planning out poverty

the reinvention of social town planning

tcpa

Webb Memorial Trust

Planning Out Poverty: The Reinvention of Social Town Planning
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The TCPA is grateful for the generous support of the Webb Memorial Trust in carrying out the work reported here. In recent years the Webb Memorial Trust has concentrated on finding practical proposals to reduce poverty and inequality. Over the next few years it will use its resources to develop a vision of what constitutes a good society without poverty; identify how such a good society can be brought about; and disseminate findings to those who wish to develop it.

This project benefited from the input of many participants in each of the case study locations, as well as from discussions with national organisations and experts. The authors, Hugh Ellis and Kate Henderson, are grateful to all the individuals and organisations who made valuable contributions to this study (organisations are listed in Appendix 1). All interview responses have been anonymised. The authors are particularly grateful to Yvette Ralston for assisting with the background research and arranging numerous meetings in each of the case study locations, and to Frances Brill for her assistance with the background literature review.

The TCPA would like to make clear that the views expressed in this report are those of the authors.

executive summary

Planning has played a transformational role in improving the quality of life of all our communities. It has the potential to secure outcomes which can enhance our wellbeing by ensuring access to high-quality environments and economic opportunity and by giving communities a voice in their future. However, planning has become increasingly disconnected from people's lives and from a key founding objective of the planning movement, namely to secure greater social equity.

The heart of the *Planning Out Poverty* research project is the question: **'How can we re-focus planning to be more effective in dealing with social exclusion?'** Analysis of the policy themes distilled from this study suggests that to achieve this goal we need both a profound reconsideration of the social purposes of planning and detailed actions to enhance its effectiveness.

The following 12 recommendations reflect the project's ambition to embed a recognition of the importance of social issues within planning practice. They are set in the context of the enormous opportunity for planning to better address issues of social isolation and inequality. Recommendations are made to both UK national government and local government, to the private sector, and for the wider planning community.

Recommendations for national government

- **Recommendation 1: Make changes to the National Planning Policy Framework to prioritise poverty reduction.**
- **Recommendation 2: Introduce new legal duties on poverty reduction.**
- **Recommendation 3: Change the National Planning Practice Guidance to include guidance on poverty reduction and the promotion of social justice.**
- **Recommendation 4: Enhance planning powers for local communities.**
- **Recommendation 5: Target neighbourhood planning support in areas of social exclusion.**
- **Recommendation 6: Review the impact of welfare, housing and planning reform on poverty reduction.**
- **Recommendation 7: Introduce a new form of placed-based area planning.**

Recommendations for local government

- **Recommendation 8: Integrate planning with local placed-based service delivery, including through 'single integrated departments'.**
- **Recommendation 9: Share and promote local government led best practice.**

Recommendations for the private sector

- **Recommendation 10: Encourage greater corporate social responsibility.**

Recommendations for the planning community

- **Recommendation 11: Develop a 'new vision' for the planning profession.**
- **Recommendation 12: Enhance skills and education.**

section 1
introduction

1.1 Overview

This report poses a simple question: **'What role can planning play as part of wider public policy interventions to tackle entrenched poverty?'** It addresses this question with renewed urgency, given the current backdrop of public expenditure cuts and welfare reform and the longer-term rise of inequality in the UK.[1]

The planning system emerged from a consensus that the effective management of space can lead to improvements in people's everyday lives. The ideals of town planning transformed outcomes in public health, in design, and in access to recreation, and planning pioneered participative governance in local authorities. Originally, the wider planning system had technical, artistic and social objectives, but over time technical objectives have come to dominate, and it is now less clear that the system properly considers outcomes for people.

This report is based on the study and analysis of four communities who are seeking a pathway to regeneration. It contains four important messages:

- **The planning system, even in its current residualised form, can make a major impact on social exclusion** in a number of ways, from access to employment, services and a healthy environment, to designing mixed communities and promoting community governance.
- While there are successes, **the planning system too often fails to consider the distributional outcomes of decisions for people most in need**.
- The reason for this failure is partly because **planning is no longer recognised as a mainstream part of public policy in poverty reduction**, and because national planning policy has de-prioritised social justice as an outcome.
- **There are practical measures which the public and private sectors can implement to make the system work better for those in poverty**, by maximising the opportunities for renewal and development to meet their needs.

This report is clear that we now need a fresh debate about a new conception of planning which goes beyond its narrow legal boundaries. This debate should examine how the system can play a positive role in the way we organise our communities – for example by integrating fully with areas such as health and education and, for those places most in need, by considering new forms of planning structures which can provide participative but powerful solutions over the long term.

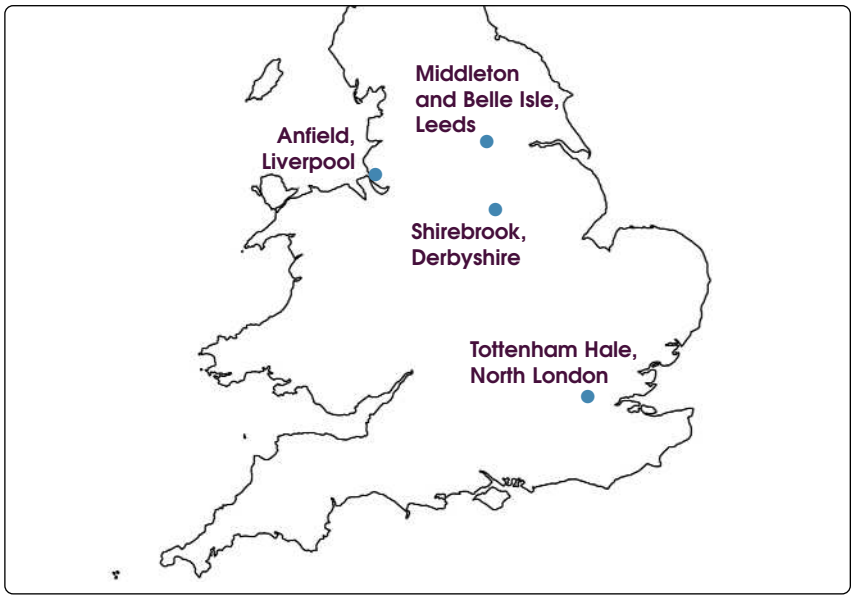
1.2 Research objective

The research project that led to this report explored the overarching question: **'How can we re-focus planning to be more effective in dealing with social exclusion?'** The project was not a study into poverty in general, but examined how we challenge social exclusion through planning in different urban contexts.

While our society has become generally more unequal,[2] there are persistent concentrations of poverty. Our understanding of the complex

1 OECD (2011) *Divided We Stand: Why Inequality Keeps Rising.* Paris: OECD. **http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/dividedwestandwhyinequalitykeepsrising.htm**. The report shows that, worldwide, the distribution of income – as measured by earnings and investments plus benefits, after tax, and adjusted for household size – is more unequal than ever before. It highlights that between 1975 and 2008 income inequality rose faster in Britain than in any other OECD member country

2 National Equality Panel (2010) *An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK: Report of the National Equality Panel.* London: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics and Political Science, for the Government Equalities Office. **http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/_new/publications/NEP.asp**



The four case study locations

inter-relationship between the factors that lead to social exclusion (for example, the links between poverty, social mobility, health, and education) has become more sophisticated. However, there is less clarity about what our policy responses should be and about the geographical level at which they should be implemented.

1.3 Methods

The TCPA has a long tradition of what can be best described as 'action research' designed to explore social policy problems with insight and immediacy. It is driven by a strong imperative to find practical outcomes to issues identified in the data, but also has a higher-level ambition to reflect on wider debates about the future of the planning system.

The four qualitative case studies presented in this report have been compiled through background research and informal and semi-structured interviews with key local representatives. These included discussions with local authority elected members and officials, key housing delivery partners, and community representatives from, for example, neighbourhood improvement boards. The sum of this data is not intended to be 'representative' or 'definitive', nor to provide the richness of a longitudinal study. Instead, it provides a high-level 'snapshot' of four communities at a particular moment in their development.

The focus of the research was on health, housing, and the living environment, as these are aspects of poverty in which spatial planning can potentially have the greatest influence.

1.4 Case study selection

Four case study locations were selected for their diverse socio-economic backgrounds, distinct patterns of social exclusion, and different typologies of urban spatial scales:

- Anfield, Liverpool – an inner-city Victorian community;
- Shirebrook in the Derbyshire Coalfields – an ex-industrial rural town;
- Middleton and Belle Isle, Leeds – part of a major inter-war social housing development based on Garden City principles; and
- Tottenham Hale, London Borough of Haringey – a diverse inner-city community.

1.5 Key research challenges

Each case study examined the extent to which spatial planning policy approaches have tended to exacerbate or alleviate patterns of social exclusion – by considering the nature of social exclusion locally; the extent of recent and current planning policy approaches; and planning policy successes and failures measured against key social exclusion data. Key lessons from previous policy interventions have been distilled, and in each case study analysis there is a focus on a number of planning policy themes – for example the role of planning in:

- delivering a balanced portfolio of housing to meet needs;
- providing accessible public transport and an accessible civic realm;
- creating sustainable and resilient communities which promote health and wellbeing; and
- enabling economic activity.

section 2
the relationship between planning and poverty

2.1 The progressive origins of planning

Progressive planning and public health were both inspired by the mapping of poor environmental quality and its relationship with health and social exclusion, most notably by Charles Booth, assisted by Beatrice Webb, in 1888. It was a decade later, in 1899, that Ebenezer Howard founded the Garden Cities movement (through the Garden City Association, which subsequently became the TCPA), which sought fair shares in development and land value uplift; shared ownership of public open space; participative and entrepreneurial local governance; town and country planned together; inclusive places; and the enhancement of the environment. Howard's assertion of the need for sustainable communities, founded on an appreciation of the environment, and with it people's long-term wellbeing, is no less relevant today than when it was first articulated.

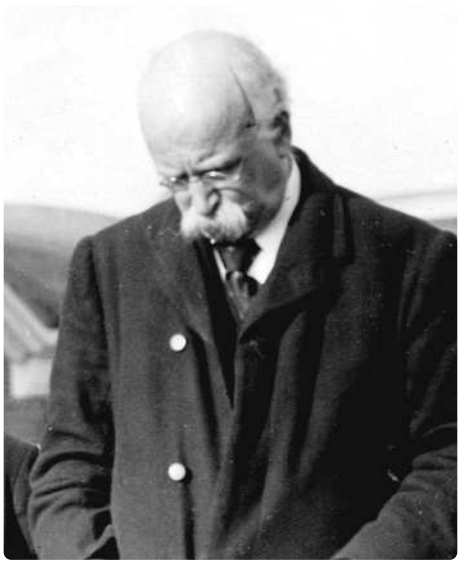
The TCPA is now Britain's oldest charity concerned with housing, planning, and the environment; the Webb Memorial Trust, established in 1944 as a memorial to Beatrice Webb, supports 'the advancement of education and learning with respect to the history and problems of government and social policy', and has recently been working to 'develop a series of original and practical proposals that will make a real difference in alleviating poverty in the UK'. In 2013, the TCPA and the Webb Memorial Trust came together in collaboration under the Trust's Poverty and Inequality Programme to conduct research on planning and social exclusion.

2.2 How does planning impact on poverty?

Planning has multiple and complex effects on people's lives because its decisions often involve the allocation of resources. Crudely, there are winners and losers from planning decisions, and planning therefore has the power to help promote greater or lesser levels of equity and social justice. This allocation of resources operates at a number of levels, from the crude supply of provision to meet basic needs such as housing, to the detailed way that design decisions can promote better outcomes – for example promoting better health outcomes through walkable and safe environments. While planning has moved away from crude forms of environmental determinism, it is significant that there is a growing weight of research evidence which supports the link between health and wellbeing and high-quality environments which provide, for example, access to green space.[3] This linkage illustrates an important practical dimension to the wider moral argument of poverty reduction, namely the major reduction in costs to the public purse if communities are well housed, healthier, and happier. For example, it has been estimated that the effects of poor housing costs the NHS at least £600 million per year.[4]

3 Ross, A. with Chang, M.: (2012) *Reuniting Health with Planning – Healthier Homes, Healthier Communities*. London: TCPA. **http://www.tcpa.org.uk/pages/reuniting-health-with-planning-healthier-homes-healthier-communities.html**

4 Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology (2011) *Housing and Health*. POSTNote 371. London: Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology. **http://www.parliament.uk/documents/post/postpn_371-housing_health_h.pdf**



Beatrice Webb and Ebenezer Howard

2.3 Has planning lost its way?

Since the end of the 19th century planning has made a significant contribution to improving the quality of life of ordinary people. The provision of millions of social housing units of unparalleled quality is just one example of its impact. This achievement went beyond the basic drive for sanitary improvement to encompass the concept of designing an entire community. The early aspirations of planning were not simply focused on bricks and mortar; planning was about creating the conditions for people to live differently, addressing social isolation and founded on a co-operative ethos. The Garden Cities are a clear example of the extent of planning's ambition.

From the late 1940s to the late 1960s, 32 New Towns were built in the UK, towns which now house 2.6 million people. In London and numerous other cities, many people continue to live in the social housing designed in the 1920s and 1930s and in the well intentioned but ultimately misguided post-war high-rise blocks. Planning offered people a better way of life, and as a nation we shared a collective ambition to rebuild Britain after both world wars. However, as Cherry notes,[5] the post-war period saw a retrenchment of the explicit social aims of planning and a greater focus on technical professionalism. Planners sought both status and protection for their work, which became embedded in both national and local government bureaucracy. In general, social aims became an implicit rather than explicit part of planning education and practice.

In practical terms this has led to an emphasis in planning practice on the technicalities of process, with less attention being paid to the effects of the outcomes of planning decisions. While there are requirements to monitor the progress of plan policy, this is often conducted at a high level, in relation to, for example, housing targets. The effective monitoring of key planning decisions, to understand their outcomes for people, is rare, and is becoming more problematic in an era when local government planning departments have been subject to significant budget cuts.[6]

2.3.1 The post-war place of planning in public policy

Academic analysis has suggested a continuum of policy ambition for the role of planning.[7] The immediate post-war period was marked by strongly interventionist approaches with strong area-based planning – such as the New Towns programme – with an explicit connection to progressive social values. The connection between planning and poverty reduction became gradually more confused as successive rounds of urban policy created new delivery structures, of which planning was only one. While there was a brief renaissance in recognition of the potential of strategic planning in the 2000s, there was also an unresolved debate about the place of planning in wider public policy on poverty reduction,

5 Cherry, G.E. (1970) *Town Planning in its Social Context*. London: Leonard Hill Books

6 *'Chancellor George Osborne confirmed that local authority spending, administered through the Department for Communities and Local Government (DLCG), would be cut by ten per cent in 2015-16 compared to 2014-15. This follows a 33 per cent cut in central government funding earmarked for councils between 2011-12 and 2014-15.'* Geoghegan, J. (2013) 'Planning chiefs angry over further town hall budget cuts'. *Planning*, 28 June, 2013. **http://www.planningresource.co.uk/news/1188241/**

7 Ambrose, P. (1986) *Whatever Happened to Planning?* London: Methuen

leaving area-based regeneration as an activity separated from local government planning functions.[8]

It is also the case that a raft of substantial criticism of planning practice was articulated in a growing body of academic research – particularly, and perhaps ironically, on the failure of planning to consider the outcomes for particular excluded groups and on the values underpinning planning rather than the technical nature of decision-making. One strand of this analysis, which might be broadly summarised as the environmental justice movement,[9] has shown that both in the UK and internationally there has been a tendency for the poorest communities to be earmarked for the most polluting forms of development, such as landfill or incineration.[10] The outcomes for groups such as travellers also indicate a historical tendency to allocate sites in the least desirable locations.

