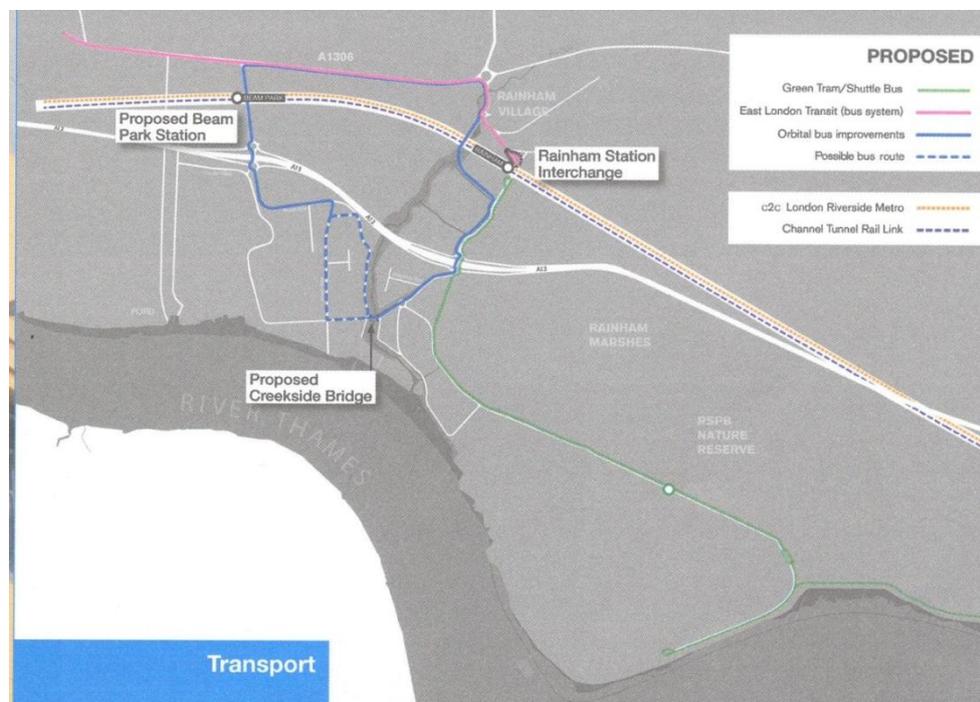


Figure 7.2: Map showing suggested improved transport enhancements (source London Borough of Havering)

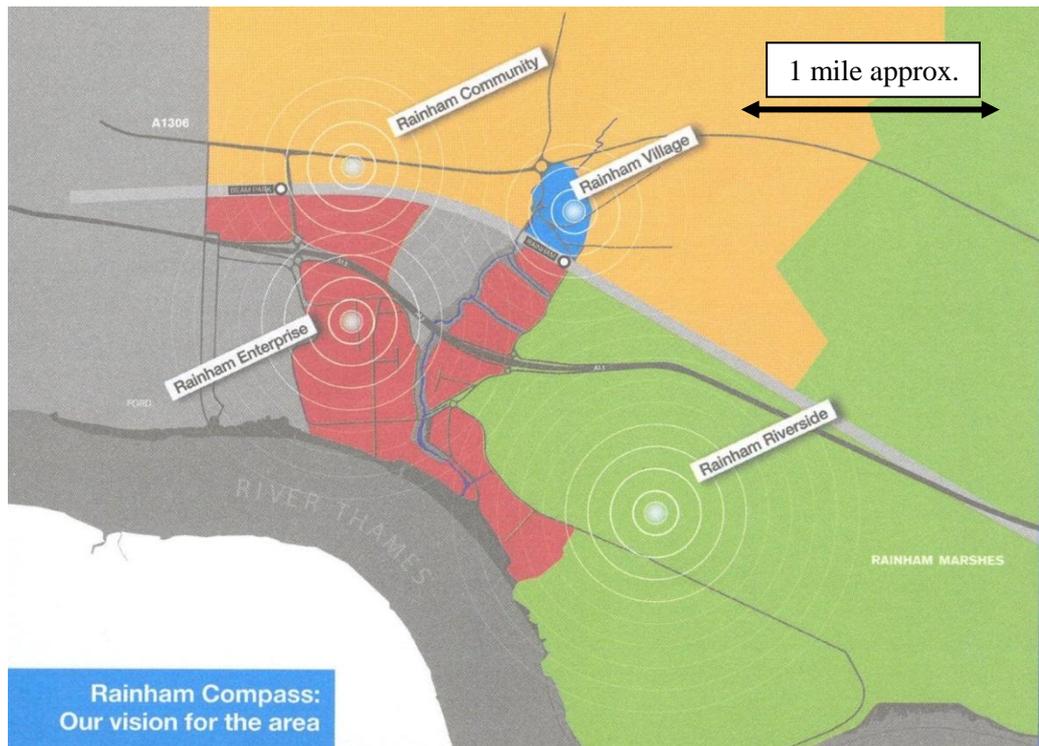


Figure 7.3: The red area includes some of the existing industrial sites (source London Borough of Havering)

7.4 The history of the area

7.4.1 *The History of Rainham*

The source of history of the area has been extracted from British History Online. Rainham is recorded in the Domesday Book as *Raineham* and the name is thought to mean 'homestead or village of a man called Regna'.

For much of its history Rainham was an agricultural settlement, using the River Thames for trade. From the Middle ages there were links between Rainham farms and the City of London. The Middle Ages settlement appears to have clustered round the church and manor-houses. The Church of St Helen and St Giles is the only building from that period to have survived. New prosperity from increased trade in the early 18th century led to the construction of several buildings, including Rainham Hall. The vicarage was also rebuilt during the same period in 1710 and can be seen today situated opposite the church in the Broadway (Figure see 7.5, the village and 7.6, the Vicarage).



Figure 7.4: Church of St Helen's and St Giles (source wikipedia 2007)

In the 16th century, there was a limited industry in boat-building and tannery. By the 17th century Rainham ferry, across the Thames, and Rainham wharf, were well established, and after the wharf was redeveloped in the 1720s trade increased; including the bringing of 'muck' from London for use in the fields. By 1929 most of the farmland had been given over to market gardening.

The ferry to London was supplemented by new coaching links in the 18th century and in 1848 and 1850 there was a daily omnibus to London, (White's Dir 1848 and Kelly's Dir. 1850). From 1824 there are references to wagons and vans going daily to London from Rainham and parishes to the east.

In 1854 the London, Tilbury, and Southend railway was opened as far as Tilbury, with a station at Rainham, linked by ferry to Gravesend (Kent). The line was extended to Southend in 1856 (Kelly's Dir, 1956). The station was rebuilt after a fire in 1891 and in 1961, when the Southend line was electrified, a new station was built nearer the Ferry Lane level crossing (Lewis, 1956).

From 1869 there was a growth in industrial development, including chemical and fertiliser factories and a second wharf was constructed in 1872. On the river front there were three main firms – Hempleman & Co, blood and fish manure manufacturers (1882-1917), J Field Ltd, candle and soap manufacturers (1906-1937) and Murex Ltd iron founders.

Murex, established in 1909, moved to Rainham in 1917. Between 1928 and 1937 it bought out other companies on the water-front and 1970, after further land purchases, owned 63 acres. In 1972 Murex became part of the British Oxygen Company. In areas away from the river, other industries including brick making developed and after World War II there was a growth in gravel extraction.

7.4.2 *Rainham's residential development*

Rainham's growth in the later part of the 19th century took place mainly to the east of the Broadway, where Melville and Cowper Roads were laid out *c.* 1880 (Lewis, 1969). The houses there were mostly semi-detached or terraced, and in 1908 Rainham was described as an entirely working-class district.

In 1920, when the last of the Crosse estates were sold they were said to be cheaper per square yard than linoleum (Challenge, 1959). Many of the purchasers were east Londoners who had previously cultivated smallholdings in the eastern fringes of West Ham (Lewis, 1966: p.3). Building on the Brights and Parsonage estate was carried out by individual owners at random; there were no sewers and none of the roads were made up. In 1944 the Greater London Plan recommended that the land should be returned to market-gardening, for which it was particularly suited, Abercrombie (1944: p.134). The allotments and orchards can be seen on the map of Rainham dated 1938 (see Figure 7.18 located at the end of the chapter). The Bright's and Parsonage estate association successfully fought this proposal. The estate was removed from the proposed Green Belt (Challenge, 1959).

In 1958 the Residents Association, campaigned for improved infrastructure, for as late as 1961 21 roads in the parish were still unmade and the Brights and Parsonage Estate was still without a sewer. Again the Association was successful: a sewer system was begun *c.* 1960,

and the roads were at last paved by 1972, Havering Recorder (1959). Rainham was also being used as a dump for silt and refuse (Essex and Thurrock Gazette , 17th Oct.1958).



F



Figure 7.6: The Vicarage of St Helen's & St Giles



Figure 7.7: Rainham Marshes

7.4.3 History of the Mardyke Estate

In the 13th century the manor of Mardyke lay on the edge of the marshes (Fig7.7) about half a mile south of Dagenham bridge. In 1894 the farm comprising 177 acres was put up for sale and divided amongst at least four purchasers. Perhaps as a result of that sale the southern portion was made into a new farm called Little Mardyke. In 1918 the Mardyke Farm comprised 122 acres and Little Mardyke 72 acres. Much of Mardyke has since been dug for gravel or used for housing.

The Mardyke housing estate built in the 1960s, was once part of the farm land at the western edge of Frederick Road. The Estate was originally built to provide homes for employees working at the Ford Motor factory in Dagenham. When the factory laid off workers, the estate slowly became dilapidated. The Mardyke Estate became known as one of the most disadvantaged estates in Greater London and had a notorious reputation for its high crime levels (Lewis, 1966: p.121).

7.5 How has the history influenced the development?

The area's industrial heritage and its decline is deeply-rooted in its history. This has led to a common perception of an area of under-investment, generally inaccessible, with a hostile physical environment, and the market for land reflects this. The industrial sites will require remediation to prepare the site for residential use. A step-change is required so that London Riverside post-industrial character is regarded as a strength and not a weakness (London Riverside Delivery and Investment Strategy).

The history of unemployment and neglect after the closure of the Ford Works is symptomatic of the general decline of the area thus emphasizing the need to provide local employment and improve the transport accessibility in order to address the many social problems in the area

(Lewis, 1966: p.123). In terms of overall IMD the Mardyke Estate fell within the ten to twenty percent most deprived small areas (lower level super output areas) in the country (Indices of Deprivation 2004).

The historical legacy of industry is apparent as there are significant tracts of former industrial land. Some of the land is in private ownership which makes its development complicated and negotiating with the various land owners could be long and protracted. Figures 7.11, 7.12, 7.13 and 7.14 show the industrial sites in the area.



Figure 7.8: The Mardyke Estate (2009 before redevelopment)

7.6 The Redevelopment of Mardyke Estate

The site of the Mardyke housing estate is 4.91 hectares and is approximately two kilometers to the northwest of Rainham town centre (see Figure 7.1). It is accessed off the A13, which runs east-west on the south of the site. The site itself is bounded by open land which is designated as green belt to the north, north-east and west and by mainly low rise residential development to the east and south. The Beam River runs to the west of the site.

The Mardyke housing estate consists of 490 units for rent and 57 leasehold units which are composed of three types of stock: 13 storey tower blocks, maisonette blocks and low-rise blocks of flats of 3 or 4 storeys. The majority of the blocks were in poor condition, having had little repair work since construction and would have required costly major works to bring them into line with 'Decent Homes'.

On 31st March 2008, the ownership of Mardyke Estate was transferred from the London Borough of Havering (the Council) to Old Ford Housing Association, which is part of the Circle Anglia group. As part of this transfer, the estate has been redeveloped; this commenced on the 13th November 2009.

The proposal is for 555 residential units, with associated car parking, up to 900 sq. m. Commercial and /or community space with up to 600 sq m. of office space. The redevelopment is now called Orchard Village (the Mardyke Estate was renamed by the children to change the negative perception attached the name of the Mardyke Estate). The new development is mixed tenure and arranged over 3-6 storey buildings. The total cost of the new development is estimated to be £80m and has been funded by the Homes and Communities Agency.

The redevelopment is a six year programme and residents started to move in to the 121 new homes in Phase 1 of the development from January 2011. Phase 1 was completed on the 12th April 2011 and Old Ford are now working on Phase 2. Figures 7.9, 7.11, 7.12 are photographs taken in 2011 and show the 1st phase of the redevelopment.

The New Development in Orchard Village: Figures 7.9, 7.10, 7.11



Figure 7.9



Figure 7.10



Figure 7.11

7.6.1 Transport on the Mardyke Estate

The existing Mardyke Estate is adjacent to the A1306 New Road. The nearest section of Transport for London road network is the A13 which is located less than a kilometre from the site. The site is served by one bus route (the 365), with stops located throughout the estate but due to the road layout there is no opportunity for buses to travel in both directions. There are other services on the fringe of this development, however, the area is generally poorly served by public transport with a Public Transport Accessibility Level (PTAL) rating of 1 (ratings go from 1-6). The nearest rail links are Dagenham Dock national rail station and Dagenham Heathway London Underground station, although these are not considered to be within an acceptable walking distance of the site. As a result, it has been demonstrated that both stations necessitate either a car or bus journey. The results of a survey carried out by an independent Tenant Advisor (November 2005) during the Stock Option appraisals showed that 54% of respondents had no car/vehicle in their household, this compounds the difficulty residents have in easily accessing services, employment and even the most necessary services.

The Planning Application includes designs to realign Lowen road to allow for the minimum of 6.5 metres in order to implement a two way bus service. This is a long-term aspiration and at present TfL has no commitment to implement or fund such a scheme even if the necessary infrastructure detailed in the planning application, were to be put in place. However, the highway amendments suggested would enable potential two-way bus operation should it be approved in the future.

7.7 Field Work

As explained in Section 3.6.6 the author adapted the Content Analysis Method to analyse recorded transcripts of interviews and focus groups. The interviews conducted provided the

data from which the Researcher has been able to identify the relevant factors that are important in determining the success or otherwise of a given development and the impact transport infrastructure has on that development.

7.7.1 Survey

It was clear that accessibility to basic facilities was a particular problem to the residents on the Mardyke estate. In order to make an approximate assessment of the extent of the problem an additional questionnaire was sent out to the residents living on Estate. As part of the fieldwork the questionnaire was sent on the 10th May 2010 to 50 residents chosen at random, of whom 37 replied (i.e. approximately 75%). They were asked:

How do you travel to:

Work/ School/ College:

Local shops and services:

Doctors/ Health Centres/ Hospital:

Leisure facilities:

The results revealed that, without the use of a car the respondents would need to take “two buses” or “a bus and a walk of over 20 minutes” to access employment, shopping, medical facilities etc. Many remarked that cycling would be “too dangerous” (A copy of the questionnaire is in Appendix C).

7.7.2 Visits to the Site

Box 7.1 sets out the dates and locations of visits and interviews carried out by the author.

Box 7.1: Details of Site Visits

Date of Interview	Location	Respondents Status	Code
22 nd January 2008	London Wall	Development Manager London Thames Gateway Corporation	RA
10 th July 2009	Romford	Regeneration Officer, London Borough of Havering	RB
16 th September 2009	Rainham	Community Liaison Officer	RE
8 th October 2009	Victoria	TfL	RI
31 st March 2010	London	LDA staff working on the Beam Park Station business case	RJ
15 th April 2010	London at PRP offices	PRP Architect responsible for the Mardyke Estate regeneration project	RK

The author arranged further meetings to discuss the Rainham case.

7.7.3 Focus Group Meeting

A visit to the site was made on the 15th October 2009 in order to conduct a Focus Group meeting which was held at 89, Lowen Road on the Mardyke Estate. The meeting was recorded on a small tape recorder and later transcribed.

Participants:

- Two representatives from the London Riverside Business Innovation and Development (BID) - Respondents RC & RD
- Two local employers from the Industrial Estate - Respondents RF & RG
- A Community Liaison officer for the Mardyke Estate - Respondent RE
- A resident living on the Mardyke Estate - Respondent RH

The officer from Havering Council gave the author the names of representatives from the London Riverside Business Innovation and Development (BID) (*Respondents RC & RD*) who

represent the business community and a Community Liaison officer for the Mardyke Estate (*Respondent RE*).

7.7.4 Interviews with Stakeholders

Interviews were carried out with a representative number of stakeholders representing broadly the following four areas of interest:

1. Local Businesses.
2. Local authority officials, namely planners/architects, Regenerations Officers
3. Transport providers
4. Representatives from the local community in areas selected

The respondents interviewed are given in Box 7.1 above.