Strong attempts to reconnect planning with values were a feature of academic and professional debates in the 1990s,[11] arising from a concern with professional ethics. One milestone of this debate was the publication in 2010 of Susan Feinstein's book *The Just City*,[12] which strongly advocated equity as the core test of the outcomes of planning decisions. Yvonne Rydin's newly published work *The Future of Planning*[13] also advocates a strong set of outcome-focused values based around 'just sustainability' as the basis for future planning reform. Despite the fact that these ideas resonate with the origins of the planning movement, they have not gained traction in national political debates on planning reform. This may in part be because of other unprecedented neo-liberal economic critiques of the basis of democratic planning,[14] but it is also, as Campbell points out, the product of a strand of postmodern academic criticism.[15]

2.3.2 The current objectives of the planning system

The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF),[16] published in 2012, marked a radical change in policy from the preceding Planning Policy Statement 1 (PPS1): *Delivering Sustainable Development*. The latter's explicit emphasis on social justice and equity[17] was replaced by a concern with wellbeing.[18] The words 'poverty', 'equity', and 'social justice' do not appear in the NPPF. There are repeated references to the 'social' aspects of sustainable development, but these are not articulated in terms of distributional outcomes. Instead, there is new focus on design in producing inclusive places and shared spaces for social interaction.[19] There is a high-level commitment to 'health and wellbeing', but significantly no detailed focus on health inequalities.[20] There is also an emphasis on the provision of educational facilities and the supply of housing.

The only remaining guidance on equity and inclusion in planning was removed in July 2013 under the Taylor Review of Planning Practice Guidance.[21] This

8 For example, the Housing Market Renewal programme was delivered by separate teams and strategies which ran parallel to local government planning

9 Environmental justice, as defined by the US Environmental Protection Agency, is *'the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies'* – see **http://www.epa.gov/environmentaljustice/**

10 Agyeman, J., Bullard, R.D., and Evans, B. (Eds) (2003) *Just Sustainabilities: Development in an Unequal World*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

11 Campbell, H. (2012) ''Planning ethics' and rediscovering the idea of planning'. *Planning Theory*, **11** (4) 379-399

12 Feinstein, S. (2010) *The Just City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

13 Rydin, Y. (2013) *The Future of Planning: Beyond Growth Dependence*. Bristol: Policy Press

14 These critiques are centred on both macro and micro neo-liberal economic analysis of planning regulation – for example, the general principle of restricting land supply for housing and the more detailed transaction costs of planning decisions. In general, this has led to interest in price-based land allocation metrics and in financial incentives to shape behaviour change which relate in part to 'nudge theory' (See Barker, K. (2004) *Delivering Stability: Securing our Future Housing Needs*. Barker Review of Housing Supply: Final Report. Recommendations. London: HM Treasury; Cheshire, P.C., and Sheppard, S.C. (2005) 'The introduction of price signals into land use planning decision-making: a proposal'. *Urban Studies*, **42** (4), 647-663; Leunig, T. (2007) *In My Back Yard: Unlocking the Planning System?* Policy Paper. London: CentreForum; and Ball, M. (2011) 'UK planning controls and the market responsiveness of housing supply'. *Urban Studies*, **48** (2), 349–362)

15 Campbell, H. (2012) ''Planning ethics' and rediscovering the idea of planning'. *Planning Theory*, **11** (4) 379-399

16 Department for Communities and Local Government (2012) *National Planning Policy Framework*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government. **https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-planning-policy-framework—2**

17 Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2005) Planning Policy Statement 1: *Delivering Sustainable Development*. London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. **http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919132719/www.communities.gov.uk/archived/publications/planningandbuilding/ planningpolicystatement1**. See paragraph 16: 'Plan policies should... seek to reduce social inequalities'

18 The meaning of the word 'wellbeing' is already contested and may or may not imply greater levels of equality

19 See section 8, paragraphs 69 and 70 of the NPPF (see note 16)

20 See section 8 of the NPPF (see note 16)

21 Lewis, B. (2013) *Planning and Travellers*. Written Ministerial Statement by the Local Government Minister, 1 Jul. 2013. London: Department for Communities and Local Government. **https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/planning-and-travellers**

Box 1

What do we mean by planning?

Planning is the messy business of anticipating the future and attempting to shape it for the good of society – one of the most basic of human aspirations. It is carried out by all societies everywhere. In the English context the planning system has come to be defined by the statutory system of development control and plan-making and by the process, policy, and governance structures that go with that. Historically, this is a very narrow definition of planning. Attempts have been made to restore social dimensions to planning practice, acknowledging the interconnectedness of issues which surround the management of space and community – this led to the label 'spatial planning' adopted formally by the previous Government in the now revoked Planning Policy Statement 1.

The statutory planning system is only one aspect of a wider creative enterprise to realise the objectives of sustainable development through democratic and participative means. While planning cannot and should not force people to live differently, it can create the conditions where more sustainable and co-operative living is possible.

has raised an important question: does planning now have any explicit social purpose? While planning is still subject to aspects of the Equalities Act 2010,[22] the Secretary of State has instructed the Planning Inspectorate (PINs) to downgrade its emphasis on equality impact assessments.[23] The legality or otherwise of this instruction remains uncertain, as do the responsibilities of neighbourhood forums (set up under the Localism Act 2011) under the Equalities Act 2010.

2.4 A growing disconnection between planning and social objectives

The reasons for the growing disconnection between planning and a progressive social agenda are complex. For example, the growing complexity of local government has led to a separation between planning and functions such as health, education, and economic development. In some authorities the separation of planning and economic development was a conscious decision, made to avoid a perceived conflict of interest between the quasi-judicial nature of planning and development proposals which often involved public sector land. This has also led to multiple strategising rather than 'planning' for communities as one integrated function. These institutional changes are significant contextual factors, but the process has also been driven by other, more explicit forces. It is clear that recent changes to national policy have shifted the social goals of town planning away from issues such as poverty reduction. This process has reinforced a longer-term trend driven partly by professionalisation, partly by postmodern criticism,[24] and latterly by a strong ideological strand which associates all forms of planning with centralist and unaccountable bureaucracy.[25] This latter idea found its expression in the localism agenda.

22 HM Government (2010) *Equalities Act 2010.* Norwich: TSO. **http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents**

23 Pickles, E. (2013) *Diversity Monitoring/Lifestyle Surveys.* Letter from the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government to the Chief Executive, Planning Inspectorate, 7 Mar. 2013. London: Department for Communities and Local Government. **https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/141801/130313_Diversity_monitoring__PINS___2_.pdf**

24 Campbell, H. (2012) ''Planning ethics' and rediscovering the idea of planning'. *Planning Theory*, **11** (4), 379-399

25 Conservative Party (2010) *Open Source Planning.* Policy Green Paper 14. London: Conservative Party **http://www.conservatives.com/~/media/Files/Green%20Papers/planning-green-paper.ashx**

section 3
the case studies

3.1 Anfield, Liverpool

3.1.1 Context

Liverpool, located in the North West of England, is the sixth-largest city in the country. It was a thriving and successful port throughout the 19th century and during the first half of the 20th century, making it a key trading route between the industrial North of England and the rest of the world, and leading to the growth of a strong manufacturing industry in the area, alongside the shipping trade. However, by the 1960s the advent of containerisation left Liverpool's docks too small and too shallow for deep-sea cargo ships, and as European trade became more central to the UK economy, Liverpool found itself 'on the wrong side of the country'[26] and increasingly uncompetitive. At the same time, structural changes in the global economy left Liverpool's manufacturing industries in sharp decline, and severe economic, social and environmental difficulties followed. Liverpool's population nearly halved from the 1930s (when it peaked at 846,101) until 2001, when it fell to 439,500.[27] In the 1980s unemployment rates in Liverpool were among the highest in the UK.[28]

Between 2001 and 2011 Liverpool's population decline reversed, and there was a gradual increase in population of 6.1% across the city. Liverpool experienced major investment during this decade, particularly in the leisure, culture, retail, and tourism industries, and there has been strong investment in residential areas in the city centre. While some parts of Liverpool are recovering and beginning to prosper, particularly around the city centre and the waterfront, pockets of deep poverty remain in many inner-city areas – including Anfield – which are still recovering from the impacts of structural change and have not shared in Liverpool's relative economic success.

Anfield is a ward in North Liverpool, of 2,366 km^2 in area. It is an inner-city Victorian community characterised by neighbourhoods of terraced properties, and is one of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the city in terms of income, employment, health deprivation, and disability. The area is also home to Liverpool Football Club – one of the most successful football clubs in the UK and a major tourist attraction. However, there has been significant uncertainty over the football club's plans for redevelopment in the area, and this has accelerated the decline that Anfield is currently experiencing.

3.1.2 Baseline social data

Baseline social data for Anfield are given in Table 1.

Despite economic successes over the past decade, Liverpool is still the highest-ranked local authority in the Index of Multiple Deprivation, and has been ranked 1 or 2 consistently since 2000. There is evidence that Anfield, in particular, has not shared in the city's recent successes: 60% of Anfield is within the most deprived 10% of areas in the country; life expectancy is lower than the Liverpool average; Incapacity Benefit claimant levels are high at 15.2%, reflecting health issues in the ward; 36.3% of the adult population have no qualifications; and there is a worrying trend of increasing child poverty in Anfield, with 43% of the area's children currently classified as living in poverty (a figure which has risen from 40.7% in 2006). The child poverty rate

26 Lane, T. (1987) *Liverpool: Gateway of Empire.* London: Lawrence & Wishart
27 Liverpool City Council (2008) *Liverpool City Council LDF Annual Monitoring Report 2008.* Liverpool: Liverpool City Council. **http://liverpool.gov.uk/media/102267/amr2008.pdf**
28 Belchem, J. (Ed.) (2006) *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Table 1
Anfield, Liverpool – baseline social data

	Liverpool average	Anfield	'Highest-ranking' ward in Liverpool	'Lowest-ranking' ward in Liverpool
Population	466,415	14,510	–	–
Population turnover	6.1%	3.5%	–	–
Health				
Male life expectancy	75.8 years	72.6 years	83.5 years (Central)	70.8 years (Picton)
Female life expectancy	80.2 years	76.7 years	85.8 years (Church)	77.2 years (Croxteth)
Incapacity Benefit claimants (proportion of working-age population)[a]	12%	15.2%	23.2% (Everton)	4.9% (Church)
Highest qualification (proportion of residents of age 16 and over)				
No qualification	29%	36.3%	47.3% (Everton)	9.5% (Central)
Level 1 (1-4 GCSEs)	13%	17%	17% (Anfield)	5.3% (Greenbank)
Level 2 (5 GCSEs at grade C or above)	14%	16%	17.3% (Warbreck)	8.4% (Greenbank)
Level 3 (A levels)	15%	11%	40.7% (Greenbank)	8.7% (Everton)
Level 4 or higher (Certificates of Higher Education or higher)	22%	12%	43.5% (St Michael's)	9.9% (Clubmoor)
Unemployment (proportion of economically active residents)[a]				
Workless residents (JSA, ESA, and IB[b] claimants)	28.7%	21.9%	38.6% (Everton)	8.6% (Church)
JSA claimants	6.8%	8.1%	12.6% (Princes Park)	2.8% (Church)
Household tenure (proportion of households)				
Owner-occupied	47%	45.6%	82.6% (Childwall)	11.7% (Princes Park)
Social rented (local authority or housing association)	28%	23%	58% (Princes Park)	3% (Church)
Private rented	23%	30%	63% (Central)	6.8% (Belle Vale)
Deprivation				
Proportion of area in the most deprived 10% of areas nationally	49.6%	60.5%	97.6% (Everton)	0% (Church/ Mossley Hill)
Average household income	£30,374	£25,900	£41,155 (Church)	£22,383 (Everton)
Child poverty	33.1%	43%	58.6% (Princes Park)	6.8% (Church)
Ethnicity				
White British and Other White	89%	95%	97.5% (Clubmoor)	53% (Princes Park)
Mixed	2.5%	1%	10% (Princes Park)	0.8% (West Derby)
Asian	4%	1.7%	19.9% (Central)	0.6% (Clubmoor)
Black	2.6%	1.5%	16.1% (Princes Park)	0.6% (Allerton and Hunts Cross)

Source: All data based on ward-scale 2011 Census data from the Office for National Statistics' Neighbourhood Statistics website, at **http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/**, and on Liverpool City Council ward profile summaries (2012), available at **http://liverpool.gov.uk/council/key-statistics-and-data/ward-profiles/ward-map/**, unless otherwise stated

a Based on Nomis labour market statistics, available at **http://www.nomisweb.co.uk**

b Jobseeker's Allowance, Employment and Support Allowance, and Incapacity Benefit

reaches 60% in some neighbourhoods in the south of the ward.[29]

3.1.3 Policy interventions

The main policy intervention in Anfield to date has been the Anfield/Breckfield Housing Market Renewal (HMR) initiative, designated in 2002 to address housing market collapse characterised by high vacancy rates, abandoned properties, high concentrations of social housing, properties in disrepair, and low house prices across Anfield. The aim was the use £40-50 million of public money to lever in £300 million of private sector investment. Contrary to popular belief, the scheme was widely supported locally. However, when the HMR scheme was scrapped in March 2011, rows of abandoned properties and deserted streets were left in Anfield, making the task of housing regeneration a major challenge.

Today, the overall aim of Liverpool's draft Core Strategy is *'to achieve urban and economic growth, prioritising those areas of the City with the greatest development potential'*.[30] 'Strategic Objective One' of the Core Strategy is to strengthen the city's economy by focusing on the city's role within the commercial, retail, leisure, and tourism sectors. At the bottom of the list is 'Strategic Objective Eight – Maximising social inclusion and equal opportunities', which states that: *'Major developments should make a measurable contribution to the promotion of social inclusion and equal opportunities in the communities in and around the area where the development is taking place, most notably through targeted recruitment and training and the use of local supply chains.'*

The overall focus is firmly on achieving economic growth in areas of opportunity, with less emphasis on investing in areas of social need, such as Anfield.

While there is recognition in the Core Strategy that Anfield and other parts of North Liverpool face acute economic, social and environmental problems, there are few direct mechanisms in place to address them. Anfield is part of the City Centre North Priority Housing and Neighbourhood Renewal Area. Over 600 homes in Anfield will be refurbished by the City Council, the Homes and Communities Agency, and Arena Housing Association, in an area that will be known as 'Anfield Village'. The focus of this programme is on improving the housing market rather than achieving social justice for the current residents.

In relation to Anfield football stadium, the Core Strategy states: *'Both Goodison Park (Everton FC) and Anfield (Liverpool FC) stadia represent major tourist and visitor centres and as such play an increasingly important role in the economy of the City. The City Council is keen to maintain this position by supporting the development plans of both clubs, where this will assist in the social and economic improvement of Liverpool in general.'* However, it does recognise that: *'Proposals must be carefully managed to protect amenity for those living in nearby areas and to minimise adverse impacts arising from the construction and operation of new development.'*

3.1.4 Qualitative attitudinal data

Of all this report's four case studies, Anfield illustrates the strongest physical and social consequences of the kind of urban processes that have shaped many ex-industrial cities. Anfield's decline is more complex than that of a single-industry town such as Shirebrook, another of the case study areas. It shared the fate of other working-class communities in Liverpool following the transformation of the docks, but research respondents were clear that it retained some level of stability and cohesion into the 1990s.

There was a shared perception among respondents that the area began to decline rapidly as residents either died or sought better-quality housing elsewhere. Private landlords then moved into the area, which both increased the turnover of residents and led to a further decline in housing standards and a wider decline in the fabric of the built environment. One respondent noted: *'The serious decline [of Anfield] is relatively recent and very dramatic, and is probably due to the huge preponderance of terraced houses, which have become less popular over the last 20 years. A spiral of decline has been exacerbated by rental tenure and not very good management.'*

The large areas of vacant property in Anfield are testament to the scale of the planning and regeneration challenge facing the city. The dramatic

29 Liverpool City Council (2012) *Anfield Ward Profile*. Liverpool: Liverpool City Council. http://liverpool.gov.uk/media/120756/anfield.pdf. See section 6: 'Child poverty'

30 Liverpool City Council (2012) *Liverpool Core Strategy Submission Draft*. Liverpool: Liverpool City Council. **http://liverpool.gov.uk/media/86021/Core-Strategy-Submission-Draft.pdf**. Page iii

Abandoned and refurbished streets in Anfield

nature of this backdrop has driven large-scale research and media interest, and has notably the led to a number of common preconceptions relating to the marginalisation of the community by regeneration initiatives and the hopelessness of the current situation. Both these propositions were challenged by the qualitative data gathered by this research.

Cancellation of the HMR programme

There is no doubt that the cancellation of the HMR[31] programme in 2010 was, for all the research respondents, by far the most significant factor in the fate of the community.[32] Despite the use of some transitional finance to continue limited physical regeneration, the programme was essentially cancelled with around 25% of the work completed. The effect was to leave some areas cleared but not redeveloped, some areas of abandoned streets, and, perhaps most shockingly, some streets inhabited by only a handful of remaining residents.

While it was not the purpose of this study to examine the merits of HMR directly, it is important to record the belief among those working in the HMR team and among City Council planners that, if carried through, the programme would have positively transformed the area.

There was an acknowledgment that the scale of the HMR initiative in Anfield made it vulnerable to changes in policy, but there was strong defence of the initiative, both in terms of its community-led basis and its focus on refurbishment and renewal rather than demolition.[33] In the aftermath of the cancellation of HMR, a number of separate smaller-scale schemes have been put forward by the City Council, the Homes and Communities Agency, and housing associations. Some of these schemes have proved controversial among some community groups, and it was unclear at the time of writing whether they could be viewed as part of a wider coherent vision for the future of the area. However, they do clearly signal that regeneration will continue in Anfield, albeit at a slower pace.

The role of planning in Anfield

Several respondents acknowledged that the overwhelming long-term priority of successive city plans has been the economic development of Liverpool. There is a clear expectation that this will deliver the other policy objectives of social inclusion. The draft Core Strategy does include

31 *'Housing Market Renewal (HMR) Pathfinders operated in areas of low housing demand. They were introduced in 2002 as a programme to rebuild housing markets and communities in parts of the North and the Midlands where demand for housing is relatively weak; areas which have seen a significant decline in population, dereliction, poor services and poor social conditions. The intention of the strategy was to renew failing housing markets and reconnect them to regional markets, to improve neighbourhoods and to encourage people to live and work in these areas.'* Wilson, W. (2013) *Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders*. House of Commons Library Standard Note SN/SP/5953. London: House of Commons. **http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/SN05953**

32 As part of the October 2010 Spending Review the new Government announced the end of funding for Housing Market Renewal as a separate programme from March 2011

33 Research respondents said that a 6:1 ratio of homes to be renewed to homes to be demolished was commonly used in the Liverpool Housing Market Renewal areas

explicit requirements that such development should have 'measurable' impacts on reducing social exclusion, but it was less clear what this might mean in practice beyond a contribution to economic activity.

The wider strategic context for Liverpool was raised by a number of respondents. The work of the North West Regional Development Agency (NWDA) and the role of the North West Regional Spatial Strategy (RSS) in focusing growth towards the city, by, for example, restricting housing or retail growth elsewhere, was seen as a valuable part of creating certainty for the future of investment in inner areas. With the abolition of both the NWDA and RSS there is concern that the region and sub-region could simply compete for growth in an unco-ordinated way which would set back regeneration in low-demand areas such as Anfield.

Research respondents provided a complex picture of the role that the planning system played in Anfield. Planning was integral to the HMR process by setting high-level commitments and through detailed masterplanning, but HMR activity was not necessarily part of the statutory planning process. Both formal and informal planning processes provided the key hook for community participation and consultation.

Both those working in planning and those working in regeneration commented on the tension that sometimes arose between the two groups of practitioners. While the relationship had many positive aspects, it was clear that those involved in HMR were keen to drive progress to meet their own programme targets. There was some criticism of the 'slower' pace of the planning department. There was also a contrasting view that the regeneration process was sometimes insufficiently interested in wider sustainability and design issues. There was a fear that the drive to maximise receipts through land sales was beginning to be a major driver of spatial decisions, because the city's ongoing finances were so vulnerable.

The local governance of planning and regeneration

There was a strong division between respondents over the degree to which the masterplan developed for the Anfield HMR area was seen as the product of strong community participation or imposed from above. The officers were clear that Anfield had been subject to one of the most extensive community engagement processes ever carried out in the city: they pointed to evidence of the resident community asking for increased areas of demolition and regeneration and to overwhelming community support at the start of HMR for the objectives of the scheme. These professionals felt very strongly that the criticism of the scheme in the media was unjustified and unfair.

But it is certainly the case that there are both academic commentators and community activists who believe that a more grassroots and less invasive and destructive programme would have gained lasting results, and this view was bolstered by the small minority of residents who did not want to move from their existing homes.

In relation to this study, it is clear that Anfield was subject to far more intensive engagement strategies through the HMR programme than was the case for any of the other communities studied. It is also clear that respondents shared a common view that the community was left bewildered and demoralised in the aftermath of the cancellation of the HMR programme. This was, of course, mainly due to a slowing in the pace of regeneration, but also because of the effort and commitment that all parties had expended on plans which were now effectively redundant. Some respondents raised concerns that this made future engagement harder, because of a loss of trust that local and national government will honour policy commitments.

Social capital in Anfield

Anfield is unique in the case studies in having lost a significant proportion of its population. At face value, the statistical data also indicate a lack of social capital, in terms of issues such as educational attainment. However, Anfield also exhibits a remarkable social resilience and a number of skilled and vociferous individuals and community groups who together constitute a stronger local civil society than was found in the other case studies. This local activism is complex and sometimes divided in its objectives, but it is producing significant community-led regeneration initiatives, such as 2Up 2Down, a Community Land Trust and co-operative bakery in Anfield.[34]

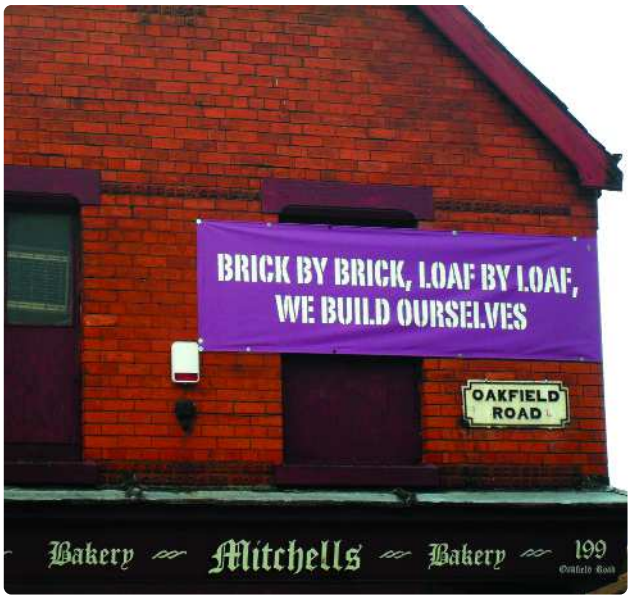
34 See the 2Up 2Down website, at **http://www.2up2down.org.uk/**

The role of the private sector

So far, Anfield has not been an obvious beneficiary of the private sector investment in the city made up to 2008. In this context, the role of Liverpool Football Club has become an iconic exemplar of one of the few private sector led regeneration initiatives in the area. The role of the club is deeply controversial, not just in Anfield but in the wider city. On the one hand, the actions of the club raise important issues about corporate social responsibility, and on the other the club is an extraordinarily powerful foundation of the cultural identity of the city.

During the course of work on the research project, *Guardian* journalist David Conn wrote a lengthy analysis of the actions of Liverpool Football Club,[35] providing both a detailed investigation and commentary from all the key participants. For the purpose of this study, it is important to note briefly that the football club is located on an iconic site at the heart of the community. Successive owners of the club have sought to find ways of redeveloping the stadium. Various options have been brought forward reflecting the differing priorities of the various owners, including moving locations within Anfield and expanding the existing stadium. The problem has been that this uncertainty has created a general planning blight in the immediate area which has continued for more than five years and has undoubtedly exacerbated further decline.

The club is now embarking on a new initiative which will see further demolition of residential properties. The club clearly hopes that this will finally lead to regeneration, but the legacy of uncertainty and blight has had a wholly negative effect on wider attempts to regenerate the area. In June 2013, the Managing Director of Liverpool Football Club, Ian Ayre, acknowledged this and told the residents of Anfield that *'the club was sorry to be responsible for the neighbouring terraced streets falling into a state of deep decay, amid years of indecision over how the football club's stadium capacity would be expanded'.*[36]



The 2Up 2 Down co-operative bakery

While some residents plainly believe the club 'engineered' the decline of Anfield to lower property prices, no evidence of this strategy was uncovered during this study. However, it was clear that changing corporate priorities, as well as a failure to engage meaningfully with the local community, had led to unnecessary and negative outcomes.

The impact of welfare reform

The wider impacts of the winding-up of the Housing Market Renewal programme may be the defining issue for Anfield, but other aspects of budgetary retrenchment and welfare reform are also having an impact. For example, the Welfare Reform Act 2012 introduced a mechanism to address 'under-occupancy' in social housing, commonly referred to in the media as the 'bedroom tax' or the 'under-occupancy penalty'.[37] Respondents noted a lack of one- and two-bedroom properties in the social housing sector in Anfield and raised concerns about the risk of three-bedroom properties being left empty as result of this policy. There were also concerns about the wider impact this may have on the social and economic welfare of the community.

35 Conn, D. (2013) 'Anfield: the victims, the anger and Liverpool's shameful truth'. *The Guardian*, 6 May 2013. **http://www.theguardian.com/football/david-conn-inside-sport-blog/2013/may/06/anfield-liverpool-david-conn**

36 Herbert, I. (2013) 'Anfield expansion plans: Liverpool council paves way for stadium development'. *The Independent*, 23 Jun. 2013. **http://www.independent.co.uk/sport/football/premier-league/anfield-expansion-plans-liverpool-council-paves-way-for-stadium-development-8672160.html**

37 *'The Government has used powers contained in the Welfare Reform Act 2012 to provide that, from 1 April 2013, working-age social tenants in receipt of Housing Benefit will experience a reduction in their benefit entitlement if they live in housing that is deemed to be too large for their needs.'* Wilson, W. (2013) *Under-Occupation of Social Housing: Housing Benefit Entitlement*. House of Commons Library Standard Note SN/SP/6267. London: House of Commons. **http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/SN06272**

3.2 Shirebrook, Derbyshire

3.2.1 Context

Shirebrook is a historic mining town with a population of almost 10,000, located in Bolsover district in North Derbyshire. Shirebrook Colliery opened in 1896, and Shirebrook Colliery Company began developing a 'model village' to house miners at the turn of the 20th century. The colliery employed over 2,000 workers at its height in the 1930s, but was closed in 1993 as part of the Government's pit closure programme. At that point, 1,400 jobs were lost. At the time, as with many ex-mining towns, the pit closure had a powerful negative impact on the socio-economic welfare of the community. Lack of job opportunities, poor housing conditions, long-term health issues related to mining, and lower-than-average educational attainment all marked the community during the 1990s.

In the last decade there have been a number of regeneration and development initiatives. The Model Village was declared a housing renewal area, and there have been long-standing plans for new development in the town centre and new housing at the South Shirebrook site (600 units). The former colliery site, now known as Brook Park, was redeveloped by the Regional Development Agency (East Midlands Development Agency), and now includes a range of employment sites and premises, including a national headquarters and distributional warehouse for a major retailer which is also the district's largest single employer.

3.2.2 Baseline social data

Baseline social data for Shirebrook are given in Table 2.

By mid-2013 unemployment had fallen to 3.2%, against a Bolsover average of 3% and a Derbyshire average of 2.5%.[38] Shirebrook's resident population is predominantly white British working class, 41% of whom do not have any qualifications. However, educational attainment is now improving. The proportions of pupils achieving level 4 at key stage 2 and level 5 at key stage 3 have increased steadily from 2001, and there has been an improvement in attainment at key stage 4 since 2001. The number of pupils going into further education and the numbers of 16-to-18 year olds in learning have seen increases since 2002.

Part of Shirebrook Model Village

Partnership working with the newly built secondary school, Shirebrook Academy, has been positive, with a number of initiatives undertaken through Bolsover's Raising Aspirations Partnership put in place over the last four years. However, young people tend to leave the area upon leaving school to secure jobs elsewhere, and this has left an ageing population in Shirebrook. Some 28% of homes in Shirebrook are socially rented, which, although not high in comparison with the other case studies, is substantially higher than the Bolsover average of 18%.