As mentioned in Section 3.6.3 the interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner to give the interviewees an opportunity to enlarge on issues when appropriate. The lists of questions covered for the community representative, developers & transport providers and local authorities are listed in Figures 3.2 to 3.4 respectively. A summary of the full transcript of each interview is given in Appendix C.

7.8 Within-Case Analysis

As described in detail in Section 3.7.2 the steps involved in the within-case analysis of the data from the focus groups and interviews were:

1. To identify those factors that were raised by the various stakeholders as being important in determining the success or otherwise of the development and
2. A contextual analysis was then carried out to attempt to rank the degree of importance of the key factors identified in step 1 above. After the process of contextual analysis

the factors that are important to the different group of stakeholders are revealed and shown as dots in the stakeholder's column; the number of dots denotes the number of times that the factor was cited as important to that group of stakeholders

7.8.1 Analysis of focus group meeting

Questions were asked of the focus group (within each case study) in order to ascertain their perception of a good place to live and how they thought it could be achieved. Summaries of the key factors emerge from each question. The summaries of the responses to each of the questions are given in the following and the key factors identified are listed in a summary table for each question. It is believed that presenting the results in this way helps to preserve the richness of the data and shows how the analysis was carried out.

7.8.2 Question: What are the components of a good place to live?

Summary:

Everyone agreed that 'decent' schools, good bus and train connections, good working opportunities and affordable clean housing were important components of a good place to live. A safe environment was also thought important and this brought up issues to do with the local youth which featured throughout the meeting. It was thought important to have community police patrolling the streets and activities for the youth that will keep them off the street. Several members present thought it important to work with the younger children – to involve them in decisions about the new development on the Mardyke Estate and by doing so it was thought they would have 'ownership' for the scheme.

Respondent RH said: "*It's got to be theirs for them to be involved...*" he continued: "*You've got to start with the young though ... they're the ones we've got to change and on this estate were getting them to be involved naming the place*".

Table 7.1: Main factors identified relating to a good place to live:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Local Employers	Local government/ Transport Planner
Accessibility/ Connectivity	•	•	•
<i>Transport</i>	•	•	•
<i>Good schools</i>	•	•	•
<i>Local employment</i>	•	•	•
<i>Affordable Housing</i>	•	•	•
<i>Safe place</i>			•
<i>Sense of ownership</i>	•	•	•

7.8.3 Question: Could you describe what is positive about the proposed development area in Rainham?

Summary:

The Rainham Marshes were considered to be an asset and all members present agreed that the open space around Rainham including the nature reserve (see figure 7.5), and river walks was an asset for the area and could attract people to visit. The proposed plans to redevelop the station, an area of 1.5 hectares, to provide an Interchange and Civic square central to Rainham Village will better integrate the station functionally and visually into the village. Respondent RC felt that improvements to the station and the new transport hub to be positive for the area (see Figure 7.9 the footbridge over the CTRL to the station; and Figure 7.10 Rainham station). The author visited the site to take the photographs on 16th September 2009 and found the area around the station to be very foreboding and remote from Rainham Village.

The Regeneration project on the Mardyke Estate was thought to bring about positive improvements to the area, improving the image and raising the resident's self- esteem.

Respondent RD “*I think that’s going to be a huge improvement because that will lift the bad name as well.*” The children renamed the Estate the Orchard Village. (There were orchards in the area before the second world war, see map in Figure 7.18).

Table 7.2: Main Factors Identified relating to what is positive about Rainham

Factor/Driver	Local community	Local Employer	Local government/ Transport Planner
New transport hub around the station	•	•	•
Regeneration of the Mardyke estate	•	•	•
The open green space of Rainham Marshes	•	•	•

7.8.4 Question: What could be done better and how could the transport links better benefit the community?

Summary:

There was agreement in the group that the traffic on the A13 and A1306 going through Rainham was very congested particularly during the rush hour. Respondent RF described, “*a massive problem with the traffic in the morning*”. Several people interviewed thought in order to alleviate the congested roads in the area there was a need for factories and offices near to where people live. Everyone interviewed agreed that the transport was poor and there was a need for better transport links to improve the accessibility and connectivity of the area. Local people interviewed thought there was a need to link up Ferry Lane. This would enable people to more easily access local employment but to do that a bridge was needed across the Creek (see Figure 7.2).

Respondent RC went on to explain that, “*you can’t have youth training and employ 16 and 17 year olds because they don’t have their own transport*”. All present agreed that without a car you would not attempt to do the journey by bike. Respondent RC, “*You’ve got 16/17 year olds that have got to compete with 40ft containers – they’re not experienced enough on bikes to do that*”.

Respondent RF gave an example, “*... one of the lads I know has a son who has got youth training...*” at his place of work but because the father starts at 7am his son has to come in at the same time but the son has nothing to do until 9am. The father’s shift ends at 3pm so the son must go home also. Respondent RF continues to explain: “*...It’s the only way he (the son) can get in...*”. Respondent RF emphasises that “*...this is a classic example...*” and relates that the son retorts “*... well, this is much better than my friend, his training is with a company and he is actually cleaning out public toilets.*” Respondent RF exclaims “*...and you think, what sort of training is that!*”

Respondent RG cited a local business that, “*...is not employing hands on regular staff because of the transport, instead they go to the staff agencies...*” because the Agencies are able to bus the staff in to their employment.

Table 7.3: Main Factors Identified relating to what could be improved:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Local Employer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Accessibility/Connectivity	•	•	•
Transport Infrastructure	•	•	•
Local Employment	•	•	•

7.8.5 Question: *What improvement/additions need to be put in place to make sure that Rainham is a good place to live for everyone?*

Summary:

Everyone interviewed agreed that the accessibility and connectivity in the area needed to be improved and in order to do that enhanced transport infrastructure was essential – a ferry across the Thames was also suggested. Throughout the focus group meeting the discussion turned to issues about youth crime. It was considered that a regular police presence on the streets and not just police in cars would help to improve the general safety of the area. It was thought that local businesses and residents groups should work together to help build a community. Employment training would help to re-skill the local population and would help to improve the unemployment especially amongst the young.

Table 7.4: Main Factors Identified relating to improvements to benefit the community:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Local employer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Accessibility/ Connectivity	•	•	•
Transport infrastructure	•	•	•
Local Employment	•	•	•
Job training		•	
Community Engagement	•	•	•
Safe Place	•	•	•

7.8.6 Question: *How can a sense of belonging/ identity be achieved?*

Summary:

All stakeholders on the Mardyke Estate were involved from the start of the regeneration project – their involvement in decisions about the redevelopment empowered the members

living on the estate. It was thought important to also involve the children and the youth living on the estate in decisions being made about the regeneration project. As a result they were very protective and enthusiastic about the new development because it belonged to them.

It was generally thought that there was a need for activities for the youth. Respondent RH mentioned the success of the youth bus and that they intended to have a games room for the youth at the Community Centre. He also mentioned the summer festival, “*where we get everybody together*”.

Table 7.5: Main Factors Identified relating to a sense of belonging:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Local employer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Accessibility/ Connectivity	•	•	•
Transport infrastructure	•	•	•
Local Employment	•	•	•
Job training		•	
Community Engagement	•	•	•
Safe Place	•	•	•

7.8.7 Question: What are the factors that might influence the developer’s decision to develop?

Summary:

The main factor that influences developers to develop is the prospect of a financial return on the developer’s investment – that as a result of their investment they would see a significant increase in the land value. However, the prospects for the increase in the value of land are currently limited, so that under normal circumstances there would be little incentive for

landowners to redevelop sites – even in the short or mid-term, they consider it unlikely that potential residual value will increase in London Riverside.

A catch 22 situation arises: the accessibility and connectivity in the area is generally poor, but in order to realise the potential of the area they need (1) the enhanced bus service from Ferry Lane in the Industrial Park to Rainham, (2) a new railway station at Beam Park and (3) an orbital bus route which would be made possible by a bridge over the Creek. It is difficult to raise a business case for these enhancements because of the generally poor prospects of the area.

Respondent RB: *“People have worked down here and have employers down here and have no public transport whatever. So if you want to work here you either come by car or you have a pretty grim walk at times and a very challenging walk along some nasty traffic roads that aren’t really meant for pedestrians and heavy goods vehicles and there’s some pretty hairy crossings but we’re trying to sort that out”.*

He went on to explain: *“These sites here are currently empty, they’re cleared and they’re master planned and we’re looking at 33 hectares of land – brown field land and we could get 6,000 jobs there... The key thing is that without the East London Transit (ELT) and the Beam Park station we probably couldn’t realise any more than a third of our targets. However a station Beam Park; “would serve a huge amount – 800 metres either side including the Mardyke estate...”*

Respondent RD from the London Riverside Business Innovation and Development (BID) explained that the general inaccessibility of the area was a barrier to encouraging new businesses to relocate to Rainham. She explained that businesses have relocated from Stratford to make the site available for the Olympics, *“...they relocated Mason Pearson’s, a big company, onto Easter Park”.* Respondent RD explained that before Mason Pearson relocated most of the people employed were able to walk into work and since relocating they have only retained 50% of their work force because:

“... those guys can't get down Ferry Lane ... I think Mason Pearson had no choice in the end but to go down there and I guess it was a coup for Easter Park but they've lost half their workforce and even though we're looking locally to find the other 50% of the workforce we can't get them down Ferry Lane to Mason Pearson”.

The Rainham area is also not helped by its perceived high incidence of crime and the lack of highly skilled workforce (34% of the workers in the area have no formal qualifications – which is higher than the London average at about 28%). There is also a lack of good quality office space. These are all factors which discourage businesses locating to the area (Local Development Core Strategy, 2008).

Table 7.6: Main Factors Identified relating to developers' decisions:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Local employer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Accessibility/Connectivity	•	•	•
<i>Transport Infrastructure</i>	•	•	•
<i>Job retraining</i>	•	•	•
<i>Skilled workforce</i>		•	•
Land Value		•	•
<i>Modern Offices</i>		•	•
<i>Safe Place</i>	•	•	•

7.8.8 Question: Who derives the greatest benefit from the introduction of new transport infrastructure and who is excluded?

Using the Jubilee line as an example new transport infrastructure could encourage housing and employment growth and an up lift in land value which could in turn encourage a more highly qualified demographic group to move into the area. A skills audit by the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) in 2005 highlighted that the majority of new jobs projected in the Thames Gateway will require NVQ Level 3 or above and one third will be degree level. It has been previously mentioned that Havering has a “problem with adult skills... 34% of the workers have no formal qualifications”.

Respondent RB “...this place has a reputation for being fairly low wages, low skills and people come here and would like to invest because they can get cheap, unskilled, labour and they’ve got no interest in staff development or anything else. It’s not the case with the new ones a lot of the new ones that come along are obviously very clued up and we are hoping in the fullness of time to shift these people.”

Therefore a significant share of local residents would currently find it difficult to access new jobs without up-skilling the local population. If this action is not put in place either, the low skills and low wages in the area will perpetuate or the lower skilled and more deprived members of the community could find they are displaced by the regeneration. This could exacerbate social deprivation for the members of the community who are low skilled and as a result existing communities fail to benefit from the growth. Therefore, sufficient investment should be made in capital and revenue projects which ensure that existing residents can benefit from regeneration such skills and employment initiatives (Local Development Core Strategy, 2008).

7.7: Main factors identified relating to impact and main beneficiaries:

Factor/Driver	Local community	Local Employer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Employees with Skills	•	•	•
Personnel NVQ level 3	•	•	•
Graduates	•	•	•

7.8.9 Question: What factors are needed to make sure all members of the community benefit from new transport infrastructure?

In Havering, there is a need for better training services and business support for local people to enable all members of the community benefit from regeneration. The Education and Skills

domain for the 2004 Indices of Deprivation places Havering in the twenty per cent most deprived in the country, this is higher than in London.

The Thames Gateway Business Interim Plan (2006) identifies tackling skills and unemployment as a key priority for the region, and the Thames Gateway Delivery Plan (2007) goes on to identify how skills and training can be placed at the heart of regeneration.

Table 7.8: Main Factors Identified relating to benefit for all members of the community

Factor/Driver	Local community	Local Employer	Local government/ Transport Planner
Education	•	•	•
Job Retraining	•	•	•
Local Employment	•	•	•

7.9 Identification of key factors in determining the success or otherwise of the development

As described in Section 3.7.2 and summarized at the start of this section, the next stage of the analysis was to carry out a contextual analysis of the transcripts of focus groups and interviews aimed at identifying those key factors that are important in determining the success or otherwise of the development.

Table 7.9 lists the key factors that have been identified in this case study and the dots after the factor denotes how often the factor was cited as important. The discussion of all four case studies takes place in the Cross-Case in Chapter 8.

It can be seen from Table 7.9 that for the Local Community the key factors that emerge are improved accessibility/connectivity, transport infrastructure, education, job retraining, local employment, affordable housing, a safe place, consultation/ownership/empowerment. For the local employers the key factors are accessibility/connectivity, transport infrastructure and a skilled work force. For local government and transport planners the key factors are

accessibility/connectivity and transport infrastructure which will help to increase the land value and encourage investment in the area.

Table 7.9: Key overarching findings of the Rainham/Mardyke Estate Case Study: Within-Case Analysis of key factors in determining the success or otherwise of the development

Factor/Driver	Local community	Developer	Local government /Transport Planner
Components of Sustainable Communities			
<i>Accessibility/Connectivity</i>	••••	••••	••••
<i>Transport Infrastructure</i>	•••••	•••••	•••••
<i>Affordable Housing</i>	•••	•••	•••
<i>Housing Targets</i>			
<i>Schools/ Further education</i>	••	••	••
<i>Job retraining schemes</i>	•••	•••	•••
<i>Local Employment</i>	••••	••••	••••
<i>Modern Offices</i>		•	•
<i>Health care</i>			
<i>Shopping</i>			
<i>Leisure facilities</i>			
Good place to live			
<i>Meeting Places</i>			
<i>Safe and Clean</i>	••••	••••	••••
<i>Green space</i>	•	•	•
<i>Diverse Community</i>			
<i>Community Groups</i>	•	•	•
Political support/Policy factors			
<i>Working in Partnership</i>			
<i>Strong Local Leadership</i>			
<i>Financial Backing</i>			
<i>Land Value</i>		•	•
<i>Sale Revenue</i>			
Power of Place			
<i>Cultural Heritage/ Local distinctiveness/Design</i>			
<i>Local History/knowledge</i>			
<i>Consultation/ ownership/Empowerment</i>	••	••	••
<i>Engagement</i>	••	••	••
<i>Transparency</i>			

Key: In particular the table identifies red = Fixed Factors; blue= External Factors

7.10 Interview with PRP Architects

The regeneration of the Mardyke Estate has started to improve the general environment for the local people. Supported financially by the Homes and Communities Agency and the Old Ford Housing Association (part of Circle Anglia group); PRP Architects were appointed to regenerate the estate. Respondent RK (architect) explained that from the first feasibility study the firm went “*from do nothing, to refurbishing, to part demolition part new build, to total redevelopment*”. They went through an option appraisal stage to see what was going to be viable, what kind of mix of communities would be created and what the issues were. The main criterion was to change the negative perception of the Mardyke Estate. Respondent RK explained that: “*...by using good urban design principles we’re able to create something which actually helps develop the site to more of a sustainable community*”. She explained that the park just outside the estate and the area around the river Beam all helped to contribute to a pleasant environment around the estate.

All the decisions were made with the community and stakeholders. Before PRP started on the projects as architects they put a consultation strategy together looking at all the community groups around the area, the existing community, the surrounding community and any interested parties. A separate consultation strategy was then produced directed at all the stakeholders with input from the departments in the Council that would be affected by this development, from all at the regional level to the GLA, etc.

“By doing that we marry the plans up together and marry that with the design process. So during the design process...and at key points in your design development, when you get to a certain decision making point your going out to the community and your very open with them. These are the ideas, these are the choices and these are the costs involved and this is the limitation and if you want this then you will lose that. It’s treating people like they’re adults not like they’re kids”.

The author attended a stakeholders meeting and it was clear that there was much enthusiasm amongst all present and a resolve to totally change the perception of the estate to somewhere they could be proud to say they belonged to. Respondent RK reiterated that it was essential to improve the perception of the estate before they could develop the private housing in the area.

In this way the regeneration starts with the social housing and areas of deprivation – working from ‘the bottom up’. The bottom up approach is particularly appropriate in areas of deprivation, especially in the short term, during periods when there are limited funds available for enhancements to the transport infrastructure. Using this approach the local indigenous community benefit first from an area that is scheduled for regeneration. It is possible that the general perception of the area will improve and in turn encourage Developers to take an interest in further development in the area.

7.11 Summary and Conclusions

The one factor that made a very strong impression in this case study was the consultation process initiated by PRP architects. All the stakeholders involved, particularly the residents on the Mardyke estate, took ownership of the project - they had been empowered by the consultation process, they were proud to say they lived on the Orchard Village Estate. The Homes and Communities funding for the regeneration of the estate had given them self-respect and this is the true meaning of *Power of Place*.

Although there is much enthusiasm and action amongst small local groups to regenerate the area there is failure to gain awareness of and consensus on a common vision from public sector partners with the result that the regeneration is uncoordinated and un-joined up. Organisations working in different sectors/service area/geographical patches have failed to

collaborate. This results in duplication and puts projects at risk. For example Havering's bid for a station at Beam Park is opposed by Barking and Dagenham even though Beam Park is on the border of Dagenham. Barking and Dagenham want the station within their borough to service a proposed development further west.

The London riverside stretches over three local authority boundaries – The London Borough of Newham, London Borough of Barking and Dagenham and the London Borough of Havering. As such the London Riverside agenda represents a challenge to existing governance structures because many public services are planned and delivered on a borough basis. The introduction of Local Area Agreements which tie together and co-ordinate stakeholders to agree local priorities and direct resources may have to some extent exacerbated this problem given that they operate along local authority boundaries (unpublished report for the Thames Gateway Development Corporation prepared by URS Corp., 2008).

The evidence from this case study reveals that without public sector investment in transport infrastructure for the London Riverside area the development is not economically viable and therefore it will be difficult to find developers who would invest in the site. The London Riverside Delivery and Investment Strategy suggest that the scale of the funding gap implies that central government allocations to TfL would be an essential part of any solution. Central government should therefore be lobbied for an increase in TfL funds. The political risks associated with a failure to deliver transport infrastructure must be emphasized. The condition on the delivery of housing at Barking Riverside illustrates this: failure to deliver transport infrastructure threatens this scheme, which is intended to be a flagship sustainable

new community for the government in one of their growth areas (unpublished report for the Thames Gateway Development Corporation prepared by URS Corp (2008).

It is recognised that there is also a need for retraining schemes but without the employment or the transport infrastructure to make the employment accessible there is no incentive to retrain. It would therefore be regrettable if the enthusiasm and momentum were lost because the people on the estate were unable to find employment. There is a need for investment in order to stimulate growth.



Figure 7.12: The foot bridge over CTRL line to Rainham Station



Figure 7.13: Rainham Station



Figure. 7.14: Factory in Rainham



Figure 7.15: Factory in Rainham



Figure 7.16: Industrial Estate Rainham



Figure 7.17: Industrial Estate Rainham

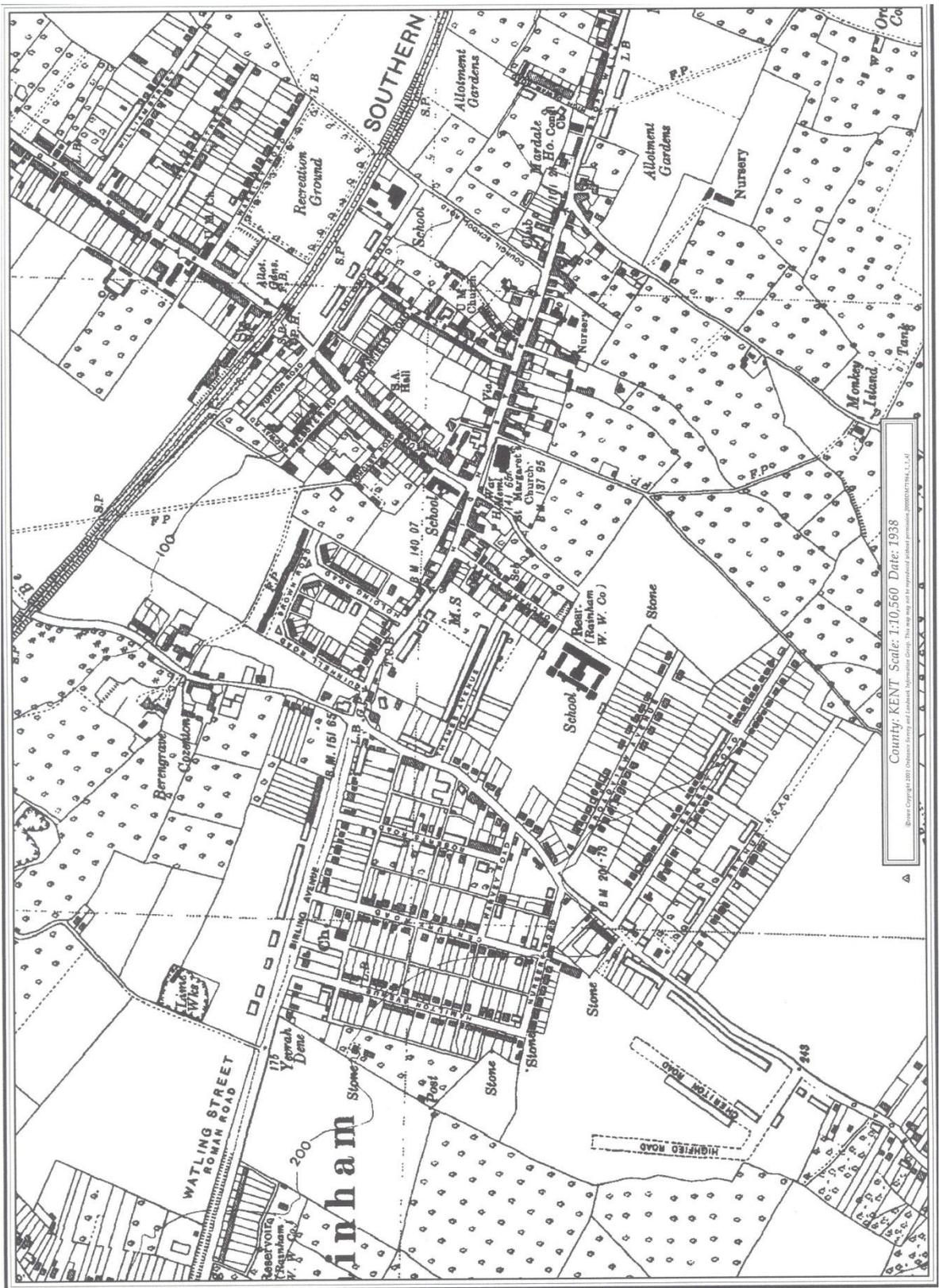


Figure 7.18: Map of Rainham 1938

CHAPTER 8: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS.

8.1 Introduction

This penultimate chapter is designed to draw together the evidence from across each of the individual case studies in order to come to some overarching conclusions about the role of transport infrastructure investment in supporting and /or undermining sustainable communities in the local area it serves.

The steps involved in carrying out the methodology, culminating in the cross-case analysis, are summarised in the Methodology Chapter 3 (Figure 3.1). The analysis of each individual case study has identified those factors that are important in determining the outcomes of that particular development.

After completing the above process, which is the first stage of the analysis ('the Within-case analysis') it is then possible to identify the main factors and in particular those factors that are the drivers (where a 'driver' is defined as a factor that 'makes things happen'). In this chapter the identification of these main factors is described and their significance discussed. However it is first appropriate to use the results of the case studies (Chapters 4 to 7) to test the two hypotheses that were put forward in Chapter 1.

8.2 Testing the Hypotheses

In accordance with the methodology described in Sections 3.6.1 a key objective of the research has been to test the two hypotheses through the interviews and case studies:

- (1) The provision of transport infrastructure can influence the choices that developers, land owners and potential users make on land use and
- (2) Transport infrastructure is necessary but not sufficient on its own to ensure that all members of the community benefit.

These hypotheses have been examined with respect to different types of development by means of the case studies. The studies focused especially on the decision making processes of developers and their interaction with transport providers particularly in the light of the downturn in the financial market.

8.2.1 Testing Hypothesis 1

In each case study it has been shown that from a developer's point of view improved transport infrastructure has been an essential factor in deciding whether developing the land is a viable proposition.

For example, in Canary Wharf the developers Olympia and York explained that the "biggest challenge" they faced was one of accessibility/connectivity and that "*transport was a critical factor in making this place (Canary Wharf) happen*".

The Kent Thameside initiative covers an area of 28 square miles and the new transport system, Fastrack, was seen as critical to achieving the high density, mixed use environment foreseen in their vision and was fundamental to their objective of providing an alternative to the car.

In contrast to Canary Wharf and Kent Thameside, in Rainham the factors that were most frequently brought up in the interviews and focus groups were the lack of transport infrastructure and poor accessibility. It is clear that without investment in transport infrastructure it would be difficult to stimulate growth and attract much needed employment to the area.

In the case of the Dalston study, the developer explained that the public transport available would affect the value that could be achieved (see Section 5.9.2). Existing public facilities were 'poor' so from the developer's point of view the new interchange was welcomed as it

brought much needed infrastructure which in turn increased the value of the site – making it viable for development.

Overall it would appear that it is the accessibility/connectivity brought about by improved transport infrastructure that is the important factor in influencing the choices that developers, land owners and potential users make on land use. This is discussed in more detail later in chapter 9.

However, it should be noted that improved accessibility/connectivity is not the only factor to be taken into consideration in the development process. For example the following list would be submitted to a board to decide whether to commit to a project or not:

- Overview
- Background information
- Costs (purchase price, build cost, infrastructure costs, planning and Section 106 costs, fees)
- Profit drivers (key market data)
- Forecast returns
- Sensitivity tests
- Risk analysis
- Timetable

8.2.2 *Testing Hypothesis 2*

The Jubilee Line Extension was completed thirteen years ago and it is therefore possible to observe the impact of the system on Canary Wharf and assess what factors contributed to the impact. It has already been established that new transport infrastructure at Canary Wharf was necessary for the success of the development. However it will be shown in this Section that,

on its own this has not been sufficient to ensure that all members of the community benefit. This is because the increased accessibility/connectivity that has been achieved has resulted in “property market uplift” with a consequent “change in demography” both giving rise to the negative effects of gentrification. These two effects of increased accessibility/connectivity are discussed separately in relation to the relevant case studies with Canary Wharf acting as a comparator.

8.2.2.1 Property Market Uplift

Property prices in the Canary Wharf area increased after the completion of Jubilee Line Extension (JLE) in 1999. The ‘South Bank Report’ (2000) produced by Knight Frank assessed the residential market along the entire stretch of the riverside to Canada Water as offering: “*considerable potential to developers, investors and owner-occupiers*”. The report also goes on to state that: “*The improved transport infrastructure in the area, together with the increased choice and availability of rental and leisure facilities has proved the key to the renewed interest*’ (Knight, Frank, special Report, 2000).

Jones Lang LaSalle estimated that the total value of property has increased by £3.9 billion at Canary Wharf and £2 billion at Southwark. They have estimated that between £0.75 billion and £1.9 billion of the increase at Canary Wharf would not have occurred without the JLE and that between £150 million and £650 million of the increase at Southwark would not have occurred without the JLE (Jones et al, 2004)

The increase in property prices was seen as positive for the developers with the result that the improvements brought about by the regeneration of the Docklands and the new transport infrastructure were enjoyed disproportionately by the new arrivals while the established residents found themselves economically and socially marginalized.

As regards the Dalston/Hackney area, in October 2009 the author checked current property prices with six Estate Agents and was informed that property prices increased in 2007/2008 but dropped at the end of 2008 with the crash in the property market. However, research conducted by the Evening Standard and appearing in the paper on the 23rd August 2010 states that: *“Directories and search group 192.com found that property values are higher around most East London Line stations than they were two years ago”*. A rise in property prices has also been confirmed by the Indices of Deprivation for 2010 that property prices have risen in the Dalston/Hackney area by 27% (see Section 5.11).

Property prices have also increased in the areas of Kent Thameside supported by the Fastrack Scheme. Research conducted by Hass-Klau & Crampton on ‘British Busways and their Impact on Property Prices’ revealed that prior to the completion of Fastrack in 2006 there was no significant difference in house prices within 300 metres of the station when compared to a distance of 600 metres. Whereas looking at 2008 values after Fastrack B had opened house prices within 300 metres of the station were 10.7% higher compared with properties 600 metres from the station. However, the recession has caused property prices in the Gravesham area to dip slightly.

The results from both Dalston and Kent Thameside reveal a trend in property prices rising after the completion of improved transport accessibility. To view the trend within a historical context - the Jubilee Line Extension was completed over 10 years before the completion of Dalston Junction, thus offering the opportunity of taking a long view.

8.2.2.2 *Changing Demographics*

In the time since the improved accessibility and connectivity brought about by the JLE there has been a change in the demography of Canary Wharf and the Docklands area in general (Household Panel Surveys conducted by the University of Westminster (see 4.15.3) which

observed that; “... *the catchment areas between Bermondsey and Canary Wharf revealed a marked difference in culture and demographics of the permanent residents and the ‘in-movers’ - that the in-movers were generally younger, more likely to be white, more likely to be employed and likely to be much more highly qualified than the permanent residents*”

(Jones et al, 2004). In the intervening years the trend in demographic change has continued in the Docklands area.

Evidence from the Dalston case study would suggest that the increasing property prices in the Dalston area are most likely to favour a younger demographic group of people without children, who work in the financial sector and find the improved access to the city and Canary Wharf to be an advantage. Conversely it would appear that the new development at Dalston will offer little benefit to those on lower incomes and the more deprived group of people in the area. Therefore, the evidence suggests that the demography of the Dalston area is going to change and in turn this will inevitably affect the cultural diversity of the area. The changing demographic has been confirmed by the 2010 Indices of Multiple Deprivation (See Section 5.11).

8.2.2.3 *The negative effects of gentrification*

The above factors (Property Market Uplift and Changing Demographics) indicate a trend towards the negative effects of gentrification which falls on the more disadvantaged members of the community and often leads to displacement of these members. The fact that these people tend to be the already-worse-off in one or more respects merely emphasizes the injustice.

The Dalston Junction study reveals that there are parallels with the impacts at Canary Wharf despite the change in policies and the framework of the London Plan which includes the

commitment “*to promote social inclusion and tackle deprivation and discrimination*” (London Plan, 2004). It is of course accepted that Dalston is a significantly smaller development.

The discussion in the focus groups found that the accessibility/connectivity brought about by the Extended East London Line to be negative in some respects. Although they enjoyed the increased accessibility/connectivity they feared it would bring about a rise in property prices - in fact property prices had already increased (see Section 5.11). There was concern that the area would be unaffordable for the local community on low incomes and restrict the “*...opportunity for all sorts of poor but creative people...*”.

The increase in property prices would also adversely affect the cultural and ethnic diversity of the area (see Section 5.9.2.2), where it was said to be one of the positive things about Dalston. As with Canary Wharf the change in demographics would indicate the negative aspect of gentrification. The shortage of Affordable Housing (see Section 5.2.3) will only exacerbate the problem of displacement and social exclusion.

The Canary Wharf and Dalston Junction case studies have demonstrated that, though the provision of transport infrastructure was necessary for the development, it is not sufficient on its own to ensure that all members of the community benefit.

In Kent Thames it has been demonstrated that the level of development proposed for Kent Thameside would not have been possible without Fastrack. It is, however, a concern for the Kent Thameside Association that without the social infrastructure necessary to support a community (see 6.7.5) and local employment Kent Thameside could turn into a dormitory area for London.

The Rainham study also demonstrates that transport infrastructure is essential to stimulate growth in the area. However, it is not sufficient to ensure that all member of the community benefit. The majority of new jobs projected in the Thames Gateway will require NVQ Level 3 or above and one third will be degree level. It has been previously mentioned that the London Borough of Havering has a “problem with adult skills... 34% of the workers have no formal qualifications”. Therefore a significant share of local residents would currently find it difficult to access new jobs without up-skilling the local population. If this action is not put in place, either the low skills and low wages in the area will perpetuate or the lower skilled and more deprived members of the community could find they are displaced by the regeneration (Section 7.8.8). This is the same scenario experienced in Canary Wharf and Dalston Junction.

The case studies and their analysis have supported the two hypotheses that were stated at the beginning of this Section. Though arguably obvious, it is important that these two propositions have been strongly supported as it clears the way to the next step which is the need to identify the main drivers that influence the impact that new transport infrastructure has on the development of urban communities.