3.2.3 Policy interventions

In the 1990s the Shirebrook and District Development Trust, funded by the Single Regeneration Budget, took a combined approach to socio-economic and physical renewal, with the aim of reintegrating the local workforce into the economy by providing advice to local people, supporting local business, and promoting renewal of the town centre and derelict properties. This project ended in 2003 and there has been a lack of targeted regeneration efforts in the area since.

Today, Bolsover's draft Local Plan Strategy envisages that '*by 2031 Bolsover's communities will have become more sustainable, prosperous, safe and healthy. New development will have taken place in towns and villages in a way that enhances the environment, reinforces local distinctiveness, creates a sense of place,*

38 Based on August 2013 Nomis labour market statistics, available at **http://www.nomisweb.co.uk**

Table 2
Shirebrook, Derbyshire – baseline social data

	Bolsover average	Shirebrook	'Highest-ranking' parish in Bolsover	'Lowest-ranking' parish in Bolsover
Population	75,866	9,760	–	–
Population turnover	5.4%	4.8%	–	–
Health				
Male life expectancy	76.5 years		Parish-/ward-scale data unavailable	
Female life expectancy	80.7 years		Parish-/ward-scale data unavailable	
Incapacity Benefit claimants (proportion of working-age population)[a]	8.1%	11.8%	14.7% (Shirebrook – Shirebrook East ward)	3.79% (Barlborough)
Highest qualification (proportion of residents of age 16 and over)				
No qualification	32.9%	41%	43% (Hodthorpe and Belph)	21% (Barlborough)
Level 1 (1-4 GCSEs)	15.3%	1.6%	16.9% (Elmton)	11.6% (Hodthorpe and Belph)
Level 2 (5 GCSEs at grade C or above)	16.4%	14.7%	18% (Clowne)	13.2% (Hodthorpe and Belph)
Level 3 (A levels)	11.4%	9.7%	13.5% (Tibshelf)	9.4% (Elmton)
Level 4 or higher (Certificates of Higher Education or higher)	15.8%	8.5%	29% (Barlborough)	8.5% (Shirebrook)
Unemployment (proportion of economically active residents)[a]				
Workless residents (JSA, ESA, and IB[b] claimants)	11.2%	15.1%[c]	18.3% (Shirebrook – Shirebrook East ward)	5.7% (Barlborough)
JSA claimants	3%	3.2%[c]	5.0% (Shirebrook – Shirebrook North West ward)	1.3% (Barlborough)
Household tenure (proportion of households)				
Owner-occupied	67%	54.6%	80% (Barlborough)	54.6% (Shirebrook)
Social rented (local authority or housing association)	18%	28%	28% (Shirebrook)	9.5% (Barlborough)
Private rented	13%	14.6%	20.9% (Hodthorpe and Belph)	5.8% (Glapwell)
Deprivation				
Proportion of area in the most deprived 10% of areas nationally	–	–	–	–
Child poverty[d]	20%	28%	39% (Shirebrook – Shirebrook North West ward)	8% (Clowne South)
Ethnicity				
White British and Other White	98%	98%	99% (Scarcliffe)	95.3% (Barlborough)
Mixed	0.7%	0.5%	1.3% (Barlborough)	0.4% (Whitwell)
Asian	0.8%	0.5%	2.6% (Barlborough)	0.3% (Scarcliffe)
Black	0.4%	0.3%	0.8% (Barlborough)	0% (Hodthorpe and Belph)

Source: All data based on parish-scale 2011 Census data from the Office for National Statistics' Neighbourhood Statistics website, at **http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/**, unless otherwise stated

a Based on Nomis labour market statistics, available at **http://www.nomisweb.co.uk** – ward-scale data

b Jobseeker's Allowance, Employment and Support Allowance, and Incapacity Benefit

c Figures derived using an average from the five wards in Shirebrook (Shirebrook East, Shirebrook Langwith, Shirebrook North West, Shirebrook South East, Shirebrook South West)

d Data from the Campaign to End Child Poverty's 'Poverty in your area' webpages, available at **http://www.endchildpoverty.org.uk/why-end-child-poverty/poverty-in-your-area**

strengthens local economies and improves the local quality of life'.[39]

Bolsover's Local Plan is underpinned by the aim of achieving 'sustainable development' across the district, and, as part of this, socially just outcomes of development are implied. Bolsover Partnership (formerly the Bolsover Local Strategic Partnership) has undertaken a 'refresh' of the Sustainable Community Strategy for the district (for 2013 to 2020) and the Local Plan aligns with this in respect of achieving sustainable development. Throughout the Local Plan, sustainable development largely refers to development activity, including for homes and jobs – for example, it seeks to enhance key employment locations in order to reduce out-commuting and create more sustainable lifestyles. An additional 600 homes are planned for Shirebrook by 2031.

In the Local Plan there is little explicit reference to the social welfare of existing residents, although the Local Plan Strategy states that '*ensuring the socially excluded benefit from development activity, is a key component in delivering sustainable development'.*[40] However, alignment with the priorities within the Sustainable Community Strategy was considered by research respondents to underpin the wider social welfare agenda.

3.2.4 Qualitative attitudinal data

Shirebrook was unique in the case studies in having a predominately rural context. This was significant not only in terms of geographic isolation, but in the two-tier governance system of district and county authorities. It was also a comparatively demographically stable place, with an overwhelmingly single ethnic and class population. All the research respondents noted the distinctive character of ex-industrial towns and villages, and also the 'devastating' impact of the pit closure in 1993 – an event that continues to resonate both economically and psychologically throughout the whole community.

The role of planning

Historically, the Bolsover Local Plan has been dominated by regeneration imperatives, with less explicit policy focus on, for example, inclusion and equalities. The accepted approach has been to assume that economic growth will automatically deal with exclusion by providing jobs for local people in the same way as the former colliery. A second key assumption is that housing-led regeneration, with the allocation of large-scale, new private sector housing development on the edge of settlements, would help to create new retail demand and ultimately a more socially mixed community.

In fact, as key respondents acknowledged, the outcomes of these decisions have been much less clear in terms of addressing the social problems of the community. The outcomes of retail and employment investment are discussed below, but housing development in the area illustrates the complex nature of the social issues facing planners. There is anecdotal evidence, for example, that those living in new housing developments in the town shop at major supermarkets in surrounding communities, finding nothing to attract them to Shirebrook town centre. Given the availability of the private car to this new section of the community, it is possible to remain essentially insulated from the existing community. Strong attempts are being made to reverse this trend through the town centre regeneration scheme discussed below.

Some respondents raised concerns about physical connectivity between the old and new communities. Some suggested that attempts to make stronger physical links would have compromised the viability of the new development. This resonates with wider, critical viability concerns relating to new housing in the area and suggests that planning in low-demand areas involves making 'wicked' decisions between attempts at inclusion and economic development. One elected member summarised this dilemma as 'planning for desperation', in which any development is seen as better than none.

Regeneration

The overwhelming focus of all professional respondents was on the economic regeneration of Shirebrook. At the time of the research interviews there was a sense that officers and politicians were still managing the implications of the abolition of the East Midlands Development Agency and regional planning. *'It is now harder to see where Bolsover fits in the wider region'*, was a comment which reflected the loss of what was regarded by both professionals and politicians as a valuable

39 Bolsover District Council (2013) *Local Plan Strategy: Proposed Submission*. Clowne: Bolsover District Council. **http://www.bolsover.gov.uk/images/departments/Planning/Policy/nlp_lps_proposed_submission_may_2013_part1.pdf**

40 Bolsover District Council (2013) *Local Plan Strategy*. Clowne: Bolsover District Council. **http://bolsover.jdi-consult.net/ldf/readdoc.php?docid=2&chapter=8**. Paragraph 8.12

tool in setting the future vision for Shirebrook. The word 'fragmentation' was used by a number of respondents to characterise the new regeneration funding environment. The loss of funding and the transformation of government finance for job creation has created new capacity challenges for officers in the context of greatly reduced budgets. However, there was a clear commitment to and engagement with the new sub-regional structures, such as the Sheffield City Region Local Enterprise Partnership, partly because it offered 'the only route' to future funding and infrastructure investment. A potentially positive sign of new working arrangements was the desire of the county authority to play a strategic and facilitating role in regeneration, with a strong emphasis on poverty reduction.

There were differing views on how successful the relationship between planning and regeneration had been. This picture was complicated by the involvement of Bolsover District Council, Derbyshire County Council, and the East Midlands Development Agency in aspects of regeneration. In one sense it was clear that planning had played a key role in facilitating the East Midlands Development Agency's regeneration programme. However, respondents noted the inevitable tension which arose between the drive for capital receipt income and wider planning objectives relating to sustainable development. Elected members recognised the financial pressure on regeneration officers to gain capital receipts from land sales. They were concerned that this asset disposal objective risked undermining the wider goals of long-term sustainable development of the district. But there was also a feeling that local plans always ran behind economic realities and needed to be more flexible in their approach. There was a consensus that a drive to maximise capital receipts in an era of massive local government cuts would intensify this debate.

The role of the private sector

The long-term regeneration strategy in Bolsover has been founded on the availability of large amounts of well located, low-cost land, often reclaimed and serviced with public money, thus helping to create the conditions for new private enterprises to locate there and grow. Post-2010, all the research respondents were clear that even greater emphasis would have to be placed on private sector investment to achieve not just employment, but other key social and infrastructure priorities as well.

Shirebrook provides three examples of the challenges posed by a reliance on private sector regeneration. The first is viability. A development of 1,000 housing units at South Shirebrook, supported by the East Midlands Development Agency, was halted in 2008 because of viability issues, particularly the Agency's requirement of Code for Sustainable Homes level 4 design standards.

The second challenge is ensuring that local needs are met by development. The decision of a major retailer to locate its national headquarters and distributional warehouse on the former colliery site was a major success for the East Midlands Development Agency and the county and district authorities. The facility employs around 4,500 people – 4,000[41] in warehouse jobs with the remainder in clerical and management positions. The majority of the warehouse workers are agency staff who have very limited employment rights, providing maximum flexibility for the company. The recruitment agency acting on behalf of the company predominantly recruits from outside the local community, although recruitment workshops have been held locally,[42] offering flexible wages rates of between £6.19 and £7 per hour.[43] The perception among some respondents was that the majority of the workforce were not recruited locally, and that this had led to some tension with the community. Concerns had been raised about the site's accessibility by public transport during shift change periods. The original planning permission does not appear to have included any requirement for local employment or training, either in the construction or operation of the development. There was a comprehensive Section 106 agreement between the East Midlands Development Agency and Bolsover District Council, detailing a range of other social benefits on housing, the arts, and recreation. However, there appears to be no evidence that, at the time the permission was granted in 2010, there had been detailed dialogue between public sector agencies such as the East Midlands Development Agency and the new employer on greater local recruitment.

Set against this record, there is no doubt that great efforts are being made by officers and elected members to facilitate greater local employment. A

41 Figures provided by Bolsover District Council

42 Nottingham Post (2012) '500 new jobs created at Sports Direct warehouse'. *Nottingham Post*, 21 Sept. 2012. **http://www.nottinghampost.com/500-new-jobs-created-Sports-Direct-warehouse/story-16955299-detail/story.html**

43 Estimates from the union Unite

Shirebrook's market square

Shirebrook's White Swan pub – closed and boarded up

sector-based work academy was recently delivered in partnership with local employers, the Department for Work and Pensions, recruitment agencies, Chesterfield College, and Bolsover District Council. There is now a new commercial bus route, negotiated by Bolsover Partnership, the District Council and the Department for Work and Pensions, which has opened up opportunities for local people who otherwise would have struggled to access employment offered as shift work. Such measures may have had an even more beneficial outcome if they had been embedded in the beginning of the development process through pre-application dialogue. Establishing a strong community sense that the new opportunities were focused on local needs could have played a significant role in promoting social cohesion.

The third example of the challenge posed by the reliance on private sector regeneration is provided by experience of the development of the town centre. The centre of Shirebrook has a large market square which offers a large and well attended outdoor market. However, the area is in need of regeneration, and while some investment took place ten years ago there is an ambition for large-scale renewal which could see the wider redevelopment of the town centre. Planning permission was first granted in 2010 for a new Tesco store in the town centre with associated public realm improvements, following a number of years of negotiations with the retailer to develop the site. This involved the clearance of an existing pub and some 1970s social housing. Regeneration officers committed resources to drawing up a masterplan, including public consultation on a development brief to help resolve tensions between the needs of developers and the wider design aspirations of Shirebrook Town and Bolsover District Councils, who wanted a strong physical connection between the existing town square and the new development. Progress was made and consent given, but a change in the economic fortunes of the developer led to a major delay. There was a period of uncertainty over whether the development would be progressed, and at the time of the research study a new, smaller-scale scheme was under consideration by the District Council's planning section. The result, which resonates with experience at Anfield, was that the town was blighted by significant dereliction for a considerable period.

Connectivity

Shirebrook has strong road and rail links, and it is surprising that some respondents noted the sense of isolation of the community. The Robin Hood Line provides a direct rail link to Nottingham, with a 45-minute journey time. However, there is little evidence from respondents that this has produced much economic or social benefit for Shirebrook, and there is little sign of commuting to exploit lower house prices. Both the cost and the infrequency of the service (one train per hour) were cited as problems. It was also suggested that a significant minority of people in the town had never been to Nottingham.

Social capital

Shirebrook remains a place of relative social stability in terms of population turnover, but it also had the lowest number of active community associations and groups of all the case studies.

Housing in Shirebrook boarded up prior to demolition

Newly built housing in Shirebrook

Nevertheless, many residents still strongly identify with the town, and some are defensive about how 'outsiders' seem to regard the town as 'a problem'. Respondents noted that many men were proud of the physical nature of mining and were reluctant to take what they saw as menial, low-paid alternatives.

Respondents also suggested that solutions needed to be grounded in an understanding of people's psychology. For example, Shirebrook was the scene of some the most bitter conflicts of the miners' strike in 1984-85, and there was a historic perception of the community as one which had been 'demoralised' and 'beaten'. There was widespread acknowledgment of the low self-esteem of many young people, although recent rapid improvements in education standards were beginning to remedy this. In fact, there was an extraordinary sense of community resilience in Shirebrook, but it is perhaps possible to understand why initiatives originating outside the community are sometimes seen with suspicion and why new developments in the town which are perceived to benefit others might be particularly socially divisive. Elected members were especially worried by the rise of far-right extremism in the face of continued and entrenched poverty in parts of the town.[44]

Housing

All the respondents noted the problem of poor housing conditions in the town, and there was a perception among interviewees of an over-supply of affordable housing (28% of homes in Shirebrook are socially rented, which, while not high in comparison with the other case studies, is substantially higher than the Bolsover average of 18%).