8.3 Identification of key factors

As described in Section 3.5.6 the author has used a modified version of Textual Analysis to identify the factors that were raised during interviews and focus groups. Table 8.1 lists the key factors and the number of citations for each stakeholder and each case study.

It must be emphasised that the number of times each factor was mentioned as relevant must be considered within the context of the case study and is merely an indication of its importance – it must not be taken as an absolute measure of it. There are relevant factors that have not been mentioned as frequently but may have had a greater impact. Examples of such

factors are: the influence of a Local Champion, the strength of Political Will and the Financial Backing behind a project. Thus, the identification of the drivers and the assessment of their impacts have involved a significant element of the author's judgment and her detailed knowledge of each particular case study. Any attempt to quantify the impacts based purely on the results in Table 8.1 is likely to be flawed as it will not take account of those factors that are difficult to quantify.

As previously explained in the methodology Section 3.4, the case study method allows broad investigation of the subject. Yin (1994: p.13) defines the case study as “*an ‘empirical inquiry’ that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon are not clearly evident andit relies on multiple sources of evidence*”.

Some of the key factors that have emerged from the literature review are listed below. The analysis carried out within the case study has verified the factors. It should be noted that the factors extracted by the analysis have varied between the different case studies. See Section 3.8 for the definitions of the various types of factor.

8.3.1 Fixed Factors

1. Historical context
2. Cultural heritage

8.3.2 External Factors

1. Government policies and directives
2. National or Local political commitments or undertakings
3. Economic climate

8.3.3 Controllable Factors

1. Local committed champion for the project

2. Forming partnerships/ joined up thinking
3. The negotiating process
4. Consultation and engagement with the local community
5. An integrated land use/ transport policy
6. Delivery plan
7. Design

8.3.4 *Factors that encourage a developer to develop*

1. Price of land
2. New transport infrastructure
3. Good accessibility/ connectivity to all facilities
4. Large retail store in the area e.g. M&S, Sainsbury's/Tesco's, John Lewis etc to help establish a critical mass for the area
5. Safe area to live

8.3.5 *Factors that contribute to a good place to live*

1. Good Accessibility/ Connectivity
2. Good Schools/ further education
3. Job retraining schemes
4. Employment
5. Affordable housing
6. Safe area to live
7. Good access to medical facilities
8. Shopping facilities
9. Leisure facilities
10. Green space

Note: In table 8.1 Fixed Factors are shown in red and External Factors shown in blue.

Table 8.1 Key findings of Cross-Case Analysis

Factor/Driver	Dalston Junction			Kent Thameside			Rainham			Total
	L.C	D	T.P.	L.C.	D	T.P.	L.C.	D	T.P.	
Components of Sustainable Communities										
Accessibility/Connectivity	3	2	2	5	5	7	5	5	5	39
<i>Transport Infrastructure</i>	1	2	2	5	4	5	6	6	6	38
<i>Affordable Housing/Allocations</i>	4	1	1				3	3	3	15
<i>Mixed Use Development</i>				2	1	2				5
<i>Schools/ Further education</i>	2			1		1	2	2	2	10
<i>Job retraining schemes</i>	2			1		1	3	3	3	13
<i>Local Employment</i>	3			3	2	2	4	4	4	22
<i>Affordable workshops</i>	4									4
<i>Shopping</i>		1		1		1				3
<i>Major Retailer/ Modern offices</i>					1			1	1	3
<i>Health care</i>					1					1
<i>Leisure facilities</i>		1		1		1				3
Good place to live										
<i>Meeting places</i>	1			1						2
<i>Safe and Clean</i>	2	1					4	4	4	15
<i>Green space</i>	2				1	1	1	1	1	7
<i>Diverse Community</i>	2									2
<i>Community Groups</i>	3			2		2	1	1	1	10
Political/Policy factors		1	1							2
<i>Working in Partnership</i>	1		1		1	1				4
<i>Strong Local Leadership/Champion</i>	1				1	1				3
<i>Financial Backing</i>		1	1							2
<i>Land value</i>		3		1		1		1	1	7
Power of Place	1	1			2					4
<i>Cultural Heritage/</i>	1	1		1		1				4
<i>Local distinctiveness/Design</i>								2	2	4
<i>Local History/knowledge</i>										4
<i>Consultation</i>	4	1		1	1	1	2	2	2	14
<i>Ownership/</i>	4			1	1	1	2	2	2	13
<i>Engagement</i>	3									3
<i>Transparency</i>	3									3

Key: L.C. = Local Community; D.= Developers'; T.P. = Transport Providers and Local Authorities

Key: In particular the table identifies red = Fixed Factors; blue= External Factors

8.4 What cross-cutting drivers influence the impact that new transport has on the sustainable development of urban communities?

This Section discusses the key factors emerging from Table 8.1, and as mentioned previously the number of times the factors were raised does not necessarily denote its overall importance. The factors/drivers that are essential to developing sustainable communities and *Power of Place* are also identified in this Section.

8.4.1 Accessibility/Connectivity, Transport Infrastructure

In Section 8.2.1 it was noted that the citation counts in Table 8.1 suggest that the vast majority of the people interviewed thought that Accessibility/Connectivity and Transport Infrastructure to be the two most important factors in developing sustainable local communities. However, these two factors do not have the same priority in each case study. For example Transport Infrastructure was more important for Rainham and Kent Thameside than for Dalston. In Dalston, Accessibility/Connectivity was more important to the local community than Transport Infrastructure, whereas for the developers and transport planners, Transport Infrastructure and Accessibility were viewed as having the same importance.

The reason for these differences is that for developers and transport planners, the transport infrastructure was viewed as an important asset which improved the Accessibility/Connectivity, thus improving the desirability of the properties in the area and in turn increasing the property value. However the local community, especially the indigenous population, regarded the improved transport infrastructure as negative because they were concerned that it would cause a rise in property prices. The local community in Dalston considered access to employment and affordable housing to be more important than the transport infrastructure.

In Kent Thameside the transport planners and local authorities attached more importance to transport infrastructure than did the local community. The reason for this was that transport planners saw it as fundamental to realising their vision for the area, (see Section 6.7.8) and accessibility/connectivity as essential to achieving the mixed use development of the area.

In Rainham transport infrastructure was seen as important by all and essential to improving the accessibility/connectivity of the area – without the improved transport infrastructure it would be difficult to encourage an interest to develop and regenerate the area (see Section 7.11, unpublished report for the Thames Gateway Development Corporation prepared by URS Corp., 2008).

8.4.2 *Local employment*

The next most important factor appears to be local employment (especially if one considers this alongside the need for job retraining schemes), although these issues were not mentioned by either developers or transport planners in the Dalston case study. It is obviously a much more important issue for people in Rainham than the other two case studies, probably because of the lack of local jobs and the poor connectivity with jobs in Central London. The fact that 34% of the population have no formal skills compounds the problem.

Local employment was also regarded as essential in Kent Thameside to realise the mixed use development and to prevent the area becoming a dormitory town.

8.4.3 *Affordable Housing*

The number of citations for Affordable Housing are also relatively high especially in the Dalston area. According to Respondent F, affordable housing allocations were one of the main drivers influencing Dalston's regeneration project. This may be so but according to

Respondent DA “*the costs of the scheme, (in particular the slab above the station), made ‘affordable’ housing unaffordable*”

Affordable housing was also shown to be important to all stakeholders in Rainham. In Kent Thameside mixed use development was thought to be important by all stakeholders, although less so by the developers, and affordable housing was part of the mixed use development.

8.4.4 Consultation/engagement/ownership/transparency

In Dalston lack of consultation was brought up repeatedly throughout the focus group meeting, in combination with transparency and ownership. This is confirmed by the relatively high number of citations in Table 8.1. However, in Rainham and Kent Thameside Consultation and Ownership are mentioned less frequently and Transparency and Engagement are not mentioned at all.

In contrast to Dalston, the local community in Rainham were invited to engage with the consultation process and as a result Engagement and Transparency were not an issue.

In Kent Thameside the main concern amongst the transport planners and local authority officials was how to consult with the local community in order to be able to convey the vision of a regeneration project that will take 25 years to complete. It is therefore not surprising that issues of lack of Transparency and Ownership were not raised.

It is very important to note that Consultation and Engagement along with Local Distinctiveness and Cultural Heritage are the component factors that make up *Power of Place*. These are the factors that contribute to a sense of identity and belonging for all members of the community (see Section 2.9.3).

8.4.5 Working in Partnerships and Strong Leadership/Local Champion

At Kent Thameside discussions with the transport planners revealed that the strong leadership of one influential individual with an understanding of local issues was the catalyst that helped to realise the vision. Developers, transport planners and local authority officials agreed unanimously that a local champion who understood the needs of the local people and who was prepared to think outside the box, was the most important factor. They also considered that the involvement of a local champion contributed to the successful delivery of the Fastrack scheme (see Section 5.9.3).

The other important factor was the multi-disciplinary group of people from the public and private sectors who were all working together with the same end in view (Section 5.9. 3).

Note that this is an example where the number of times the factor is mentioned is low but the response from the decision making group of stakeholders was strong and unanimous.

Everyone was working together for the good of the project, *“I think that is why it’s been so successful - we all had meetings, we discussed everything, it was all very open book”*.

In Dalston, Working in Partnership and a Strong Local Leader were only mentioned once by the director of a local Co-operative working with third sector groups. In contrast to Kent Thameside, both in the Canary Wharf and Dalston developments decisions were made centrally by people outside the area to be developed, and therefore with little local knowledge. Although in Dalston partnerships were formed between the LDA, the GLA, TfL and Hackney Council, the local people who would be affected by the development were not included.

In Rainham there was no mention of a Local Champion or Working Partnerships. This could be one of the reasons why it has been difficult to generate interest to develop the area. In Section 7.11 it is observed that although there was much action and enthusiasm amongst local

groups to regenerate the area, there was a failure to gain awareness of and consensus on a common vision from the public sector partner with the result that the regeneration is uncoordinated and un-joined up.

8.4.6 Political backing

The influence of political backing was only mentioned in the Dalston case study by developers and transport planners. However, in both Canary Wharf and Dalston there was a strong emphasis on Political undertakings and Government Policies. Section 4.3 (Transport and Land Use Policies) discusses the influence of government policies during the period when the development of the Docklands and the construction of the Jubilee Line Extension were taking place. The policies favoured privatization and deregulation as a means of '*rolling back the frontiers of the state*' in order to secure the greater economic efficiency (Glaister *et al*, 1998: p11).

The then Secretary of State Michael Heseltine extended the use of Special Development Orders (SDOs), Section 24 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1971 which had the effect of by-passing the normal planning procedures. Local needs were ignored and participation with the local community avoided.

The driving force behind the Development at Dalston came from City Hall, it was in the political will of both the London Borough of Hackney and the then Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, "*... because the political pressure was so positive...*" the project was granted planning permission in just over two years, as a consequence there was insufficient time to engage with the local community. This gave rise to much anger amongst the community because they felt they were not being consulted about decisions that were being made about the future of Dalston that would directly affect them.

8.4.7 *Financial backing*

For the Dalston case study 'Financial Backing' is only mentioned once by developers and transport planners. However, funding the project did not seem to be an issue and was also made possible by the positive political pressure and support behind the scheme.

In Rainham funding the redevelopment of the estate would have been impossible without the contribution of £80m from the Homes and Communities Agency. However, with regard to the delivery of regeneration in the Rainham area, the London Riverside and Investment Strategy suggest that the scale of the funding gap implies that central government allocations to TfL would be an essential part of any solution (London Riverside Delivery and Investment Strategy, 2008). Therefore financial backing is an essential driver.

In Kent Thameside the impact of the down turn in the financial market cannot be underestimated - it has had a devastating effect on the Kent Thameside regeneration scheme and has dramatically postponed investment in the area. Several of the executives interviewed by the author have been made redundant. Lend Lease have landscaped the Eastern Quarry and put in place the tracks for Fastrack but further development has been postponed until the financial market is more stable. The success of Fastrack and the Kent Thameside development is dependent on the financial backing to complete the vision.

8.5 Summary and Conclusions

When regeneration projects are directed by senior officials who have little local knowledge and where there has been only perfunctory consultation with the local community it is difficult to build an acceptance with the local community for the scheme.

Research conducted by the Young Foundation concludes that:

“ A growing body of research supports the assertions that community and neighbourhood empowerment - giving the residents the opportunity to take part in collective activities that influence the areas they live in – contribute to the wellbeing of residents and communities ” (Young Foundation, 2011)

Engaging with the local community over decisions about their future empowers them so they feel a sense of belonging and sense of identity which can be termed *Power of Place*.

In order to initiate a strategy that encourages engagement with the local community it is also necessary to have the right people that will facilitate a strategy of engagement. The evidence from the case studies would suggest that it requires a local champion with knowledge of local issues, who can motivate an interdisciplinary group of people that are there for the duration of the project. This is also backed up by a survey conducted by Deloitte in which it was concluded that a range of different factors helped to secure stakeholder support for proposals but the factor that stood out most at 70% was Strong Local Leadership (Deloitte, 2009: p.9).

All the factors in the ‘Good place to Live’ section of Table 8.1 are important. Their relevance to enabling societies that are sustainable is to a greater or lesser degree dependant on the needs of the community in each case study. However, it is important to note that no regeneration project can get off the ground without the financial backing it requires to carry it out. The key factors/drivers that have been identified in the cross-case analysis are summarised below:

- **A local champion who understands the needs of the local community, who is prepared to take risks and think creatively and from different perspectives.**
- **An interdisciplinary group that is prepared to work together for the same vision and a good working relationship needs to be established between the various groups early on in the project.**
- **Good connectivity/accessibility - to housing/ affordable housing, employment, education, Health facilities (discussed in detail in Chapter 9).**

- **Transport Infrastructure.**
- **Housing Allocations.**
- **Financial backing.**
- **Consultation and Engagement that empowers the local community, along with local distinctiveness and cultural heritage contribute to a sense of identity/ownership and *Power of Place*.**

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

9.1.1 *Motivation for the Research*

The motivation for the author's research came out of a conversation with a housing association manager in the Canada Water area of London; who informed her that he was unable to obtain housing stock in the area, he explained that this was due to the rise in property prices. He went on to explain that after the completion of the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) and the Jubilee Line Extension (JLE) property prices had increased to such an extent residents were unable to afford housing stock locally. As a consequence local people were being housed out of borough. This was particularly hard for the elderly members of the community who were uprooted from an area with which they had lifelong associations.

The housing association manager also informed the author that the increased accessibility in the area had brought about a change in demographics and culture, to the extent that the indigenous population no longer felt they belonged to the area. The unemployed who had previously been employed in the docks or manufacturing industries were unable to find local employment.

The author was able to check these assertions with the newly completed 'Jubilee Line Extension Impact Study' conducted by the University of Westminster (the study was referred to and used as a comparator, see Section 4.9). The study concluded that, although the JLE corridor has historically suffered from high unemployment, the large increase in employment in Canary Wharf has been of only limited benefit to established local residents (see Section

4.15.2). The survey conducted by the JLE study also revealed a marked difference in culture and demographics of the permanent residents and the ‘in-movers’ (see Section 4.15.3).

The results from the Jubilee Line Extension Impact Study indicated that gentrification had taken place but concluded that more attention needed to be paid to the impact on the local community and to some broader policy issues.

As a consequence of the above, the author was stimulated to investigate approaches which would lead to the protection of the more vulnerable members of the community from the negative impacts that can be brought about by regeneration projects particularly when transport enhancement is part of the project. The concept of *Power of Place* as originally described by Sir Neil Cossons’ (English Heritage, 2000), recognises the importance of maintaining a sense of belonging and identity with the place in which you live. The author felt that incorporating this principle into the risk assessment prior to a transport infrastructure project may ensure sustainable and diverse communities and lead to a more equitable outcome.

9.1.2 The Research and its Objectives

The research described in this thesis, conducted through case studies, has explored the ways in which transport providers like Transport for London, as well as other important decision makers such as land use planners and developers, can interact with a view to achieving long term sustainable communities.

A key objective has been to identify ways of mitigating the negative impact on the more vulnerable members of the community that can be caused by the process of gentrification.

In the context of this over-arching theoretical narrative, the thesis has sought to explore and test the hypothesis that **transport infrastructure is necessary but not sufficient to ensure**

that all members of the community benefit from regeneration (see Section 8.2.2). Evidence from both the literature review and the case studies has been used to validate this hypothesis. The research has attempted to consider the component factors that contribute to what may be defined as a sustainable community and *Power of Place*. The concept of *Power of Place* has been identified as a multi-faceted and in this thesis the debate about it takes place within the wider context of social sustainability.

9.2 The Methodology and Comments on the Research

The research into ‘The Impact of Road and Rail Infrastructure on the Development of Urban Communities’ described in this thesis, required an understanding of the social implications that new transport infrastructure can bring about. The fieldwork element of the research was by means of case studies. Adopting a qualitative approach through case studies has enabled a deep and contextual understanding of the importance of *place* from the different perspectives of three key stakeholders groups: developers, transport planners and local community representatives. By this means it has been possible to explore a number of issues, such as its context, culture and particularity allowing for some flexibility between case studies. This approach made possible broad and in depth studies of ‘real time’ situations which brought up issues that had not been identified before the field work element of the research commenced; for example the anger amongst the local community in Dalston that despite their petitions the theatre was demolished (see Section 5.3.1). The author believes that the outcomes of her field studies have borne out the views of Patton (2002), referred to in Section 10.3, that:

“Approaching fieldwork without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis contributes to the depth, openness, and detail of qualitative inquiry.”

The case study approach has involved site visits in order to find out what is happening in an area physically. At the same time it has provided an opportunity to engage with stakeholders,

thus cross referencing reported data with observed facts. There was also the possibility to seek new insights and gain a real understanding of the issues experienced by each case study.

A large proportion of the original data gathered for the research was from transcribed interviews, focus groups and reviews. A 'Content Analysis' was felt to be an appropriate method for processing the data. This involved examining the textual content of the transcriptions (see Section 3.5.6 for a more detailed description).

Nevertheless, the difficulties of such research need to be clearly understood. The approach through case studies has proved very time consuming and it was difficult to control how long each aspect of the research would take. Identifying case studies was very much a trial and error process. Moreover, due to the down turn in the financial market over the research period, projects were slow to start and had to be dropped or in the case of Rainham had to be adapted so that much of the case study had to be rewritten. Also the down-turn in the financial market caused redundancies amongst some of the senior people interviewed.

The identification of suitable people to interview and take part in focus groups also proved very time consuming. It could take weeks of 'phone calls to identify appropriate respondents and then arrange a time and venue for the interview or focus group meeting that would be convenient for all involved. Transcribing the focus group meetings involved hours of painstaking work to make sure the meeting was reported accurately – particularly the focus group meetings when several people would be trying to speak at the same time. Selecting and analysing the huge amount of data from these interviews also proved a major task.

Nevertheless the author believes that the case study approach has proved to be valuable and insightful. It has demonstrated how working with communities requires a multi-faceted approach which is embraced by the concept of *Power of Place*.

9.3 The Research Findings

In Chapter 8 (Cross-Case Analysis) the key factors that determine the outcomes of a project were identified. This section reflects on some of these factors and the reasons why they are important

9.3.1 Accessibility/Connectivity

Issues of accessibility and connectivity are central to this research. Within the case studies described in chapters 4 to 7, it was generally agreed, particularly by developers, that good accessibility and connectivity are of paramount importance to the success of a development.

It is also to be considered that, due to the network aspect of transportation systems, not all facility investments generate the same accessibility and economic benefits. An investment which connects two disjointed parts or which provides better linkage between modes (e.g. between bus and rail) can be considerably more beneficial than new road or rail infrastructure. Yet, the benefits of such investment crucially depends on all previous ones, thus implying that the time it takes to realise the benefits cannot be confined to that of the incremental investment but needs to take into account the time it takes to develop the transport network as a whole.

The overarching debate is about what ‘good accessibility’ implies and whether transport is a necessary part of creating ‘good accessibility’. At a meeting of transport planners involved with the Kent Thameside Fastrack Scheme the part transport plays in creating accessibility was discussed. Respondent KB explained, somewhat paradoxically, that the problem with the word ‘transport’ is that “...*you’re looking at a system...*” that there is a tendency to think about transport solutions and not necessarily the design of the whole land use and transport mix. Just because a transport solution has not been implemented does not mean that a

transport solution has not been considered. Therefore the emphasis should be on accessibility rather than mobility - making sure people can get to the facilities they need. The approach has been to co-locate as much as possible in terms of shopping, education, work place, residential, in order to bring about the conditions where people can walk to school and can walk to work. By clustering these concentrations of mixed development together it becomes economically viable to link them up with other means of transport thereby generating the required critical mass.

The issue is much more fundamental than just how to get people out of their cars - it is about the extent to which people actually need to travel, and to be provided with transport. There was general agreement amongst the transport planners that this is a much more difficult issue because, *“as things stand people have to travel due to the fact that post war planning policy has been all about transport. New millennium transport policy should arguably not be about the need for a transport policy but for a coherent land-use policy”*.

Transport and land use projects were discussed in the literature review (see Section 2.6), and recommended by Schaeffer and Sclar in 1975 who state that:

“The problem of modern urban transportation is not congestion or speed but access. Equal access for all, or nearly all, could be an urban reality if transportation and land use projects are evaluated and ranked by the access they offer. In practical terms this implies that public transit would be given priority over private transportation, and that land use patterns would be arranged to minimise travel distances (Schaeffer & Sclar 1975, p.171)

9.3.2 Affordable Housing

The literature review and the research have shown that it is the improved accessibility created by transport infrastructure that influences the rise in property prices - making the area around the transport infrastructure unaffordable to those living on low incomes. The evidence from

the case studies and literature would suggest that the provision of affordable housing close to transport is clearly ‘key’ to retaining the diversity of the area, particularly in areas where proposed transport infrastructure could bring about the rise in property value. It is therefore important that the affordable housing allocations should be part of an integrated transport/land use plan - once property prices begin to rise it will not be possible to add affordable housing as an afterthought. As such, the consideration of housing supply within London is also central to the argument developed in this thesis.

The research has identified that a variety of tenure, which includes affordable housing, is fundamental to achieving sustainable communities and to the diversity of an area. A report on housing allocations – ‘Mind the Gap – Housing supply in a Cold Climate’ states that, *an adequate supply and choice of good-quality housing is vital to our economic and social wellbeing* (Pretty & Hackett, 2009). The report goes on to explain that in recent decades we have fallen well short of providing anywhere near the number of new homes needed, the gap between housing supply in England has widened, especially affordable homes (see Table 2.1, Section 2.6.1).

Although an adequate allocation of affordable housing close to public transport or within a mixed use development is essential to preserving the diversity of the area, it does not on its own necessarily protect the indigenous community, recognise the importance of *Power of Place* or retain the cultural heritage of the area. In addition what might be called ‘bottom-up’ regeneration is required, as discussed in the next section. The case study of the Mardyke estate (see Chapter 7) provides an excellent example of this.

9.3.2.1 'Bottom-up' Regeneration

The Mardyke estate had originally provided housing for employees working at the Ford factory in Dagenham. The factory has now closed and the large tower blocks that housed the workers fell into disrepair. The Homes and Communities Agency financed the regeneration of the estate and PRP architects were appointed. The architect explained that they were originally going to develop private sector housing at the same time as the estate but because the general perception of the area was low the architects considered that, “... *providing good housing in the area would help the community perception ... The good thing is that the private housing that will come into the area will help change the perception as well*”. This way the regeneration starts with the social housing and areas of deprivation – working from ‘the bottom up’. The bottom up approach is particularly appropriate in areas of deprivation, especially in the short term, during periods when there are limited funds available for enhancements to the transport infrastructure. Using this approach the local indigenous community benefit first from an area that is scheduled for regeneration. It is possible that the general perception of the area will improve and in turn encourage developers to take an interest in further development in the area.

9.3.3 Consultation

The one factor that made a very strong impression in the Rainham case study was the consultation process initiated by PRP architects. The architect explained that, “*this was all done with the community at the very first point we consulted the community but before we start on the projects as architects we put a consultation strategy together*”. All the stakeholders involved, particularly the residents on the Mardyke estate, took ownership of the project - they had been empowered by the consultation process, the process allowed the residents to remain on the Mardyke Estate (now renamed the Orchard Village) they were

proud to say they lived on the Orchard Village Estate. The residents on the estate have ownership and self-respect and this is the true meaning of *Power of Place*. The architect explained that they were:

“instantly creating something which allows different sectors of community to be within one area. It’s creating that sense of place because you get all the different age groups – you get young and elderly. The young people have to learn to respect elderly people and the elderly need to be tolerant. It also creates cohesion when you have places like the community centre within a development like this”.

It is also important to note that the community were able to stay in the area while it was being regenerated and were able to develop a real pride in the area they belonged to.

9.3.4 Working in Partnership/Local Champion

Closely linked with *Consultation* is *Working in Partnership*. The Architect working on the Mardyke estate illustrated its value as follows:

“... bringing along the community with us actually helps. So the residents have ownership, the stakeholders who are the council, we worked for the housing Association but we were all working in partnership so it was almost working together for the good of the project. The planners, the housing department and I think that’s why it’s been so successful we all had meetings we discussed everything it was all very open book”

However, more than *communication* and *working in partnership* were required for a successful outcome. What was missing was a *Local Champion*. Although there was much enthusiasm and action amongst small local groups to regenerate the area there was a failure to gain awareness of and consensus on a common vision from public sector partners with the

result that the regeneration of Rainham was uncoordinated and un-joined up. The accessibility in the area is very poor, especially to employment. The architect considered that, “*To facilitate that kind of joined up thinking needs someone to drive it*”.

The importance of a *Working in Partnership/Local Champion* was also recognised at Kent Thameside (see Chapter 6). As identified in the cross-case analysis, a multi-disciplinary group working together was considered as one of the most important factors for the successful development of Kent Thameside. The members of the Kent Thameside partnership also considered that the involvement of a *local champion* contributed to the successful delivery of the Fastrack scheme (see Section 6.7.9).

9.3.5 Comparison between Dalston and Canary Wharf

Although the Dalston Junction project involved partnership with the LDA, the GLA, TfL and Hackney Council, the local people who would be affected by the development were not included (see Chapter 5). The consultation process consisted mainly of information about the proposed development and there was very little engagement with the local community. As noted in Section 5.9.1.3 there was much resentment to the project and a general feeling that it was *nothing to do with* the local community. Two years after the completion of the Dalston Junction Development the Indices of Multiple Deprivation for Hackney in 2011 indicate the following:

Population change - Evidence suggests that there has been an inflow of households on higher incomes, in employment and not in receipt of income support. This reveals a change in demographics in the area.

Housing – There are 27% more Hackney Super Output Areas (SOAs) in the worst 5% in England than in 2007. The likely cause for this is a rise in overcrowding, homelessness acceptances, and worsening affordability in Hackney. Other sources have also shown a rise in

property prices with the result the poorer members of the community find it difficult to afford housing in the area.

The changes in Dalston can be compared with those identified in the Household Panel Surveys conducted by the University of Westminster for the Jubilees Line Impact study. The survey was based on figures from the 2001 census and revealed a marked difference in culture and characteristics of the permanent residents and the 'in-movers'.

- The in-movers were generally younger, more likely to be white, more likely to be employed and likely to be much more highly qualified than the permanent residents.
- The reported household income of permanent residents was at around £15,000 pa. Those occupying new build had annual income of £51,463 - £48,375
- Jones Lang LaSalle have estimated that the total value of property has increased by £3.9 billion at Canary Wharf and £2 billion at Southwark. They have estimated that between £0.75 billion and £1.9 billion of the increase at Canary Wharf would not have occurred without the JLE and that between £150 million and £650 million of the increase at Southwark would not have occurred without the JLE.

The author believes that it is significant that the planning of the Dalston and Canary Wharf schemes have the following features in common:

1. In both Canary Wharf and Dalston the decisions about the project were made by central government
2. The consultation with the local community was limited and superficial.
3. In both cases the affordable housing allocations needed were not developed. In Dalston this was due to the cost of the slab above the station

4. There was no provision for job retraining schemes
5. Local employment for the indigenous population was limited

The Dalston development took place some ten years after that of Canary Wharf and at a time when the government had made a commitment to sustainable development and yet the negative impacts are similar. The Dalston development was proposed in July 2005 (see Section 5.6, box 5.1). The local authority would have been aware of the following recommendations by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister's (2004) (now Communities and Local Government) following recommendations:

Sustainable Communities are: places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all. (ODPM, 2004).

However, there is no guidance as to how such sustainable communities can be achieved. Moreover, Section 2.8 explains that regeneration is multifaceted and outcomes are often long term and causal links between projects and outcomes are often not clear. The literature review (Chapter 2) offered little robust **explanation as to how and why outcomes have happened.**

9.4 Transport and Land use Policy

Chapter 4 (Part 1) also examined the contribution Government Transport and Land use policy could make towards achieving sustainable communities.

Planning Policy Guidance 13 (PPG 13), first published in March 2001 was the first policy guidance with the objective to integrate planning and transport at the national, regional,

strategic and local level and to promote more sustainable transport choices both for carrying people and for moving freight. It also aimed to promote accessibility to jobs, shopping, leisure facilities and services by public transport, walking and cycling and to reduce the need to travel, especially by car. (Planning Policy Guidance 13 Transport, March 2001 updated January 2011). The Government white paper CSR07 followed in 2007 recommending more co-ordinated infrastructure but it failed to explain how this would be achieved.

Currently central government and local authorities are undergoing a fundamental change. The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) is intended to supersede all pre-existing planning guidance, including PPG13. This framework “*will set broad economic, environmental and social priorities and how they relate to each other*”(Passenger Transport Executive Group (PTEG), 2011). The local Transport White paper (2011) recognises the importance of integration of land use planning and transport:

“Land use planning is critical to transport. Where places. e.g shops, work and other services) are now located in relation to where people live is a significant factor in determining how much people need to travel. It is vital that sustainable transport is a central consideration from the early stages of local planning - for example whenever new houses or retail area are being developed” (Department of Transport, 2011).

From her research the author has come to the conclusion that it is necessary to have in place a multi-disciplined team of professionals who together, and with the community, can work out appropriate policy and funding measures. Provision for these measures should be firmly embedded in the regeneration project, not just an add-on or after-thought.

9.5 Contributions to Knowledge

The central issue the author has tried to address is not about how to get people out of cars or integrated transport and land use projects, worthy and commendable they may be, but to assess what provisions need to be put in place to enable accessibility for all without the negative impacts of rising property values. The evidence from the research confirms that improved accessibility leads to a rise in property prices which in turn tends to exclude the more disadvantaged members of the community. The big challenge facing planners and designers is how to encourage regeneration whilst at the same time safeguarding people's right to live where they have associated memories and a sense of belonging.

Tweed and Sutherland, (2007) believe that perhaps the most important message is that built heritage conveys different meanings to different groups of people and that these meanings are likely to be important in the future growth of towns and cities and so need to be considered as part of sustainable development.

Therefore the built environment exerts a major influence on citizens' everyday experiences, but interactions between people and the built environment are complex and operate at different levels. The lack of understanding about these interactions is reflected in the absence of legislation and gaps in policy. The research has shown that the built heritage and physical character of the area contribute to the concept of *Power of Place*. Therefore, these should be part of the assessment procedures for sustainable development and an integral part of land use and transport planning.

The identification of the key factors that influence the outcome of regeneration projects linked with the factors that make up *Power of Place* represent the distinct contributions to knowledge made by this research. . It is considered that, by applying the component factors/drivers of *Power of Place* in the regeneration process as an integral part of transport

and land use planning then the negative impacts on the community caused by transport infrastructure can be mitigated. Thus a sustainable approach has been identified for evaluating and appraising regeneration schemes especially in regard to transport infrastructure

The results of the research have revealed that the concept of *Power of Place* is supported by the combination of the seven key drivers identified through the case studies. It should be noted that local circumstances vary and each project presents its own set of challenges, therefore, each development will require a greater or lesser emphasis on particular drivers. Each driver is important and is dependent on the other factors - if a community lacks one or more of them it is unlikely to be sustainable. The seven key drivers are outlined in Section 8.5.

9.6 Recommendations: The following section lists recommended policy inclusions that have been drawn from the research:

1. Developments should be planned to integrate transport and land in order to encourage mixed use developments
2. Provision should be made for the affordable housing allocation at the beginning of the development programme.
3. Regeneration should start with the more depressed area 'bottom up' planning and the community should be kept intact.
4. The local community should be regarded as partners along with developers, local authority officials and transport planners.
5. The project needs a local champion who understands the needs of the community to drive the project.

6. Consultation should start early in the project and include all stakeholders including the local community. For all parties the consultation process should embrace engagement and all stakeholders should feel ownership for the scheme.
7. Care should be taken to discover important cultural and structural elements associated with the place and every effort should be taken to preserve them for present and future communities.