Poor-quality housing was not a universal problem, but was confined to places like the Model Village, and often to where there had been a significant transfer of stock from the National Coal Board to the private rented sector. The phrase 'rogue landlords' was used by officers and politicians to characterise a small group of landlords who refused to undertake basic repairs. Ultimately, public sector finance had been used to purchase and then demolish or upgrade these properties. Shirebrook continues to have potential to grow further, with significant Homes and Communities Agency land allocated for 600 housing units.

Local governance

There was a perception among some respondents that political tensions and institutional barriers between the differing tiers of local government had been a significant barrier to carrying through a clear, long-term, multi-agency vision for Shirebrook. There was clearly a straightforward political tension between county and district authorities who before May 2013 were controlled by different political parties. There was some evidence of tension between Shirebrook Town Council and the district authorities relating to control over key facilities and the outputs of planning decisions. It may be significant that, while there was strong policy in the

44 This concern is reflected in the results of the 2011 local election, in which the British National Party stood in all five Shirebrook wards and gained 17.6% of the vote

Local Plan on regeneration, it was not clear that there had been community consensus about the future of the town expressed in a long-term vision.

The impact of welfare reform

All the respondents noted the impact of benefit reform on the social and economic future of Shirebrook. There was concern that long-term residents were being forced, as a result of the 'under-occupancy penalty', to move to other parts of town or to other communities because of the lack of availability of one- or two-bedroom units. There was anger among elected members that the Government had failed to consider how such policies might undermine attempts to secure regeneration and greater social cohesion in poorer communities.

3.3 Middleton and Belle Isle, Leeds

3.3.1 Context

Leeds is the third-largest city in the UK. It thrived during the Industrial Revolution, becoming a major centre of transport, commerce, milling, and mining. As many of these industries began to decline in the mid 20th century, the employment they offered was replaced by the tertiary sector, particularly in the financial, commercial, retail, call centre, and media industries. Today, Leeds is the commercial, financial and cultural heart of West Yorkshire, and home to two universities.

Middleton and Belle Isle are suburbs in the Middleton Park ward, just to the south of Leeds city centre. They are part of a major inter-war social housing development based on Garden City principles. By 1934, the new Garden Suburb style development contained 2,400 homes. Middleton Colliery, particularly Broom Pit, was the largest employer in the area, but Middleton itself is best known for its railway, which was used to transport coal from the colliery to Leeds and is today the oldest continuously working public railway in Britain. When the colliery closed in 1968 a process of decline set in. Middleton and Belle Isle did not benefit from the growth of tertiary industries in the wider Leeds area, and as a result now face a number of social difficulties, including generational unemployment, worklessness, and low aspiration.

Middleton and Belle Isle each has a primary shopping area, one of which is a small retail park accommodating shops such as B&M Home Stores and Iceland, the other being a more traditional district centre. They also have a number of neighbourhood shopping parades which are characterised by low-end shops, including a concentration of take-aways, off-licences, and betting shops.

However, Middleton and Belle Isle do have high-quality green spaces, including the 630 acre Middleton Park, which incorporates the reclaimed site of Broom Pit and includes a lake, a golf course, and other recreational areas. Outside the park there are other generous green areas which are of highly variable quality. In addition, there has been some housing clearance over the last 20 years, which has left a large amount of vacant land.

Leeds City Council owns the majority of the land in Middleton and Belle Isle. The City Council has been able to secure housing association investment, and there has also been substantial new private sector housebuilding in the area over the last 10-15 years, including the Stourton Grange estate in Belle Isle and the Sharp Lane/New Forest Village development in Middleton, which have delivered over 1,000 new houses, with a large proportion of these being delivered since 2008.

Worklessness in Middleton and Belle Isle is a result of wider structural change but is compounded by two local factors. First, connectivity between Middleton and Belle Isle and the surrounding area is poor – for example, the bus service does not allow residents to easily access job opportunities in the neighbouring White Rose Centre shopping complex. Secondly, welfare reforms such as the 'under-occupancy penalty' are causing particular difficulties, with 700 families affected, two-thirds of whom are in work.[45] Furthermore, the new online Universal Credit system could cause problems for some local people who do not have access to, or the skills to use, the internet.

3.3.2 Baseline social data

Baseline social data for Middleton and Belle Isle are given in Table 3.

Middleton and Belle Isle were developed predominantly to provide social housing, and 40%

45 Personal communication from Leeds City Council officers

Table 3
Middleton and Belle Isle, Leeds – baseline social data

	Leeds average	Middleton Park	'Highest-ranking' ward in Leeds	'Lowest-ranking' ward in Leeds
Population	751,500	26,228	–	–
Population turnover	4.8%	–	–	–
Health				
Male life expectancy	78.4 years	75.2 years	–	–
Female life expectancy	82.0 years	79.9 years	–	–
Incapacity Benefit claimants (proportion of working-age population)[a]	5.46%	6.3%	11.2% (Burmantofts)	2.1% (Headingley)
Highest qualification (proportion of residents of age 16 and over)				
No qualification	23.2%	37.6%	38.1% (Killingbeck and Seacroft)	5.0% (Headingley)
Level 1 (1-4 GCSEs)	12.6%	16.6%	16.9% (Farnley and Wortley)	3.2% (Headingley)
Level 2 (5 GCSEs at grade C or above)	14.1%	15.6%	17.9% (Ardsley and Robin Hood)	7.1% (Headingley)
Level 3 (A levels)	14.7%	9.7%	56.3% (Headingley)	8.6% (Gipton and Harehills)
Level 4 or higher (Certificates of Higher Education or higher)	26.9%	11.2%	45.3% (Roundhay)	11.2% (Middleton Park)
Unemployment (proportion of economically active residents)[a]				
Workless residents (JSA, ESA, and IB[b] claimants)	10.9%	11.7%	20.7% (Seacroft)	3.9% (Wetherby)
JSA claimants	4.24%	8.5%	12.4% (Gipton and Harehills)	1.1% (Harewood)
Household tenure (proportion of households)				
Owner-occupied	58%	47%	82.8% (Harewood)	12.8% (Hyde Park and Woodhouse)
Social rented (local authority or housing association)	22%	40%	49.1% (Killingbeck and Seacroft)	7.2% (Harewood)
Private rented	18%	10%	67.3% (Headingley)	6.9% (Killingbeck and Seacroft)
Deprivation				
Proportion of area in the most deprived 10% of areas nationally[c]	19.3%	70.6%	81.3% (Gipton and Harehills)	0% (nine wards)
Child poverty	20%	38%	42% (Burmantofts and Richmond Hill)	<5% (Harewood)
Ethnicity				
White British and Other White	85%	92%	97.1% (Kippax and Methley)	35.8% (Gipton and Harehills)
Mixed	2.6%	2%	6.9% (Chapel Allerton)	0.8% (Garforth and Swillington)
Asian	7.8%	1.7%	18.3% (Chapel Allerton)	0.2% (Otley and Yeadon)
Black	3.4%	4%	37% (Gipton and Harehills)	0.5% (Kippax and Methley)

Source: All data based on ward-scale 2011 Census data from the Office for National Statistics' Neighbourhood Statistics website, at **http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/**, unless otherwise stated

a Based on Nomis labour market statistics, available at **http://www.nomisweb.co.uk**

b Jobseeker's Allowance, Employment and Support Allowance, and Incapacity Benefit

c Data available from Leeds City Council, at **http://democracy.leeds.gov.uk/documents/s62979/Appendix%206.pdf**

Garden City style housing in Middleton

Shopping parade in Middleton

of the housing in the two areas is socially rented, which is high in comparison with the Leeds average. Over a third of residents of Middleton and Belle Isle have no qualifications, and there is a substantial – 38% – child poverty rate. Life expectancy is also lower than the Leeds average, and Incapacity Benefit claimant levels are high. Around 92% of Middleton and Belle Isle's population are white British and the British National Party (BNP) has received support in the area.[46]

3.3.3 Policy interventions

Leeds' draft Core Strategy[47] focuses on planning for sustainable growth; it sets out an aim for Leeds to be the *'Best City in the UK'* and states that *'In practice this means being fair, sustainable and inclusive'.* That said, the majority of the Core Strategy focuses on housing, employment and transport, with little or no mention of social intervention to achieve fairness and inclusivity. One intervention which may have some beneficial impact on Middleton and Belle Isle is Policy CC3, which aims to improve connectivity between the city centre and neighbouring communities and which could potentially improve access to job opportunities for residents. However, without addressing the underlying issues leading to worklessness, such as lack of skills and education, the impact is likely to be minimal.

Middleton and Belle Isle are identified as a regeneration priority area in the Core Strategy, and a series of proposals have been produced. The Middleton Regeneration Strategy of 2008 and the 2009 Middleton Masterplan addressed concerns including multiple deprivation and unemployment and set out broad proposals for how the area could be improved over a ten-year period. The more recent Middleton and Belle Isle Neighbourhood Framework (of 2013)[48] draws upon these documents to set out a series of local development and investment opportunities in the area. It was produced by Leeds City Council in partnership with local organisations such as Health for All, the police, housing associations, and community groups, following a public engagement exercise that took place in November 2012, engaging with over 150 people to establish what local issues were really important to local people. Overall, community engagement is well managed in Middleton and Belle Isle. A Neighbourhood Improvement Board is active in the area, as are other small-scale community groups, such as the Middleton Life Project.

3.3.4 Qualitative attitudinal data

The estates at Middleton and Belle Isle are examples of some of the best in inter- and post-war social housing design. Inspired largely by Garden City principles, the character of the built environment is

46 The British National Party came second in the May 2011 local elections in the Middleton Park ward, ahead of the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats

47 Leeds City Council (2012) *Core Strategy: Leeds Local Development Framework.* Leeds: Leeds City Council. **http://www.leeds.gov.uk/docs/FPI_CS_Pub%20001%20core%20strategy%20Main%20Doc%20publication.pdf**

48 Leeds City Council *et al.* (2013) *Middleton and Belle Isle Neighbourhood Framework.* Draft. Leeds: Leeds City Council. **http://democracy.leeds.gov.uk/documents/s101312/Belle%20Isle%20and%20Middleton%20Neighbourhood%20Framework%20document%20210813.pdf**

in marked contrast to that found at Anfield. The housing units were basically well built, with generous gardens, outstanding green space, and community and retail facilities. However, the rapid decline of the manufacturing jobs which were the economic heart of these communities has created a legacy of entrenched poverty which the quantitative statistics confirm. The area now has a sense of isolation from the relative economic success of central Leeds, summarised by one respondent as a sign of a 'two-speed city'. The social and political consequence of this isolation is manifest in the growing popularity of far-right groups such as the British National Party. This is despite the fact the community remains relatively stable, and overwhelmingly white.

The role of the planning system

As in the other case studies, it was clear that there was high-level local authority commitment to social justice and equity, and in particular an understanding at senior officer level of the positive role that spatial planning can play in achieving these goals. One expression of this commitment is the strong emphasis that the City Council places on securing training and employment opportunities through conditions on planning permission.[49] However, it was also significant that one respondent reflected on the planning system's general drift away from a social focus over the last 40 years.

Planning policy in Leeds has consistently identified Middleton and Belle Isle as priorities for regeneration. As noted above, building on the 2008 Middleton Regeneration Strategy, a more detailed urban design masterplan was produced in 2009 and subject to public engagement. Latterly, the Belle Isle and Middleton Neighbourhood Framework[50] has been prepared informally by the regeneration team, with a relatively high level of public engagement. The Framework, which was being approved as non-statutory planning document as the research was being concluded, provides a positive model of how planning and regeneration can be aligned. The Framework identifies many of the issues discussed below, but crucially its implementation relies in part on funding driven by new housing provision and on benefits secured through agreements with developers.

Policy supported a limited demolition of some housing units, some redevelopment, and the development former green spaces with private sector housing.

The new development known as New Forest Village, built by a partnership of developers, is marketed as a self-contained, high-density urban village. The development had proved controversial because of the low levels of social and affordable housing which the City Council had required and because of detailed design issues which some interviewees felt reinforced the sense that the development was a separate, self-contained entity with little effective connectivity to the existing community.

Unlike in the other case studies, issues of connectivity and design were not primarily an issue of private sector corporate social responsibility, since they all related to final planning permission granted by the City Council. However, in seeking to attract investment to a low-demand area, local authorities found that developers required concessions which to some degree insulated the new housing from the surrounding existing community. Research respondents recognised that this was 'not an ideal' outcome, and that it tended to reinforce social isolation and undermine cohesion. They also acknowledged that, in era of austerity in which the public sector has little or no financial leverage, such developments were simply an economic reality. At this point respondents pointed to tension between the objectives of plan policy and the need to get best value in land disposal – it was suggested that flexibility on land prices may have been one way of securing better social outcomes.

Another major planning decision was the location of a park-and-ride facility on a greenfield site at the edge of the estates. This development has yet to be built out, and it is anticipated that it will have major benefits for the city. Despite the size of the development, it was not clear that it would bring substantial benefits for the local community, either in improving the environment or in employment terms. Other more minor planning decisions caused significant anger in the area, such as the fate of valued community facilities. The only local pub[51]

49 The Thorpe Park Local Employment Agreement is one example of a direct effort to secure much greater levels of local employment through an agreement secured through Section 106. In practice, this illustrates that such approaches can be a positive help to business and are not seen as burdensome

50 Leeds City Council *et al.* (2013) *Middleton and Belle Isle Neighbourhood Framework*. Draft. Leeds: Leeds City Council. **http://democracy.leeds.gov.uk/documents/s101312/Belle%20Isle%20and%20Middleton%20Neighbourhood%20Framework%20document%20210813.pdf**

51 The area does have a number of smaller social and sports clubs

had ceased trading and permission had been granted for redevelopment as a supermarket. It had subsequently burned down and a new supermarket building will be developed. There was concern among some respondents that greater efforts should have been made to keep the pub as a community resource.

Regeneration initiatives

The focus of regeneration in Middleton and Belle Isle has been on housing renewal, and extensive programmes have upgraded the council and social housing to the 2010 Decent Homes standards. However, there remain distinct pockets of housing which appears externally to be very poor, with associated poor amenity spaces, such as low-quality green areas, and a 'run-down' feel to the streetscape.

It is significant that the last round of informal neighbourhood planning was led by regeneration officers who forged a close link with community organisations. Those working in regeneration noted the importance of a strong vision for the community in their dialogue with investors but also reflected on the institutional and cultural separation of regeneration and planning. They noted that there is potential for tension as priority for city-wide regeneration becomes more focused on asset sales to support core services. Furthermore, some elected members were concerned that the culture of Leeds being 'open for business' had led to a significant emphasis on the needs of investors, potentially at the expense of communities.

All the research respondents commented on the fragmentation of strategies and funding for regeneration, with separate streams of shorter-term finance available for issues such as health promotion but much less funding available for investment in housing and infrastructure. Respondents reflected on the need for a new culture and better skills at the community and local authority level to deal with this complexity and offer the community a coherent picture of the development of their community.