It is clear in the Kent Thameside and Rainham studies that the vision for the development was hampered by lack of finance. Therefore, there is need for further research to investigate possible sources of finance for essential infrastructure projects and the following suggestions are put forward:

- Essential infrastructure could be financed through Infrastructure Bonds.
- Investment could be sought in the city to invest in affordable housing projects.

9.7 Further Research

As described in the beginning of this chapter the motivation for the research described in this thesis came from the realisation that the increase in accessibility brought about by new transport infrastructure seems inexorably to lead to increases in property prices. This in turn can lead to hardship by forcing out poorer people and businesses from the locality which in turn leads to demographic changes which can be harmful to the community as a whole by diminishing its diversity.

The present research has identified the key factors that need to be addressed when considering new urban transport proposals and their impacts. It is clear that successfully incorporating these factors into planning and design is complex and multifaceted.

The author believes that there is a great deal of further research needed if more certainty of successful outcomes of regeneration schemes is to be achieved without the negative effects of gentrification. A major difficulty lies in isolating and studying the various factors independently. At this stage the author feels that more case studies of the type she has undertaken are required in which the researchers actually meet the various stake holders, observe the planning and consultation processes as they evolve and then evaluate the outcomes. To make a study of the process of regeneration particularly when transport infrastructure is part of the development. At a later stage it may then be possible to study the impacts of the various factors separately but this needs to be done with care because they are likely to be interrelated.

The evaluation of the long-term outcomes of regeneration schemes is a very important area for further research but is one that presents a number of practical difficulties. Three key ones are (1) the reliable identification of causation of the various outcomes, (2) changes in the stakeholders with time and (3) the funding of such research when it is not obviously directed towards a specific emerging project.

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Appendix A: Dalston Junction (Chapter 5)

A1 Summaries of Interviews and Focus Groups

A1.1 What are the components of a good place to live?

The majority of people interviewed thought green space to be an important component of a good place to live. “ ... *Green Space – “Green outside your door... if you look at Dalston there’s virtually nothing... So if you’ve got a family and they want to go out there’s nowhere to play”.* “*If you live in a flat in a tower block and then you’d value public green space more than anybody because there is no other place to go and breathe”.*

Everyone present also agreed that it is important to have a place where people can meet, “*whether it’s a park, or whether it’s a market or a pub*”. “*...we’re losing places where people can congregate together in a very, very local level ...more schools – even if they’re smaller...*”

A safe place to live was thought to be very important and it was thought that could be helped by “*... a sense of community that is supportive..... that sort of street level, that’s community on a really small scale...*”

Respondent DN thought it essentials for a good town centre to have “*...niche marketing and you can’t get that unless you’ve got critical mass at the beginning...*”

A1.2 Could you describe what is positive about Dalston?

The diverse community was thought to be a positive asset, “*... its diversity and cultural life – different people from all over the world cultural institutions- its historic – it’s exceptionally tolerant*”

Dalston was thought to be interesting, “... because it has fantastic bit of street life, it really feels like a place. I think there’s something in the fact its always busy - certain places you go to particularly commuting towns die in the day, other places die at night - there’s always something going on in Dalston...”

It was considered by members of the focus group that the fact Dalston was affordable “... is to some extent why people migrate to Dalston” and that would account for the diverse community which is, “... part of the richness of the culture of the people that are here...” And Affordable housing in the area “... is actually what’s good about Dalston, there are lots of cheap places”.

Summary: The cultural diversity and street life were considered to be why people liked living in Dalston “...because it has fantastic bit of street life, it really feels like a place.” Affordable places to live and work were also considered to be reason why people want to live Dalston. It was also thought that the affordability of the area probably accounted for it cultural diversity. , there have been cheap places to work, cheap places to live and cheap places to trade and that is going!”

A1.3 What could have been done better and how could the new transport links and the new development have better benefitted the community?

It was evident that there was a large degree of anger about the development but what actually transpired was that the anger was because people were not consulted about decisions that were being made about the future of Dalston between Design for London, the LDA, the GLA and Hackney Council - “the only people that are not part of that conversation are the Public”... that the local people were, “... being told about what is being done we are not being asked what should be done once ideas are formulated”. They described “the feeling

that something was being done to you”, and that “the proper integration of the building into the urban fabric really, really, depends on the engagement process”.

There was a general feeling that, *“the engagement is very, very minimal and the consultation is actually is what’s happening,”* and *“...I think the issue is - the bottom line is about transparency and actually being prepared to share information”.*

One of the focus group cited a planting scheme on a local estate that *“have a lot of gang problems”*, and she went on to explain that she spoke to a man living on the estate who said: *“a lot of people don’t really like the planting that has been done there because they feel a small group of people decided that’s what we should have they didn’t ask any of us”.*

Respondent DG continued to explain that:

– it’s the classic kind of microcosm of what we’re talking about in a way. They didn’t ask any of us - we had no sense of - he didn’t say the word ownership because he didn’t know the word, he kept saying I don’t know what the word is, we had no sense of it being anything to do with us...”

Several members of the group were in agreement that, *“consultation suggests that the person being consulted has some power.”* They felt they had no part in the decisions being made about their locality.

A1.4 What improvements/additions need to be put in place to make sure that all members of the community benefit from the new transport infrastructure?

Respondent DL thought that there was hardly any recognition in the masterplan that many people now are working at home but he felt that the development was, *“drifting away the residential above retail...Talking about housing without talking about planning for people working from their homes is a huge mistake cause their just not in tune with the housing needs of today. Secondly there is no provision for anything but more and more residents*

coming here then actually more and more activities of all sorts, whether it's office or whether its workshop. I have hardly seen any of those. There's a whole range of things that make up a satisfactory mix which have been missed out. The argument being that we should be increasing the residential is most extraordinary. They've lost the creative industry it's just residential and retail now..."

Respondent DL thought the town hall or GLA or TfL needed to work with the third sector group or with community groups right from the start.... *"They don't seem understand that these kinds of community groups of voluntary sector operations aren't just a thorn in the side of the Big boys. They are actually the grease that make communities work"*. It was felt that the contribution that could be made by the voluntary sector was not acknowledge or valued. *"...So the accent needs to be on those social activities and last but not least of course the fact that everything is more expensive your going to narrow the field of opportunity for all sorts of poor but creative and interesting people"* Respondent DN was in agreement he had observed that the gentrification in London had *"taken away a lot of the lesser known community functions"* and he felt it very important to protect, *"things like the nursery that someone's running in their own time"*.

A1.5 What are the factors that might influence the developer's decisions to develop?

Respondent DB (developer for the DJI) explained that their decisions were based on the sale revenue that could be achieved and that would be influenced by transport links, the location, the post code of the area, the local environment, leisure facilities, parks, sports facilities etc. – these factors in turn dictate the value of the land. He went on to explain that the sale revenue, less build cost and profit, establishes the land value. If the sale revenue goes up beyond expectation you have more profit. He stressed that if the site is not near good public transport it would affect the value that can be achieved and conversely if it is next to good transport it

will have benefit. All respondents interviewed agreed that good transport access and connectivity not only influenced their decision to develop the area but also increased land values. Respondent DB (Developer) explained that at Dalston the public facilities were ‘low’ so from Barratt’s perspective they welcomed the new interchange that brought much needed infrastructure which in turn increased the value of the site – making it viable to develop the site.

When asking Respondent DC specifically what were the deciding factors which determine whether to develop Dalston Junction, he replied that: “... *it’s surely a numbers game of housing units to meet the merest targets*. Respondent DC thought the GLA’s housing target to be a pressure and the housing targets each Borough has to meet is “very tough – almost impossible”.

Respondent DA (Project Manger Consultant for TfL) explained that, “*because the political pressure was so positive at Dalston, TfL was able to take the project from zero to submission of a full planning application in about 18 months, and planning permission was granted just over 2 years after they started*”. He went on to say that, “*this was essential as East London Line Project was to be the delivery agent for the slab, and they could not afford to hold up such a significant project even for a key site like Dalston*”. The construction of the slab was successfully integrated into ELLP's programme.

A1.5(a) What is the impact of the new transport infrastructure on Dalston Junction and who derives the greatest benefit?

The majority of people interviewed felt that the extension to the East London Line would improve connectivity and accessibility. It would for example allow local people to “*more easily commute to Docklands which had hitherto only been accessible via one very slow bus route through Hackney town centre*”. It was thought it was, “*the reason Dalston is becoming a more popular location for middle class people*”. The area’s proximity to the City of London means that there is a high incidence

of mobile young professionals moving into the area, while the longer-term residents tend to have a much more deprived demographic profile. It was considered that, *“affordability is a big factor because up to now it has been relatively very affordable – especially in regards to how close it is to the centre”*. Respondent DC added that *“Part of the borough is on the edge of the city and there is a bit of overflow development from the city.*

A1.5(b) *Are there any dis-benefits from the introduction of new transport infrastructure, if so why and who is most disadvantaged?*

It was felt that the *“lack of a direct Link to the Underground system had previously left house prices in Dalston relatively cheap, given their relative proximity to the City”*.

There is therefore concern that the extended East London Line and development over the station will increase property prices in the area. Respondents were asking *“...what happens now, what are the structures that enable us to absorb the influx of people? How can we keep the prices down? How can we work with the new population that’s coming in? These are things which are concerning me. How we can make sure that the planning gain does create places which are affordable and remain affordable value?”*

Fear about rising property prices in the area were justified, in fact according to respondent DC *“property prices went up – this is March 2007 to March 2008– I got the evidence last week 21.8% ... that’s 3.2% in March and April.”*

In October 2009 the author checked current property prices with six Estate Agents in the Dalston/Hackney area and was informed that property prices increased in 2007/2008 but dropped at the end of 2008 with the crash in the property market. Although, they all agreed that the property prices dropped less in the Dalston/Hackney area – about 13% as opposed to 20% in other parts of London. Overall since the development started in 2007 property prices have increased. The estate agents were not, however, sure how much of the increase was due

to the Extension to the East London Line and the development of Dalston. Research conducted by the Evening Standard and appearing in the paper on the 23rd August 2010 states that: *“Directories and search group 192.com found that property values are higher around most East London Line stations than there were two years ago”*.

The Draft Planning Brief for the East London Line Project and Dalston Lane South, (Section 4.2.4), explains that the current shortfall in affordable housing across the whole Borough was estimated to be 1,500 units per year. It is also estimated that the Dalston ward would need to accommodate approximately 150 units per annum, 1,650 in total up to 2016. To meet the Council’s target for new affordable housing 50% of these units should be affordable. The ten storey development at Dalston Junction will create in the 1st phase of the development 244 housing units of mixed size of which Circle Anglia will provide 21 units of affordable housing in the Dunbar Tower. There are to be another 13 units distributed amongst the development that will be 50/50 partnership. There are to be a further 300 housing units to be built in the 2nd phase however, this is not going to meet the Borough’s housing allocation of 1,500 units per year.

Respondent F thought that central government’s housing target and the GLA’s housing allocation on the borough was the major factor influencing Dalston’s regeneration project. He thought Hackney’s housing target to be the pressure: *“something like - just short of 2,000 units a year...”* and he thought that to be *“a big driver - there is a housing shortage...”*.

A.2 Historic Maps

This Section contains copies of the historic maps referred to in section 5.3 – the history of Dalston Junction.



Figure A.1: John Rocques Map Circa 1746



Figure A.2: Greenwood's Map 1830



Figure A.4: Booth's map 1889
(area in red box described in Section 5.1)

Employment Domain

- This is calculated using information on a range of different types of benefit claimants. It does not consider employment rates as these are unavailable at small area geographies.
- 2 of Hackney's 137 LSOAs are in the top most 5% deprived nationally in the Employment Domain. This is an improvement of 70% from 2007, when 7 were in the top most 5% deprived. Overall, Hackney performs strongly in the Employment Domain.
- As summarised in the headlines above, evidence suggests that there has been an inflow of households on higher incomes, in employment and not in receipt of income support. The resulting change in population both at Borough and SOA level is reflected in low levels of deprivation in Hackney's Employment Domain.
- In terms of geographical variation, Employment deprivation tends to be higher in the south and central parts of the borough, Wick, Victoria, Hoxton, Chatham, and Hackney Downs, with some concentration in New River. Wards such as Lordship, Springfield, Cazenove and Stoke Newington have much lower levels of Employment deprivation.

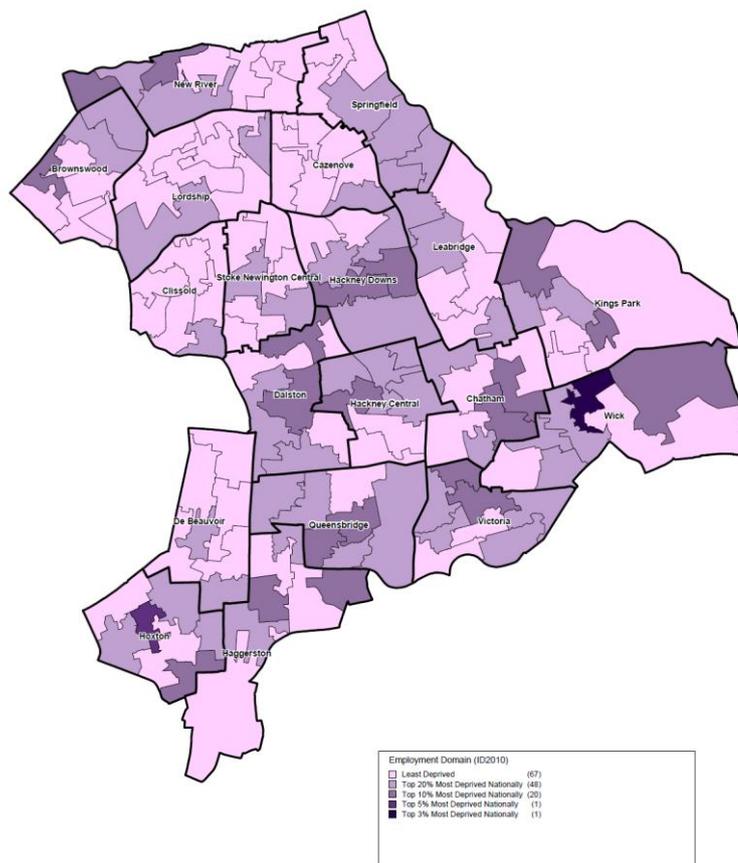


Figure A.5

Indices of deprivation; Employment Domain

Housing Domain

- This is calculated using number of overcrowded households, number of households accepted as homeless, proportion of households unable to afford homeownership and access to services like GP surgeries and schools.
- There are 27% more Hackney SOAs in the worst 5% in England than in 2007. These are concentrated mainly in the west, south-east and north-east of the Borough.
- The likely cause for this is change is a rise in overcrowding, homelessness acceptances, and worsening affordability.