Accessibility

The post-war fortunes of Middleton and Belle Isle were shaped by city planning decisions which saw both an urban motorway built between the estates and city centre and the ending of the tram link which had been integral to the original design of the development. With hindsight, both measures reinforced both a real and perceived isolation of the estates from the city centre. The loss of important community facilities, including the only pub and cinema, reinforced the need to travel, while low car-ownership rates create a dependency on public transport. A number of respondents made clear the difficulty, after bus deregulation, of providing bus services of sufficient quality to support employment and leisure.

The issue of accessibly is physical, but it also appears to have psychological aspects as well. There has been considerable historical tension between the two estates, with a sense of people sticking to their boundaries. Some respondents also suggested that there was also a sense that the community did not view the local park, which provides an outstanding community facility, as 'theirs' but as a place which outsiders used. One respondent said that residents from the Middleton and Belle Isle estates choose not to walk through the park or the adjacent affluent areas as they see them as very separate or 'on the wrong side of the track'. Strong efforts are being made to break down such barriers, but perceptions, as well as actual physical barriers, have played a strong role in creating a sense of isolation.

The role of spatial planning in fostering good accessibility is brought into sharp focus by the case of the White Rose Centre, which is now a successful out-of-town retail development and a major employer. It is located adjacent to the Middleton estate and in theory offers a positive solution to the persistent unemployment problems of both estates. However, respondents noted the difficulty in accessing these opportunities. There is no viable[52] direct pedestrian link across the rail line that separates the estates and the retail centre, and no direct bus link to the development. As a result, although lying edge-to-edge (the two developments are only 600 m apart), the actual road journey is almost 2 km long. These basic issues might have been resolved through the original planning permission, but respondents pointed to fact that the development had been approved at appeal against the City Council's wishes, and suggested that the Planning Inspector did not fully

52 The researchers tried to use a link that was poorly signed, unlit, had an unmade-up path which crossed a golf course, ran through some semi-derelict buildings, and crossed a railway line and two dual carriageways which did not have crossings before reaching the retail centre

Middleton Park

South Leeds Youth Hub, Belle Isle

consider the need to secure strong community accessibility.

It is significant that accessibility also played out at building scale. One of the most problematic recent investments has been the 'state of the art' South Leeds Youth Hub built on the Belle Isle estate to provide a range of facilities for young people. Respondents felt that there had been little or no dialogue with the community about the location of the building, which, despite its prominent location, had access only from the rear. Respondents noted the enormous effort made by elected members and officers to get the community to feel that the resource was actually intended for local people. They noted that the project was driven by the availability of funding rather than by a holistic view of what the community might want.

Community governance

The two estates in South Leeds both demonstrate low political engagement, and all the research respondents pointed to low levels of social capital and local civil society group activity. However, significant effort is being made by the City Council and local elected members to drive active engagement.

The area benefits from one of the largest tenant management organisations (TMOs) outside London, and this provides a focus for community action, although fostering participation by tenants was acknowledged to be hard work. The Belle Isle and Middleton Neighbourhood Improvement Board is another, more recent example of a positive forum which provides both a voice for the community and co-ordination between agencies. Respondents recognised the value of such meetings in trying to 'stitch together' the complex web of funding which now exists for issues such as health and education. The Middleton Town Team is a further positive example of partnership working, with elected member and business representatives forming a joint partnership to try to promote the struggling district shopping facilities.

The work of the Neighbourhood Improvement Board provides a very useful snapshot of the kinds of detailed concern which flow from the lived experience of individuals and communities. For example, street litter, dog mess, smoking outside schools, and the proliferation of off-licences, betting shops and fast-food outlets in district shopping areas were of real concern to local people. It is significant that many of these issues were considered by practitioners as not something with which 'planning' could engage. From a community perspective it is possible to see one reason why people ask why they should engage in planning when it cannot effect beneficial change to their daily lives.

It was significant that practitioners said that the current Government proposals on change of use – for example proposals to change shops to residential houses through permitted development[53] – would make it harder for the

53 Department for Communities and Local Government (2013) *Greater Flexibilities for Change of Use – Consultation*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government. **https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/greater-flexibilities-for-change-of-use**

planning system to deal with these concerns. One respondent highlighted the case of the cinema and bingo hall, which had closed in 2009. In 2012 the roof of the building was removed by its owners. This action, it was suggested, had left a kind of 'black hole', creating a negative impression of the wider community.

While the City Council has powers to take action in such cases, it was clear that severe resource constraints made such action problematic. The time taken to effect action on this and other areas of derelict land was a major source of community concern.

The role of the private sector

Unlike some of the other case studies, the major private investor at the White Rose Centre has a clear commitment to corporate social responsibility and the wider community. This manifests itself in a programme of community awards and in partnership working with Leeds City Council on careers advice. However, this has not translated (perhaps through partnership) into tackling some of the core accessibility issues that might provide easier and affordable access to the White Rose Centre's employment opportunities.

The impact of welfare reform

There was shared concern and anger among respondents about the impacts of welfare reform on the communities living in Middleton and Belle Isle. There was a clear view that these impacts affect a wide section of the community, and predominantly, in relation to the 'under-occupancy penalty', individuals who are in work but on low pay. It was perhaps ironic that both the estates were built to standards, since abolished, which prioritised the kind of three-bedroom accommodation that, as result of benefit reform, is now unaffordable for many.

3.4 Tottenham Hale, North London

3.4.1 Context

Tottenham Hale is located in central North London within the London Borough of Haringey. Like many places in London, Haringey is a borough of contrasts, with areas in the west, such as Highgate and Muswell Hill, among the most prosperous in the country, while some areas in the east, including Tottenham Hale and Northumberland Park, are among the most deprived.[54]

Tottenham Hale is a diverse inner-city community. It has a high level of public land ownership, relatively low land values (for London), and high levels of deprivation,[55] and is dominated by a large retail park, a train depot, and a station complex. It also has many miles of open space and river frontage, principally within the Lee Valley Regional Park, an extensive area of natural environment, waterways, paths, and locks.

Tottenham Hale is very well connected by road and rail to the City and the West End of London, and the area has been identified as a key strategic growth area within the Upper Lee Valley Opportunity Area[56] and the London-Stansted-Peterborough growth corridor, with significant potential for growth in the coming years. The 2004 London Plan identified Tottenham Hale as a *'significant redevelopment opportunity. Areas north and east of the station contain mixed industrial uses (e.g. waste, storage) in new and old buildings. The area has good public transport accessibility with mainline rail services to central London, Stansted Airport and the Upper Lee Valley, and Underground services. However, the local road network requires reorganisation to enable more efficient use of the land. The area could accommodate higher density development, particularly close to the station and become the main service area focus for the sub-region.'* [57]

There is significant potential in Tottenham Hale, but in recent years this has been overshadowed by

54 Haringey Council (2013) *Haringey's Corporate Plan: One Borough, One Future. 2013/14-20145/15.* London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/council/strategiesandpolicies/corporateplan.htm**

55 Haringey Council (2012) *A Plan for Tottenham.* London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/a_plan_for_tottenham.pdf**

56 *'The Upper Lee Valley Opportunity Area Planning Framework (ULV OAPF) was adopted by the Mayor in July 2013. It has been produced by the GLA working with TfL and the London Boroughs of Enfield, Haringey, Waltham Forest and Hackney. The OAPF sets out an overarching framework for the regeneration of the area which is amplified where necessary by boroughs' own planning documents for specific areas. It is Supplementary Planning Guidance to the London Plan and will be used as a material consideration in the determination of planning applications.'* Greater London Authority (2013) 'Upper Lee Valley Opportunity Area Planning Framework'. Webpage. London Greater London Authority. **http://www.london.gov.uk/priorities/planning/opportunity-areas/upper-lee-valley-opportunity-area-planning-framework-0#sthash.0lHckwTh.dpuf**

57 Mayor of London (2004) *The London Plan. Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London.* London: Greater London Authority. **http://legacy.london.gov.uk/mayor/strategies/sds/london_plan/lon_plan_all.pdf**

Table 4
Tottenham Hale – baseline social data

	Haringey average	Tottenham Hale	'Highest-ranking' ward in Haringey	'Lowest-ranking' ward in Haringey
Population	254,900	15,064	–	–
Population turnover	15%	15.5%	–	–
Health				
Male life expectancy	76.4 years	75.4 years	81.9 years (Fortis Green)	72.9 years (Northumberland Park)
Female life expectancy	82.6 years	78.4 years	87.3 years (Stroud Green)	78.2 years (White Hart Lane)
Incapacity Benefit claimants (proportion of working-age population)[a]	6.4%	9.6%	12.7% (Northumberland Park)	3.2% (Crouch End, Muswell Hill)
Highest qualification (proportion of residents of age 16 and over)				
No qualification	17.8%	24.7%	30% (White Hart Lane)	6.4% (Crouch End)
Level 1 (1-4 GCSEs)	8.7%	12%	13.7% (Northumberland Park)	4.3% (Highgate)
Level 2 (5 GCSEs at grade C or above)	10.1%	11.9%	13.9% (White Hart Lane)	7% (Crouch End)
Level 3 (A levels)	9.6%	11.3%	11.3% (Tottenham Hale)	8.5% (Crouch End)
Level 4 or higher (Certificates of Higher Education or higher)	40.8%	23.1%	67% (Crouch End)	20.2% (Northumberland Park)
Unemployment (proportion of economically active residents)[a]				
Workless residents (JSA, ESA, and IB[b] claimants)	12%	10.2%	24.5% (Northumberland Park)	5.6% (Muswell Hill)
JSA claimants	4.7%	8.1%	11.4% (Northumberland Park)	1.9% (Muswell Hill)
Household tenure (proportion of households)				
Owner-occupied	39%	31.2%	65.7% (Alexandra)	20.6% (Northumberland Park)
Shared ownership	1.5%	1%	3.3% (Northumberland Park)	0.4% (Alexandra)
Social rented (local authority or housing association)	27%	39%	48.7% (White Hart Lane)	9% (Alexandra)
Private rented	31%	26%	45.6% (Harringay)	18.4% (White Hart Lane)
Deprivation				
Proportion of area in the most deprived 10% of areas nationally	30%	37.5%[c]	–	–
Average household income[d]	£37,770	£28,674	£52,496 (Highgate)	£27,221 (Northumberland Park)
Child poverty	30%	40%	44% (Northumberland Park, White Hart Lane)	5% (Muswell Hill)
Ethnicity				
White British	37.5%	20.2%	67.6% (Muswell Hill)	20.2% (Tottenham Hale)
Other White	23%	22.4%	30% (Woodside)	15.7% (Hornsey)
Mixed	6.5%	7.1%	7.3% (Northumberland Park)	5.3% (Muswell Hill)
Asian	9.5%	11.8%	14.3% (Woodside)	5.1% (Stroud Green)
Black	18.7%	32.6%	32.6% (Tottenham Hale)	4.3% (Crouch End)

Source: All data based on ward-scale 2011 Census data from the Office for National Statistics' Neighbourhood Statistics website, at **http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/**, unless otherwise stated

a Based on Nomis labour market statistics, available at **http://www.nomisweb.co.uk**

b Jobseeker's Allowance, Employment and Support Allowance, and Incapacity Benefit

c Haringey Council (2012) *Tottenham Hale Profile – July 2012*. London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/tottenham_hale_profile.pdf**

d Haringey Council (2011) *Childcare Sufficiency Assessment: April 2011*. London: Haringey Council. Section 10: 'Gap analysis'. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/csa_report_2011_5_gap_analysis.pdf**

disturbances such as the riots of summer 2011. Haringey Council, working with the Mayor of London and other partners, has been seeking to actively address negative perceptions of the area by producing *A Plan for Tottenham*, which sets out a vision for the area until 2025, focused on building a better future through encouraging *'investment, jobs, economic growth, quality housing and strong neighbourhoods'*.[58]

3.4.2 Baseline social data

Baseline social data for Tottenham Hale are given in Table 4.

Tottenham Hale has a young and transient population, with 29% of residents under the age of 20. It is also a very diverse population – one of the most diverse in the country, with a significant proportion of African-Caribbean and 'other white' residents. Over 175 languages are spoken in Haringey's schools.[59]

Life expectancy in Tottenham Hale is lower than the Haringey average and substantially lower than in the more prosperous areas to the west of the borough: 37.5% of the ward is within the most deprived 10% of areas in the country, and all the borough's LSOAs[60] are within the 20% most deprived in the country.

A substantial proportion of households – 39% – are living in socially rented accommodation. The child poverty rate is high, at 40%. While many residents have no qualifications, there is also a high proportion of residents educated to Certificate of Higher Education level or higher, reflecting the area's excellent transport links to key employment locations across London.

3.4.3 Policy interventions

Haringey's *Local Plan: Strategic Policies 2013-2026*[61] (formerly the Core Strategy) aspires to the integration of new and existing communities, and states that '*Clear and explicit links must be made between new opportunities in Tottenham and the existing community, to ensure regeneration benefits include local people'*. It contains a number of strategic polices that emphasise achieving socially just outcomes and ensuring that benefits of growth are shared by all, including the following:

- Strategic Policy 1, 'Managing growth', states that *'The Council will focus Haringey's growth in the most suitable locations, and manage it to make sure that the Council delivers the opportunities and benefits and achieves strong, healthy and sustainable communities for the whole of the borough'.* Tottenham Hale has been identified as an Opportunity Area in the London Plan (as a growth area within the Upper Lea Valley Opportunity Area), so housing development will be concentrated here, with an anticipated 3,410 new units over the next 15 years.
- Strategic Policy 2, 'Housing', states that '*new housing investment will be targeted at fostering the development of balanced neighbourhoods where people choose to live, which meet the housing aspirations of Haringey's residents and offer quality and affordability, and are sustainable for current and future generations'*.
- Strategic Policy 8, 'Employment', focuses on strengthening Haringey's economy '*through reducing worklessness by increasing skills, raising educational attainment, and improving childcare and nursery provision'*.
- Strategic Policy 9, 'Improving skills and training to support access to jobs and community cohesion and inclusion', seeks to '*address unemployment by facilitating training opportunities for the local population, increasing the employment offered in the borough and allocating land for employment purposes'.*
- Finally, Strategic Policy 14, 'Health and well-being', aims to reduce health inequalities and provide high-quality support for those in greatest need.

There is an underlying emphasis on 'growth', but also explicit references to achieving socially just outcomes.

A Supplementary Planning Document (SPD), *Transforming Tottenham Hale: Urban Centre*

58 Haringey Council (2012) *A Plan for Tottenham*. London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/a_plan_for_tottenham.pdf**

59 Haringey Council (2009) *The Haringey Mosaic: The 2009 Annual Public Health Report*. London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/aphr_2009_ethnicity_in_haringey.pdf**

60 'Lower super output areas' – the geographical areas used to group households together into smallest units that provide meaningful Census statistics while protecting the individuals involved

61 Haringey Council (2013) *Local Plan: Strategic Policies 2013-2026*. London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/housing_and_planning/planning-mainpage/policy_and_projects/local_development_framework/local_plan_adoption.htm#attached_files-adoption-of-lp-strat-pol**

Tottenham Hale station

Hale Village

Masterplan,[62] was adopted in October 2006 to guide the redevelopment of Tottenham Hale, along with the more recent *A Plan for Tottenham*,[63] noted above. The latter is not a planning document but sets out Haringey Council's and the Greater London Authority's aspirations for the area. An Area Action Plan for Tottenham Hale is currently being produced to direct the area's regeneration and achieve district centre status.

3.4.4 Qualitative attitudinal data

The role of planning and regeneration

Unlike the other three case study areas, significant regeneration activities have continued in Tottenham Hale throughout recent years. The most substantial housing regeneration scheme is Hale Village.

Hale Village is situated is on the west side of the Lee Valley. To the east is the Lee Navigation and the Lee Valley Regional Park, an extensive area of natural environment, waterways, paths, and locks; to the west is Tottenham Hale national rail and London Underground station. In the early 20th century the site was used as allotments, under which air raid shelters were built for nearby factories. Later, a large 'industrial' building covered the site, which prior to redevelopment was used as a depot.

Planning has played a central role in directing investment into Hale Village, through the designation of Tottenham Hale as an Opportunity Area in the 2004 London Plan. Haringey's *Transforming Tottenham Hale: Urban Centre Masterplan* of 2006 provides a framework for the redevelopment of six key sites, including the depot site.

Hale Village is a high-density scheme of homes for sale, rent and shared ownership, student housing, offices, and community facilities. It is currently home to 3,000 new residents[64] and includes 542 new affordable homes built by Newlon Housing Trust.[65]

According to lead developer Lee Valley Estates, £340 million has already been invested in Hale Village, with a further commitment of £50 million in 2013. On completion the scheme will deliver £450 million worth of much-needed regeneration in Tottenham.[66] Investment has come from a partnership between the Mayor of London, Newlon Housing Trust, Unite Group, Bellway Homes, the Church of England, and the Royal Free Hospital Trust. The London Deputy Mayor for Housing, Land and Property, Richard Blakeway, has said: *'The on-going success of the Hale Village regeneration project, which is helping to realise the potential of a*

62 Haringey Council (2006) *Transforming Tottenham Hale: Urban Centre Masterplan. Supplementary Planning Document*. London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/tott_hale_finalspd_jan07low_res-2.pdf**

63 Haringey Council (2012) *A Plan for Tottenham*. London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/a_plan_for_tottenham.pdf**

64 Lea Valley Estates (2013) 'Hale Village among London's top regeneration schemes'. News Release. London: Lea Valley Estates. **http://www.leevalleyestates.co.uk/news_detail.html?id=140**

65 See Newlon Housing Trust's 'Hale Village' webpage, at **http://www.newlon.org.uk/hale-village/**

66 Lea Valley Estates (2013) 'Hale Village among London's top regeneration schemes'. News Release. London: Lea Valley Estates. **http://www.leevalleyestates.co.uk/news_detail.html?id=140**

Hale Village social housing

Hale Village private housing

neighbourhood in one of London's key Opportunity Areas, is a testament to the partnership approach of all the groups that have made it possible.' [67]

Design features of the mixed-tenure affordable housing such as the scale and rhythm of the blocks, and the widespread use of floor-to-ceiling windows and balconies, are inspired by the design of Hammarby Sjöstad, in Stockholm.[68]

Some research respondents felt that Hale Village, although only recently occupied, was fostering a good sense of community. However, other respondents raised the issue of the integration between the private market housing and the shared-ownership and social rented housing. The play spaces and community gardens adjacent to the mixed-tenure housing are accessible to everyone, whereas the gardens for the private market housing are gated, with key code entry, leading one respondent to describe the scheme as *'an inclusive community for those in private market housing, but not for those in affordable housing'*.

While, as noted above, Haringey Council's *Local Plan: Strategic Policies 2013-2026* [69] makes clear that the Council aspires to integrate new and existing communities, respondents were less clear about how the new community at Hale Village is being integrated with existing communities, such as the neighbouring community at the Ferry Lane Estate, the fifth-largest estate in Haringey.

Housing

Housing in Tottenham Hale is mixed, from terraces through to medium-rise blocks and low-rise housing estates, as well as the new high-density Hale Village. Around 39% of homes are social rented (either as council homes or from housing associations), which is significantly higher than the borough average of 27%; a further 26% of homes are privately rented. Council housing in Haringey is managed by Homes for Haringey, an arm's length management organisation (ALMO) which was set up in April 2006 and currently manages around 16,000 tenanted and 4,500 leasehold properties in the borough.[70]

The quality of the housing stock has been a long-standing issue, both for the social housing stock and for housing in private ownership. Addressing this issue is a key priority for Homes for Haringey, who have undertaken substantial improvement of the stock through the Decent Homes programme.[71]

67 Lea Valley Estates (2013) 'Hale Village among London's top regeneration schemes'. News Release. London: Lea Valley Estates. **http://www.leevalleyestates.co.uk/news_detail.html?id=140**

68 See Open House London's Hale Village factsheet, at **http://www.londonopenhouse.org/london/search/factsheet.asp?ftloh_id=18803**

69 Haringey Council (2013) *Local Plan: Strategic Policies 2013-2026*. London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/housing_and_planning/planning-mainpage/policy_and_projects/local_development_framework/local_plan_adoption.htm#attached_files-adoption-of-lp-strat-pol**

70 While Haringey Council owns the homes and takes responsibility for housing policy and strategy, Homes for Haringey is responsible for the day-to-day management of council homes in the borough

71 The Decent Homes standard is a Government standard for social housing, requiring that homes be safe, wind- and water-tight, provide reasonably modern kitchens and bathrooms, and have effective and efficient heating. The Decent Homes programme was introduced nationally by the Housing Green Paper of 2002

Traffic works on the approach to Tottenham Hale retail park

In 2007, the Government awarded Haringey £195.5 million of Decent Homes funding, and when work started on the programme in 2008 non-decency of council homes stood at 41.8%. When the programme finishes in March 2015, non-decency levels are expected to stand at 26.6%.

To ensure that tenanted homes which have yet to benefit from the Decent Homes scheme do not miss out, the Council has announced that, when the Government funding ends in 2015, it will invest £70 million over two years to complete the programme to improve the bulk of the borough's council housing, bringing it above the 'Decent Homes' standard.[72]

While Homes for Haringey has invested significantly in improving the housing it manages, other housing, particularly some of the properties in private ownership, is in desperate need of repair. A number of respondents raised concerns about private sector landlords who do not sufficiently invest in maintaining the standard of their properties.

Accessibility

Respondents raised two main issues about transport accessibility: first, the physical challenges of the current road layout and, secondly, the financial challenges of affordability, especially for residents on low incomes.

One of the most distinctive aspects of Tottenham Hale is the gyratory road which separates Tottenham Hale station (which includes a bus interchange, as well as the tube and rail stations) from the Tottenham Hale retail park and a number of neighbouring communities. Respondents felt that the current arrangements favoured the car, with the layout more akin to an 'out-of-town retail shopping centre' than a neighbourhood high street. There were also concerns about pedestrian and cyclist safety.

Haringey Council, working in partnership with Transport for London, has recognised the social and economic potential of reconnecting the communities at Tottenham Hale by changing the transport flows and investing in environmental enhancements to footways and other pedestrian facilities. In October 2012 a £34 million investment scheme in Tottenham Hale was announced by Transport for London and the Council, which Mayor of London Boris Johnson described as giving *'local people a better deal on the roads; and this scheme is designed to make Tottenham Hale an easier, safer and more attractive proposition for every road user'*.[73] Speaking about the transport investment, Cllr Alan Strickland, Haringey Council's Cabinet Member for Economic Development, said: *'With its quick connections to Stansted, Stratford and the City, Tottenham Hale is fast becoming a key area for economic growth in London, which this funding recognises... We're clear that improvements at Tottenham Hale are key to pushing forward the wider regeneration of Tottenham, driving economic and employment growth, and opening up the area to substantial investment and development.'*[74]

The second issue raised by respondents about accessibility to public transport was one of cost. Although the pricing of public transport is set by Transport for London and is beyond the control of Haringey Council, it is worth noting that respondents said for many people out of work, education or training or on low wages *'the main form of transport is the bus. Because of the cost very few use the tube regularly so the good transport links don't help them. On the whole they*

72 Homes for Haringey (2013) '£70 million investment to complete Decent Homes programme'. News Release. London: Homes for Haringey. **http://www.homesforharingey.org/_70_million_investment_to_complete_decent_homes_programme.htm**

73 Transport for London (2012) 'Major improvement work to regenerate Tottenham Hale begins'. News Release. London: Transport for London. **http://www.tfl.gov.uk/corporate/media/newscentre/archive/25946.aspx**

74 Haringey Council (2012) 'Huge investment for Tottenham Hale'. News Release. London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/huge-investment-for-tottenham-hale.htm**

Project 2020 – about developing potential

Green space at Ferry Lane Estate

don't travel very far from their area and if they do they travel by bus.'

Social capital

As noted above, Tottenham Hale is, like much of Haringey, diverse, with over 175 languages spoken in Haringey's schools.[75] The population in the ward is also young and transient – almost a third (29%) of residents are under the age of 20. This stands in stark contrast to the other case studies. Research respondents highlighted some of the challenges for community engagement due to language and cultural barriers, but they also stressed that these can be overcome with adequate time and resources.

Against this complex socio-economic backdrop there is also remarkable community resilience and activity – however, this activity is not always co-ordinated, and challenges of funding were cited by respondents.

In the ward neighbouring Tottenham Hale the research team were able to visit an ambitious and important community-led project aiming to support young people through a new community hub. 'Project 2020', supported by Homes for Haringey, has been established in Northumberland Park, where there are over 1,700 young people, 24% of whom are not in employment or full-time education. The project focuses on addressing youth unemployment by building relationships and trust, assigning mentors, providing training, identifying work placements, apprenticeships and volunteering opportunities, and celebrating achievement. The project has strong links with Haringey's Council's economic regeneration team and the local Jobcentre Plus service to ensure it complements and builds on existing work.[76]

Commenting on the how the project aims to help the high number of unemployed young people in the Tottenham area, Paul Bridge, Chief Executive of Homes for Haringey, said some young people in the area have *'few or no aspirations for the future. Project 2020 is about providing those young people with the opportunity to not only develop, but realise their aspirations, fulfilling their potential and contributing to their local community.'* The project is already having a meaningful impact. Aaron Blake, now a Neighbourhood Worker Volunteer supporting Project 2020 staff, said that Project 2020 has *'opened a new chapter for me – I know that there are different opportunities for me now – there's so much more that I can do. The local people, especially the older ones, in my area are inspired by the changes in me.'*[77]

There are also a variety of community-led initiatives in Tottenham Hale, and these tend to be based around specific estates – such as the nature

75 Haringey Council (2009) *The Haringey Mosaic: The 2009 Annual Public Health Report*. London: Haringey Council. **http://www.haringey.gov.uk/aphr_2009_ethnicity_in_haringey.pdf**

76 See the Homes for Haringey 'Project 2020' webpage, at **http://www.homesforharingey.org/almo/project2020.htm**

77 Homes for Haringey (2013) ''Off Road' is officially declared open'. News Release. London: Homes for Haringey. **http://www.homesforharingey.org/off_road_is_officially_declared_open.htm**

initiative that took place on the Ferry Lane Estate in 2012.[78] Owing to its unique location near the Tottenham Marshes and Lee Valley Regional Park, the central woodland area on the estate is already an important wildlife corridor. Project activities were led by a local resident and wildlife enthusiast who encouraged Homes for Haringey to partner up with the Natural Estates Project – a multi-partner project enabling residents from London housing estates to create green spaces and wildlife-friendly gardens. Research respondents highlighted that initiatives of this kind were often instigated by one dedicated individual.

The impact of welfare reform

All respondents raised concerns about the impact of welfare reforms – across London, within the borough, and specifically in Tottenham Hale. As in the other case studies, the 'under-occupancy penalty' was raised as an issue, and in Haringey the £500 a week benefits cap was a specific concern. Haringey Council has identified that the families that will be most affected by the benefits cap will be those with three or more children who are living in the private rented sector or are homeless and living in temporary accommodation secured by the Council. It has estimated that there are approximately 800 families (350 in private rented accommodation and 450 in temporary accommodation) in this situation.[79] Unless action can be taken to address affordability, the Council estimates that it will incur temporary accommodation rent shortfalls of approximately £6 million a year. In order to mitigate the financial impact on families and the local authority, the Council has suggested that it may be necessary for some homeless families to be placed in accommodation outside London if they are unable to afford the rent in London.[80]

In terms of the 'under-occupation penalty', Haringey Council is working with Homes for Haringey[81] and local housing associations to raise awareness of the impact of this policy on social housing tenants, and to provide tenants with advice and encouragement to maximise their income and arrange a mutual exchange of properties.

78 Homes for Haringey (2012) 'Residents go wild for nature on Tottenham's Ferry Lane Estate'. News Release. London: Homes for Haringey. **http://www.homesforharingey.org/residents_go_wild_for_nature_on_tottenham_s_ferry_lane.htm**

79 Haringey Council (2012) *Impact of Welfare Reforms – OSC Project Discussion Paper*. Briefing for Haringey Council Overview and Scrutiny Committee. London: Haringey Council. **http://www.minutes.haringey.gov.uk/Published/C00000128/M00005947/AI00031106/$OSC22ndOctoberdiscussionpaperforWelfareprojectFINAL.doc.pdf**

80 *Op. cit.*

81 See the Homes for Haringey 'Benefit changes' webpage, at **http://www.homesforharingey.org/almo/benefits.htm**

section 4
key themes from the case studies

All four case studies yielded a complex set of qualitative data representing the differing narratives and perspectives of the variety of players in each area, from politicians and professional planners to community representatives and individuals. The case studies provide significant insights into the relationship between planning and poverty, but these insights often relate to the precise context of each case study community. In some cases the narratives that were presented varied radically. In the Anfield case study there was a clear divergence of views in the media and among some participants as to the merits and degree of community participation in the Housing Market Renewal initiative. It was clear that a mythology had developed around what had worked and failed that was not securely supported by the evidence. Consequently, this report is as transparent as possible about the nature of disputed events. The research was also limited to a high-level snapshot of circumstances during a period of unprecedented policy and social change. The current round of reforms to the regeneration, housing and welfare systems appeared to be having a 'seismic'[82] impact on the wider social fabric of all the case study areas. These impacts, along with changes to the planning system, create a new and uncertain context for the research findings.