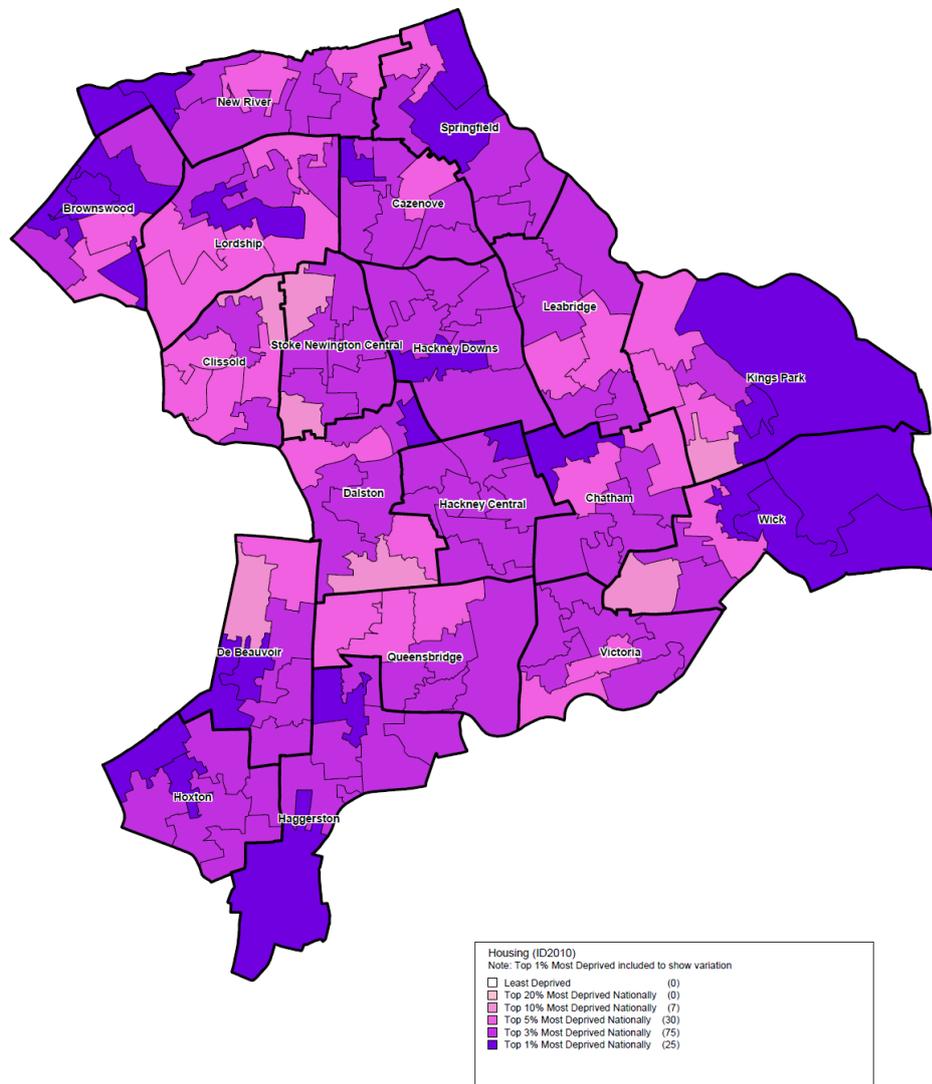


Figure A.6

Indices of deprivation; Housing Domain

Crime domain

- This is calculated using recorded offences of violence, burglary, theft and criminal damage.
- There are 57% less Hackney SOAs in the worst 5% in England than in 2007. Hackney SOAs in the worst 5% are concentrated mainly in the south of the Borough.
- The positive change here supports evidence that in general crime outcomes in Hackney have improved and are improving.

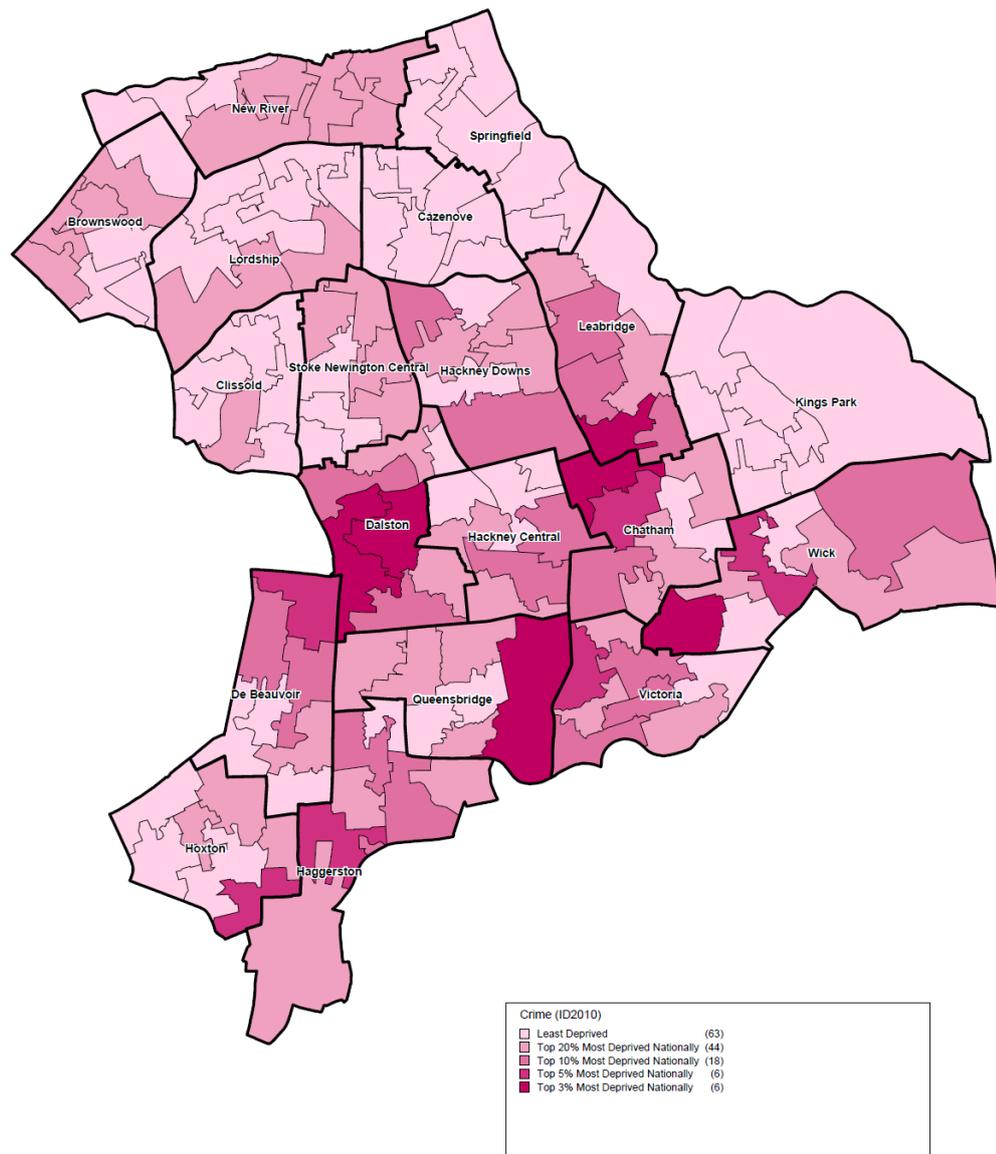


Figure A.7

Indices of deprivation; Crime Domain

Appendix B: Kent Thameside and Fastrack (Chapter 6)

B1 The Fastrack bus design

The original vision for Kent Thameside was a tram system, it was also believed that the image of a tram was classless and would therefore be used by everyone*. The next stage was to find a suitable design that would convey a high quality classless image. Respondent DG (see Box 6.3 section 6.6.2): “*what turns a bus into a tram? You curve the front and cover the wheels up. Again it comes back to this perception*”. Fastrack thought they had found the solution in the ‘street car’ manufactured by ‘Wrightbus’ in Northern Ireland which is known as an ‘intermediate mode’ vehicle – a vehicle that combines the benefits of running on rubber tyres with the many attractive and distinctive characteristics of the modern tram.

Unfortunately this vehicle only comes in an articulated length with a capacity of around 120/150 passengers. Respondent DG explained it was, “*too big for us – certainly for this stage of our development*”.

The vehicles would be too large for the number of passengers during the early stages of Fastrack development. So during the initial period of growth Fastrack chose the Volvo Wrightbus B7RLE (see Figure 6.4) – the highest quality vehicle available from conventional bus technology, with the aim of introducing intermediate mode vehicles around 2013 to coincide with strategically important routes across Kent Thameside becoming available - the current fleet comprises 26 vehicles.

B2 Summary of transcripts of Focus Groups

B2.1 *What are the components of a good place to live?*

The majority of participants present thought good transport accessibility to be important. An attractive to place to live was also thought important. KH thought that the accessibility and connectivity of the area as well as, “... *the general environment are key for me.*”

KD thought that, “*transport is not an end product it’s only what makes things happen. You have got to have an area with things in it that people want to go to*”. KD was describing Kent Thameside’s vision of sustainable, integrated development with employment, schools, shops, hospitals, social activities etc. within easy access. He added that “*the other extreme would be the commuter settlement where everyone gets on whatever, train, bus, car and disappears off... So you want a vibrant place where everyone wants to be and it’s got to have something distinctive about it and that comes from the setting or the landscape*”.

As well as good accessibility which “*would include transport*” KE thought important components to be; “*schooling for the children, employment and good neighbours*”.

KG agreed and said, “*I’d add to that - continuity of people around you. You mention good neighbours – you can’t build good communities overnight – it’s a long process*”.

KF added that, “*building relationships within the community is absolutely essential to whether you stay there or not, or feel part of it*”. (This is discussed in Section 2.7).

KI summarised that, “... *a good community is a collection of people that want to live together, have facility to live together and have the facility to get to and from where they want to be and that all goes together. If you leave out any one part of that then you’re*

missing out on an overall community experience. I suppose one thing that has been left out so far with community is open space”. KF added; “and good quality open space”.

B2.2 *Could you describe what is positive about the Fastrack scheme in Kent Thameside?*

Referring to the Fastrack everyone agreed that, *“the best thing about it is that it works”.*

Respondent KG *“that it is actually on the ground things have happened, it is definitely not job done because there an awful long way still to go...”*

Respondent KH explained that Fastrack was an example of an integrated transport policy the *“... International is up and running, the domestic service is wrapping up. It will be in full production by December”*

Respondent KE thought, *“the positive thing about Fastrack is that people use it. I see it when I am driving past – I see there are passengers on it and that’s good”*

Discussing Fastrack, respondent KH thought, *“It seems to be regular, repeatable, predictable – you know there’s going to be a bus along in nine minutes or whatever and it comes along between eight and ten sort of approach and that’s a very good regular sort of thing to have”.* Respondent KD added, *“It runs on its own tracks so it doesn’t get clogged up in all the traffic...”*

B2.3 *What could be done better and how could the new transport links and the new development better benefit the community?*

Throughout the meeting the discussion kept returning to the problem of conveying the vision of Kent Thameside to the existing community. Respondent KG explained:

“here there is no middle ground: you either have the existing communities where we are at the moment and all you have is the picture at the end of the development period when you’ve got an extra 30,000 homes and 50,000 jobs and everything with Fastrack is all working hunky dory etc. ... we have to accept everything in between is a stage and a pale imitation that can’t truly be judged till you get to the end”.

Respondent KG added:

“... we’re perhaps not very good at explaining what we’re doing and why we’re doing it and we need to put more effort into doing that and more resources...the trouble is it is very difficult for the general public to see a big picture ... and you can understand why... you can go and consult people on a scheme and they know it’s not going to happen for a year or two at most but the things we’re going to talk about in the terms of regeneration here aren’t going to happen for fifteen/twenty years. It’s very difficult to engage with people and get a meaningful discussion on that time scale”

Everyone present agreed that more effort and resources could be put into conveying the Fastrack vision to the local community.

B2.4 What improvements/additions need to be put in place to make sure that Kent

Thameside is a good place to live for everyone?

It is recognised that Kent Thameside is well served by public transport, however, several members of the focus group expressed concern about services in rural Kent - particularly the Sevenoaks bus service which runs once an hour. Respondent KE: *“Well I know people who live in the community who cannot take jobs in Croydon or cannot take jobs in Sevenoaks for instance because you have to go into London to get back out and that is a weakness as far as public transport goes”.* He went on to explain that the only way that you can provide the service when it’s not economically viable or profit making *“...is through either national or local government funding subsidies – if it’s there”.*

Concern was expressed that Kent Thameside could become a dormitory area for London that *“house prices in Gravesham have risen higher at a faster rate because the station is there”*

Respondent KE *“...we didn't want it to become just a commuter land”*. He thought there were signs that could happen – *“... if you look at the house prices now and the way it's going, everything is geared to the railway line and fast into London and I haven't seen a lot of new employment coming in. I look at the master plan for the whole of the Ebbsfleet Valley development and I don't see anything around the station, I don't see any business park there”*.

Respondent KI was concerned that the mixed use development that was, *“promised will never happen”*. He thought that has historically been the case. *“....That the commercial market ends up driving the master plan and not the other way round. So, on all the little bits of promise that go towards creating a sustainable community are all the little bits which get dropped when times get hard and they get turned into a bit of extra housing because you can sell it”*. He felt there was a danger that the community would be lost. *“... and slowly but surely you get this mission creep that goes from a community with houses and jobs to a community of houses that then have no choice but to out commute”*. It is a major concern to all involved with the Kent Thameside that without the mixed use development envisaged the area will become a dormitory town for London.

Respondent KE was concerned that it appeared that employment opportunities were currently being cut back. He felt that the *“... priority should be the significant fulfilment of the promise of jobs and employment opportunities”*.

Respondent KD agreed and thought that the government concern was for *“more and more housing numbers”*. He explained that in Kent Thameside they *“were happy to have quite large housing number but only when we have the jobs as well”*.

Respondent KH (developer) thought it likely that they would be changing their
“...masterplan to move some of the housing that we have in north around the station to south towards Springhead. He thought they could move the commercial premises in Springhead ... north to the station and produce a bigger density of potential employment around the station”.

Respondent KH thought they needed, *“a big government department”*. He continued
“...You need momentum to get things going and the wrong thing for us to do would be to be to build four office blocks around the station and have them sit empty for five years. That would send all the wrong messages...you can't run the economy on house prices and shopping and the government, which ever hue you want to sign up to has now to realise that we've got to encourage our commercial and industrial base”.

B2.5 How can a sense of belonging/ identity be achieved?

There followed a discussion about the way transport systems had enabled people to travel further and the effect that had on communities. Respondent KD went on to say that he thought *“there is an underlying interesting issue about how transport systems function”* and that over *“the past thirty years or more the friction of distance has got much less ... you can do all sorts of things you couldn't do before. You can live here and work over there - you end up an hour and a half in the car every day but you can do it.. But before you had communities where you walked to work because that was all you could do”*.

Respondent KD agreed, *“When you talk about distance we have constructed a life style where we can choose and we can if we want to go here there and everywhere”*.

Respondent KG thought, *“Surely, it’s even worse because people are flying off distances in different directions to do what historically they would have done locally. Then we wonder why our communities and our families are falling apart”*.

Respondent K1 thought heritage was important. Also he thought the facilities used by the community *“... and if you have to go away from the ‘community’, with a small c, to use a facility then the community doesn’t have a sense of being and its one of the things that the masterplans of Kent Thameside have looked at”*. Respondent KI explained that’s, *“... what really excited me when I first came into this job and found out what is happening - because I live here – it’s on my doorstep. Because the whole of our policies are about getting all those facilities locally... to make sure the schools, the jobs..”*. Respondent KE interjects ... *“The Health Care”*, Respondent KI *“...The Health Care, your right and the ballet class if you want it or the scouts there all locally within walking distance”*.

Respondent KI continued to explain that an area may not, *“...currently have a medical facility – a doctor’s facility”*. He went on to demonstrate that when *“...you create a new community - Ingris Park or Ebbsfleet Valley, or wherever it is with a facility, then that facility can be shared and used by the people in the adjacent community. So you do two things you give the existing community a facility they didn’t have ... but it also brings the old and the new communities together because of the shared facility. That goes for schools playgroups all those sort of things”*. Respondent KI was concerned that facilities mentioned are *“...the bit that always gets dropped out of the new development, which then means that people either in the new communities or in the existing community are still going to go way out of their way in order to go to school, doctor, nursery, gym or whatever”*.

Respondent KF added that, *“Those places (referring to community facilities) are where people naturally intermingle and so that’s what builds a sense of community. It’s about*

building friendships - actually you're belonging to a place where you've got friends, if you don't have friends around you, you don't feel you are part of somewhere – geographically you feel part of it but not sociologically”.

Respondent KG thought that “*we're almost in a 'mind set' where we're fixated on new capital projects whereas we could probably do a lot better by investing the money as revenue support for what people are doing anyway... that building truly sustainable communities is long term commitment, it's about the fuzzy bits, that are very intangible, that can't be neatly packaged up and can't be put into a start finish - you know all the good things you'd want for a good project”.*

B2.6 What are the factors that might influence the developer's decisions to develop?

Respondent KH, a developer, thought that cash was the main deciding factor and the one he would put at the top of the list. Crime and personal security were also thought to be an important. Getting a major retailer to sign up to the development was thought to encourage development of retail centres - Respondent KG discussing Bluewater retail centre “*we'll get John Lewis' in and everybody else will follow - which they did”* (see Section 6.7.7).

Respondent KH explained that “*... there are three laws of property – location, location, location - and feeding into location are things like connectivity and accessibility – a particular location might be nice but if you've got to go on an eight month route march to get there- how many people are going to go there?”*...

Everyone, particularly developers, agreed overwhelmingly that the accessibility of the location is very important. Respondent KB thought that: “*there is absolutely no question that the more accessible a location is by a range of different means...*” he continued “*... There's no point in building houses or anything else - you can build a stonking museum and you can*

start up the high street, but if you can't get there easily and you can't get out there easily then it's not worth doing."

All respondents agreed that enhanced transport infrastructure would increase the potential value of the site. To demonstrate the importance they attached to developing the Fastrack route, Respondent KH explained that his company would be *"paying for the roads on which it runs on our estate and they will be dedicated roads"*. Respondent KH agreed that Fastrack is, *"...a good thing it will add value to our houses - greater than the cost we expended on building the road"*. Such is the importance attached to the Fastrack service that one developer has also committed to paying for the cost of running the service for a further seventeen years.

Respondent KG thought that, *"...as a consequence of the huge infrastructure investment... presented by Kent Thameside, developers could "... start on a very low value base and that gave a lot of head room obviously to create value. Creating that value allowed you to make the investment in the first place... And its investment by the market at the end of the day that is key"*. Respondent KI agreed that Fastrack *"... certainly allowed for much more development than would have been possible otherwise. In terms of managing trip generation and the road network – it's allowed a greater density of development than they would have had otherwise - about 25 to 30% more..."*

Respondent KA explained that The Highways Agency, uniquely amongst government Agencies, has the power of direct refusal of a planning application and that, *"...could have a huge and dramatic effect on planning applications"*. He continued that, *"...it was recognised that the highway capacity in the area simply would not be sufficient to support the level of development that was envisaged"*. However, if the development was underpinned by a piece of rail infrastructure, *"you may as well use that and extend the public transport infrastructure*

in the Thames Valley. So that's really where Fastrack was born". It was added that a train station would add value to the land.

B2.7 What is the impact of the Fastrack Scheme and who derives the greatest benefit from the introduction of new transport infrastructure and who is excluded?

Fastrack is a fundamental part of the regeneration of Kent Thameside and it was designed with the purpose to, "*...soak up all those trips from the people that are moving into the new communities ... and taking that a bit further, if Fastrack isn't successful doing that job we are in dire straits in ten – fifteen years time*"...Respondent KG.

The Fastrack system has been designed in such a way that it has enabled all members of the community to benefit. Respondent KK, a transport planner, was invited to work with the Kent Thameside Association to design a public transport strategy that would serve the new housing and office development. She explained that it offered her the opportunity, "*to try and build the transport in the way that addressed what I felt had been some of the mistakes that had been made in Canary Wharf and to actually use transport and a new transport system as a way to try and integrate the new and existing communities together and that was fundamental to the designs of Fastrack*".

Using a bus system meant they, "*could actually go right into the estate*". One of the things she was pleased about was the Fastrack route that opened first. It runs from Greenhithe council estate in Dartford from Temple Hill which is also a council estate into Dartford town centre up to the new Darent Valley Hospital into Bluewater and then into Gravesend. KK explained that the first routes served, "*the existing people and the pensioners*". That the second routes developed made access available from the new housing estates to Bluewater shopping centre. KK went on to explain that: "*... the first route gets the existing people to the new facilities. The second route gets the new housing to the new facilities*", thus

integrating the old and new communities. KK continued: “ *Throughout the area everybody had the same high quality bus stops. Whether it’s a new-build Estate or an existing council state, ... the same high quality bus, you get the same transport system*”.

Respondent KK observed that when the Fastrack service first started operating it was “ *...used most by the pensioners in Temple Hill going to their hospital appointments at the new hospital*”.

It was also decided that Fastrack buses should operate during the period Bluewater was open and for half an hour after it closed. Respondent KK explained, “ *...the thinking behind that was so that the local youngsters could go and do their evening jobs in Bluewater because they wouldn’t have cars*”. Also people shopping in Bluewater would have the option to drive or use the public transport. Respondent KK explained “ *the chief thing is they wanted the jobs there to be available to the local people that might not have a car so the public transport system had to run until after the shops close so they could finish their shift and get the bus home*”.

Respondent HB reiterated that, “ *the whole philosophy behind Fastrack was to use transport as a way of bringing the existing and new communities together, to learn from the mistakes of Canary Wharf and how it could be done differently*”. (The Canary Wharf case history is described in Chapter 5).

Respondent KK explained that she lived in the area and knew the needs of the local people. She explained that the Fastrack scheme was worked out, “ *from the perspective of meeting the needs of the local people because we lived in the community we knew what was needed*”.

B2.8 What Factors contributed to the successful delivery of Fastrack?

Respondent KC believed:

“The very key cornerstone of Kent Thameside was the decision in 1993 by Government to go for the Ove Arup route for the high speed link and in particular the decision made in 1994 to actually have a station at Ebbsfleet. There was a lot of lobbying going on particularly by ‘Blue Circle’ and by the local authorities – Kent, Dartford and Gravesham Kent and the two districts to make sure that Ebbsfleet station was there”.

Summing up Respondent KA explained:

“So, I suppose what you had coming together was an acquisitive and pro-active land holder looking to maximise return on land for which their operational life was coming to an end. At the same time you’ve got a government aspiration on the back of the channel tunnel being built for a high speed rail line which is inevitably going to run through this part of the world”.

Despite the difficulties encountered setting up Fastrack, especially those concerned with operating a deregulated bus service, Fastrack is running and serving the Dartford and Gravesham communities. The London Assembly (2006) noted Fastrack’s success.

“It has been hard for Kent Thameside to deliver Fastrack. Here in London you have some levers and tools, which they did not have. They have an unregulated bus system. It is very difficult to introduce a new premium service under those circumstances. We do not have that problem in London. Development values are lower. But, in spite of those difficulties, they have achieved something along the lines of what we would see as the original concept and they have achieved a step change in quality”.

“The initial patronage figures are 30% higher than forecast. It is a success. People are visiting it from all over the country. They are ahead on Transits as opposed to TfL and TfL have to go some way to catch up to our neighbours just across the boundary. (London Assembly 2006)”

When reading the report from the London Assembly Respondent KK remarked:

“...and my reaction when reading that was it’s because of the quality of the people. The team of Kent Thameside wanted it to happen and you had the cooperation of people with a joint vision of what you wanted to achieve and you can move mountains and we got it to happen! Nobody in the team – Developer, County Council, District Council, there was not one single jobs worth person there, for everybody it mattered – it was the people “.

KK explained that it was the people involved that made Fastrack a success ,”... *that’s how we pulled it off”.*

Note: Since the London Assembly Report in 2006 the East London Transit (ELT1a) began operating in February 2010 from Ilford to Dagenham Dock via Barking Town Centre.

Appendix C: Rainham Essex (Chapter 7)

C1 Questionnaire on How You Travel

To introduce myself - my name is Glynis Johnston I am a PhD research student at the University of Westminster sponsored by Transport for London. The major objective of the research is to explore how the providers of the transport infrastructure can deliver maximum benefit to present and future local communities.

I would be grateful if you could take the time to answer the following questions by making a tick. In answering the questions could you indicate, in your own words, whether you encounter any difficulties on your journey and if so what improvements would make your journey easier?

How do you travel to:

Work/ School/ College: a. Walk; b. Bicycle: c. Car: d. Bus; e. Train

Comments:

Local shops and services: a. Walk; b. Bicycle: c. Car: d. Bus; e. Train

Comments:

Doctors/ Health Centres/ Hospital: a. Walk; b. Bicycle: c. Car: d. Bus; e. Train

Comments:

Leisure facilities: a. Walk; b. Bicycle: c. Car: d. Bus; e. Train

Comments:

C2 Summary of Interviews and focus group

C2.1 What are the components of a good place to live?

Everyone agreed that ‘decent’ schools, good bus and train connections, good working opportunities and affordable clean housing were important components of a good place to live. Respondent RH said *“It’s got to be theirs for them to be involved... he continued You’ve got to start with the young though ... they’re the ones we’ve got to change and on this estate were getting them to be involved naming the place”*.

A safe environment was also thought important this brought up issues to do with the local youth which featured throughout the meeting. It was thought important to have community police patrolling the streets; *“... to have better control”*. It was also thought necessary for the community police to constrain people from dumping rubbish. There used to be a land fill site in the area and people had become accustomed to dumping rubbish.

It was also thought important to find activities to keep the *“youths off the streets”*. Everyone present thought that you need, *“...people that care about the area ...well you’ve got to be proud of it”*. When asked how that could be achieved. Respondent RH said *“It’s got to be theirs for them to be involved... he continued You’ve got to start with the young though – the teenagers of today – the older teenagers if you like, well we’ve lost them anyway – it’s hard to get them back but the toddlers that’s coming up to teens, they’re the ones we’ve got to change and on this estate were getting them to be involved naming the place”*.

The resident then gave an example: *“On the side of the community centre there’s a big painting – all done by the school and that was done ten years ago. When we put it up people said it won’t last five minutes – it’s still there now, it hasn’t been touched because the kids done it and they’re growing up with it”*.

C2.2 Could you describe what is positive about the proposed development area in Rainham?

Respondent RH thought Rainham Marshes to be an asset (see Figure 7.7), and all members present agreed that the open space around Rainham including the nature reserve and river walks was an asset for the area and could attract people to visit the area.

The proposed plans to redevelop the station, an area of 1.5 hectares, to provide an Interchange and Civic Square central to Rainham Village will better integrate the station functionally and visually into the village. Respondent RC felt that improvements to the station and the new transport hub to be positive for the area (see Figure 7.9, the footbridge over the CTRL to the station and Figure 7.13 Rainham station). The author visited the site to take the photographs on 16th September 2009 and found the area round the station to be very foreboding, and remote from Rainham Village.

It was agreed by the members present that the regeneration project on the Mardyke estate would help to improve the image of the area. Respondent RD *“I think that’s going to be a huge improvement because that will lift the bad name as well.”* The children renamed the Estate the Orchard Village.

C2.3 What could be done better and how could the transport links better benefit the community?

There was agreement in the group that the traffic on the A13 and A1306 going through Rainham was very congested particularly during the rush hour. Respondent RF described, *“a massive problem with the traffic in the morning”*. Respondent RF thought the solution would be *“... start getting factories near where people work. Factories and offices near where people work and live”*.

Everyone interviewed in Rainham complained about the poor accessibility in the area and the need for a bus service. Respondent RD thought Rainham needed, *“better transport links”* ...*Going on from the community here (the Mardyke Estate), to the business community, people may live here even on the Mardyke but can't get to their place of work because there's no bus...Once you get from Rainham station there's no bus route – your talking of 150 companies down there – no bus route - you have to drive”*.

There followed a discussion about the need for public transport to enable those who are unable to drive access to local employment. Respondent RC said there was one bus but *“that needs to link up with Ferry Lane”*. And to do that she explained they need a bridge across the Creek.

Respondent RC went on to explain that, *“you can't have youth training and employ 16 and 17 year olds because they don't have their own transport”*.

Respondent RF gave an example, *“I know one of the lads he's got his son has got a youth training...”* at the place he works but because the father starts at 7am his son has to come in at the same time but the son has nothing to do until 9am. The father's shift ends at 3pm so the son must go home also He continued: *“It's the only way he can get in” – well yes, he's learning but when I've been talking to him, this is a classic example, he says, well, this is much better than my friend his training is with a company and he is actually cleaning out public toilets and you think well, what sort of training is that?”*

All present agreed that without a car you would not attempt to do the journey by bike.

Respondent RC, *“You've got 16/17 year olds that have got to compete with 40ft containers – they're not experienced enough on bikes to do that”*.

Respondent RG sited a local business who, “... *are not employing hands on regular staff because of the transport, they go to the staff agencies...* because the Agencies are able to bus the staff into their employment.

C2.4 What improvement/additions need to be put in place to make sure that Rainham is a good place to live for everyone?

Everyone interviewed in Rainham complained about the poor access in the area and the need for public transport. Respondent RF added “*You need to be able to get to here and get out of here. I think what would be a very good idea is a ferry across the river Thames*”

Respondent RG thought that local business should link in with residential groups to work together to build a community. Respondent RD agreed – “*I think it comes back to what RG said about working with the second neighbourhood team, the police have got to be present – a presence to deter – the war cry is people are frightened of these kids running around everywhere...*” When asked what addition were needed Respondent RD said, “*Additions? Again better policing which will stop thugs etc. ruining what we’re trying to improve*”.

There is a need for employment training in the area Respondent RB explained that in Rainham there is, “... *a big problem with adult skills – in this area 34% of the workers have no formal qualifications – which is higher than the London average which is about 28%. So we have big issues about quality of labour – well, we don’t have 21st century workers and we are trying to create a 21st century employment site*”.

C2.5 How can a sense of belonging/ identity be achieved?

All respondents involved with the Mardyke Estate thought it important to involve the children on the Estate with the Regeneration project. Respondent RC thought that “*Getting the children involved by even landscaping, doing a bit of gardening in the area – that will*

give them a sense of belonging. He thought this would, “*improve the situation in the long run – so they will look after what they’ve done*”. As previously mentioned the children were involved in naming the Estate and chose the Orchard Village,

It was generally thought that there was a need for activities for the youth. There was a discussion about a sports hall which had closed in the area “*All of a sudden they’d opened the area up. I think you’ve got to take away the hidey holes, where these kids can congregate and just do silly little things*”

Respondent RH mentioned the success of the youth bus and that they intended to have a games room for the youth at the Community Centre, he also mentioned the summer festival, “*where we get everybody together*”

C2.6 What are the factors that might influence the developer’s decision to develop?

The main factor that influences developers to develop is the prospect of a financial return on the developer’s investment – that as a result of their investment they would see a significant increase in the land value. Environmental Resources Management’s (ERM) work on the ‘Indicative Cost Plan’ (2007) and ‘Community Benefit Strategy’ (2007), commissioned by the LTGDC, indicated that prospects for the increase in the value of land are currently limited, so that under normal circumstances there would be little incentive for landowners to redevelop sites – even in the short or mid-term, they consider it unlikely that potential residual value will increase in London Riverside. This is partly due to the on-site abnormal costs such as remediation and essential infrastructure which must be taken into account for many sites in London Riverside.

A catch 22 situation arises when lack of social infrastructure, negative perceptions of the area and other factors affect the viability of site redevelopment. Residual values

will not rise until these negative factors are addressed, but on the basis of current values there is very limited potential for developer contributions to fund essential infrastructure and environmental works. (London Riverside Delivery and Investment Strategy, 2008, p14).

Respondent RB explained that in order to realise the potential of the area they need the enhanced bus service from Ferry Lane in the Industrial Park to Rainham station, they need a new station at Beam Park and also need an orbital bus routes which would be made possible by a bridge over the Creek. Respondent RB:

“People have worked down here and have employers down here and have no public transport whatever. So if you want to work here you either come by car or you have a pretty grim walk at times and a very challenging walk along some nasty traffic roads that aren’t really meant for pedestrians and heavy goods vehicles and there’s some pretty hairy crossings but we’re trying to sort that out”.

He went on to explain: *“These sites here are currently empty, they’re cleared and they’re master planned and we’re looking at 33 hectares of land – brown field land and we could get 6,000 jobs there... The key thing is that without the East London Transit (ELT) and the Beam Park station we probably couldn’t realise any more than a third of our targets. Whereas a station Beam Park; “would serve a huge amount – 800 metres either side including the Mardyke estates...”*

Respondent RD from the London Riverside Business Innovation and Development (BID) explained that the general inaccessibility of the area was a barrier to encouraging new businesses to relocate to Rainham, she explained that businesses have relocated from Stratford to make the site available for the Olympics, *“they relocated Mason Pearson’s, a big company onto Easter Park”*. Respondent RD explained that before Mason Pearson relocated, most of the people employed were able to walk into work and since relocating they have only retained 50% of their work force because:

“... those guys can't get down Ferry Lane ... I think Mason Pearson had no choice in the end but to go down there and I guess it was a coup for Easter Park but they've lost half their workforce and even though we're looking locally to find the other 50% of the workforce we can't get them down Ferry Lane to Mason Pearson”.

The Rainham area is also not helped by the areas perceived high incidence of crime, the lack of highly skilled workforce and the lack of quality or stock of modern, good quality office space - these are all factors which discourage businesses locating to the area (Local Development Core Strategy (2008). Respondent RB Regeneration official at Havering Borough speaks of the generally low reputation of the area he explained that:

“there's big issues with local employers down here about retention of recruitment of staff – this areas got a bit of a notorious reputation as being a pretty low investment, low value, polluting and a bad neighbourhood. There's a lot of very good firms down here and more and more are moving in. It's part of our strategy to get these firms moving in. We've got a huge site – so they come to us – great land – available service land but how do we get our employees here”...

Respondent RB continued: *“We have huge brown field sites, we have this centre of excellence – they are extremely attractive sites in terms of road and road transport and its relatively cheap but people look at it and go um they don't want to come here - so there are issues”.*