The core research question, ***'How can we re-focus planning to be more effective in dealing with social exclusion?'***, provided a framework for distilling research themes from the study and for maintaining a focus on the relationship between the outcomes of spatial planning and social exclusion. The research themes considered in this section are shaped by this focus, but it is also important to note the wider implications of the research. The five overarching research themes are:

- How did the outcomes of planning decisions reflect on dealing with poverty?
- Planning and people – powers, priorities, and participation.
- The impact of national policy reform on planning and poverty reduction.
- The institutional place of the planning service.
- The skills, culture and morale of the planning service.

This section captures the main high-level outputs from the case studies under these themes.

4.1 Theme 1: How did the outcomes of planning decisions reflect on dealing with poverty?

This study broadly confirmed the pre-existing concern that the spatial planning system could, and should, do much more in evaluating the distributional outcomes of decisions over the long term. Planning, and in particular development management, tends to focus on the quality of the process of decision-making, with less focus placed on tracking the impact of decisions on communities and individuals.[83] This focus on process is reinforced when decisions are taken against plan policy or at appeal. In all the case studies, plan-

82 A number of respondents used strong language, such as 'seismic', to describe the scale of change

83 It is significant that the study could find no specific monitoring of the effects of major developments on the communities in which they were located

making had provided for a more in-depth reflection of socio-economic circumstances, and this had led to a variety of responses in the respective local plans.

However, while there was a very strong commitment in all the case study areas to poverty reduction, it was not necessarily fully reflected in local plan policy, which was generally dominated by economic development, with, in some cases, little articulation of how this 'development' would deal with the specific needs of excluded communities. Logically, we should not be surprised at this conclusion, since this report has established that neither legislation nor current national policy provides an explicit focus for poverty reduction in plan-making which might give confidence to local authorities facing examination of their local plans.

The historical link between a set of progressive planning values on equity and inclusion may have been declining over a long period, but current national policy effectively breaks such a link.[84] Instead, economic growth and housing growth are seen as proxies for social inclusion, both in national policy and in the local plans examined in this study. However, given the complex nature of the factors which resulted in social decline in the four case study areas, this broad assumption is clearly unsafe; in practice, general economic progress can leave specific places untouched.

4.1.1 Planning for economic development – who benefits?

Economic development is the central objective of all of the case study authorities, who are working towards new pathways for their communities in the aftermath of much wider economic restructuring. In one case study, the entire economic purpose of the community had been founded on a single industrial enterprise, and, following its loss, the scale of the regeneration task was extremely challenging. In another case study, economic exclusion was of a different character and related to wider factors such as educational opportunity and accessibility.

A striking feature of two of the case studies was that a major employer had located in very close proximity to the area, but with a surprisingly complex, and in one case marginal, impact on the local community's employment prospects. While beneficial for the wider economy, these planning decisions had the unintended consequence of fostering local resentment rather than making the most of the potential to improve the employment prospects of local residents. While efforts by a range of public and private sector partners were in place to ensure greater levels of local recruitment in both of these localities, it is likely that better outcomes would have been achieved if local community employment had been the focus at the time the development took place.

Planners and regeneration officers highlighted the limited nature of their powers to secure greater community benefit, framed by a concern that planners should not breach competition law by, for example, requiring a percentage of local employment. It is not clear how profound these barriers might be or what might have been achieved by a wider dialogue between planners, regeneration officers and the private sector to secure a strategy for local employment at the time the development was consented. For example, one case study demonstrated that local employment contracts could play a significant role in resolving this issue by securing voluntary agreements and by the use of Section 106 agreements. In another case, an employer already had a recruitment strategy targeted at residents within three miles of the development; this is significant because it does not appear to have been regarded as an undue burden for local business.

4.1.2 Planning for accessibility

There were significant issues of social isolation in all of the case studies. This is a surprising finding given that the case study areas ranged from an essentially semi-rural mining town where isolation might be expected, to an inner-city area where the sense of isolation was focused on individual estates and neighbourhoods.

The nature of this isolation was partly defined by complex social factors relating to the perceived 'territory' of particular communities, which itself relates to much longer-term class and race affiliations. However, there are clearly other important factors which can mitigate or reinforce this isolation. In one case study, a major employment site was poorly connected to a nearby estate with high unemployment: there was no

84 See, for example, Lewis, B. (2013) *Planning and Travellers*. Written Ministerial Statement by the Local Government Minister, 1 Jul. 2013. London: Department for Communities and Local Government. **https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/planning-and-travellers**

viable pedestrian route and no direct bus service. The development had been approved at appeal against plan policy, and therefore there were fewer opportunities to ensure that wider transport issues had been resolved, but the outcome still remains problematic and local authority officers and members felt relatively powerless to influence either the transport operators or the developer once permission had been granted. The failure to secure ready access between employment and housing separated in this case by only 600 m is one example of the kind of basic and powerful outcomes that planning can have over a community. This failure, the consequences of which have significant costs to the public purse, stems from an inability to recognise the needs of the local community and maximise the benefits resulting from development.

In two of the case studies the cost of transport for young people was a major barrier to inclusion, and, in another, physical barriers such as a motorway had clearly emphasised a sense of separation from the city centre, where the majority of employment opportunities existed. It is ironic that in the case study affected by a motorway, an effective public transport link, on which the design of a large urban extension had been based, was removed in the 1960s. Attempts are now under way to replace it with a trolley bus system, but the initial decision plainly had a long-term and negative impact on the wellbeing of the community.

4.1.3 The role of corporate social responsibility

Planning regulation is partly founded on the notion that the actions of the private sector do not always accord with the wider public interest. It may therefore appear illogical to identify corporate social responsibility as a significant issue for this research. However, as planning increasingly retrenches, greater attention is inevitably focused on the actions of private sector organisations. Significantly, while the nature of the development process is always complicated, the case studies do not support the commonly held assumption that local government is the sole cause of delay in planning. In fact, the picture is more complex, but in low-demand areas where there is consensus about the need for development it is clear that the private sector is at least as significant a cause of delay and uncertainty.

There are a number of instances in which private sector organisations could have taken a greater solutions-focused approach, including in their recruitment strategies. One case study exemplified how the development decision of a major enterprise could effectively blight a locality, increasing its social decline. The purchase of housing for the projected expansion of a major corporate business, which was then delayed and then ultimately cancelled, led to number of streets being effectively abandoned in the case study area. While the wider decline of this area is plainly the dominant socio-economic context, these actions reinforced that decline – and illustrated a major corporate enterprise's lack of sensitivity to its wider social responsibility. This pattern was repeated, on smaller scale, in relation to the retail-led regeneration of another case study area.

These cases stand in stark contrast to the corporate social responsibility commitment of more experienced long-term investors in property who in one case study showed a willingness to enter into dialogue on issues like local employment and make direct contributions to community-based activities. Part of this disparity may be due simply to the difference in experience between long-term investors and those involved in one-off leisure or commercial developments.

4.1.4 Key lessons

There is no question that the promotion of economic development was the dominant objective in all the case study areas, and that the work of planners must be seen in that wider national and local policy and political context. However, it is also possible to see a number of positive ways in which outcomes for local communities could have been improved:

- Ensure that there is early and multi-agency dialogue about training and employment opportunities.
- Seek formal and informal agreement on local employment.
- Encourage community engagement and the promotion of new development opportunities.
- Ensure that priority is given to creating accessible employment sites, by both design measures and public transport arrangements.

Some of the above might be secured through formal planning mechanisms, while other issues require planners to be the catalyst for dialogue with other agencies.

4.2 Theme 2: Planning and people – powers, priorities, and participation

While this study is focused on practical conclusions for spatial planning, it would be remiss not to acknowledge the wider political and economic forces that have driven the fate of all the case study communities. The root causes of many of the issues raised by the research lie in the communities' struggle to access resources that might make them more powerful players in determining their own future. Such resources relate to individual and collective access to work, finance, and assets such as land, skills and education – and consequently to political and professional power. Many of these root causes remain intractable public policy issues, but they are a reminder that simply dealing with symptoms, for example through progress on local employment, will have limited impact if the resulting employment is on insecure, minimum-wage contracts.

One of the most striking outputs of the research is the obvious but largely unexplored disconnection between planning and people's lived experience. This is distinct from the question of how many – and how meaningfully – people participate in decision-making, and goes to the heart of the power and remit of spatial planning. Each of the case studies gave an indication of the kinds of issues which touch people's lives: these were of an understandably localised nature and included bus services, dog dirt, litter, areas of dereliction, and the proliferation of betting, alcohol and fast-food outlets. In one case, a burned-out cinema remains a major eyesore and a debilitating blot on the community. There was understandably little perception of the institutional boundaries between service and delivery. In so far as they relate to it at all, the public see planning merely as part of the council monolith. It would be valuable to explore further why people do not engage with the planning process – and whether this is a reflection of a wider apathy or is, at least in part, the result of a rational view that planning is unable to tackle many of the issues they really care about. It is also significant that the deregulation of permitted development is removing control over many of the issues about which communities care most.

The micro-level is the most important in terms of human psychology and wellbeing, but almost no resources are devoted to it through traditional planning. The concept of neighbourhood planning brings this into sharp focus because, while it is procedurally powerful, little or no consideration has gone into the possible outcomes of such plans in relation to people's actual lived experience, particularly in areas of social exclusion. The response of planners was sympathetic, but consistently highlighted the legal limitations of planning and, in particular, resource constraints, both of which meant that meaningful dialogue with communities was difficult to achieve.

While significant efforts had gone into informal neighbourhood planning in two of the case study areas, there was less enthusiasm for the new formal process. In all the case studies, local authority planners stressed the difficulty of resourcing detailed neighbourhood planning approaches, whether statutory or non-statutory. There was also a concern that in complex urban areas the neighbourhood planning process may be captured by 'single issue' groups who may not be representative of the wider community interest.

4.2.1 Community participation

All the case studies exhibited attempts at direct community participation in producing regeneration and planning strategies. The majority of such participation was project based – for example, a programme of regeneration was accompanied by intensive periods of dialogue with community groups and the wider public. The degree to which this participation was genuinely meaningful varied, in terms of resulting in clear evidence of changes to policy. In one case study area, it was clear that participation had changed the scope and focus of a major housing clearance programme to increase (rather than reduce) the number of properties involved. Ironically, this involvement became redundant because of changes in national policy – which served to reinforce, in some quarters, cynicism about the value of the community voice.

Another case study yielded some evidence that, as well as individual participation exercises, there was a strong commitment to participative governance, with a successful 'Neighbourhood Improvement Board' attempting to promote inclusive and cross-sector dialogue. It is significant that participation exercises were increasingly being organised by health and regeneration rather than planning teams. However, there was not always proper integration between sectors, and the community pointed, with some justification, to a sense of consultation fatigue.

4.2.2 Local political leadership

The study found both positive and negative evidence about the nature of local political leadership and its contribution to maximising the benefits of attempts to plan out poverty. In some places, there had been tensions between top- and lower-tier authorities and between local politicians and other key agencies. There were also tensions between local authority officers and members, which sometimes stemmed from mutual misunderstanding about roles and responsibilities and from a lack of shared understanding of local socio-economic evidence. There was also a less tangible but important sense of demoralisation among some local authority members as to how change might be effected in an era of austerity. This led to the phenomenon, shared by officers, of 'planning in desperation', where any form of development was seen as better than nothing. In some cases, there was a tangible sense of powerlessness in the face of threats of appeal by developers or the use the viability test to reduce community benefits.

However, there were other very positive examples of political leadership driving co-ordination and action in a complex web of funding and service providers. In these cases, politicians acted as key ringmasters and mediators. In each case, such examples of positive leadership appeared to be one of the most important factors in driving change and establishing a culture of collaborative and positive working.

4.2.3 Key lessons

Three important lessons emerged within this theme:

- There is a disconnection between what ordinary people regard as the key issues for their local place and the remit and scope of the planning system. This raises the question of whether apathy about local planning issues is not in one sense the product of a rational judgement.
- There are some excellent examples of community engagement, and even participation, in key planning and regeneration initiatives, but there are also examples of the dangers in cancelling programmes based on community aspirations before they are completed – with both a practical impact and the effect of demonstrating the essential powerlessness of a community over its own fate.
- Local political leadership is key, but positive examples of such an approaches have to be tempered by national policy changes that have reduced the powers of local politicians to shape their communities – not least the deregulation of permitted development.

4.3 Theme 3: The impact of national policy reform on planning and poverty reduction

The impact of planning, housing and welfare reform was a cross-cutting theme and a very important contextual factor in all the case studies. Some of these changes impact directly on planning, such as the end of regional planning or changes to permitted development, and others, like benefit reform, have indirect impacts on housing and homelessness and the wider economic wellbeing of the locality.

The 'under-occupancy penalty' or 'bedroom tax' provided one the clearest examples of how reform measures had multiple unintended consequences. The scale of the impact was significant. In one case study area, of the 700 households affected by the policy, 500 were in work. In all the case studies there was a simple (and significant) under-supply of one-bedroom properties, which effectively gave those affected little choice but to pay the increased rental charges. Research shows that many households are deferring decisions on moving and are incurring debts in order to stay in their existing communities, with as many as 50,000 people now facing eviction.[85] Research respondents were concerned not only about increasing poverty, but about the potential break-up of community ties and

85 *'Figures provided by 114 local authorities across Britain after Freedom of Information (FoI) requests… show the impact of the bedroom tax over its first four months. The total number of affected council tenants across Britain is likely to be much higher than the 50,000 recorded in the sample of local authorities that responded to the FoI. At least another 30,000 people living in housing association properties have also fallen behind on rent payments since the bedroom tax came in, with potentially tens of thousands more also affected, according to separate research by the National Housing Federation.'* Dugan, E. (2013) '50,000 people are now facing eviction after bedroom tax'. *The Independent*, 19 Sept. 2013. **http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/exclusive-50000-people-are-now-facing-eviction-after-bedroom-tax-8825074.html**

family networks. For spatial planning, this has the potential for new patterns of demographic change, with consequent questions about the housing offer of an area and its community governance.

4.3.1 The impact of planning reform

Two aspects of planning reform stood out from the experience of the case study areas. The first, in responses exclusively from planning and regeneration practitioners in three of the case study areas, was the end of strategic planning at the regional level. The Tottenham Hale case study area has benefited from the continuity provided by the London Plan, which sets a regional context and has helped to maintain confidence and focus investment in the ward. Research respondents in Tottenham Hale were clear that, while resources were a major issue, they had not had to deal with the fragmentation of strategic structures.

In the other three case studies, the abolition of regional planning was linked to the closure of the Regional Development Agencies, which, taken together, had created uncertainty about the wider strategy for regeneration in the relevant sub-regions. This impacted most clearly on housing, as the now-revoked regional plans played an important role in refocusing development into low-demand areas. This was partly an enabling role, by creating certainty for investment decisions, but regional plans also restricted growth in some high-demand areas. In one case study, there was serious concern that inner-city areas would lose out as other growth points increased their housing allocations.

In two of the case studies, there appeared to be a strong interaction between this loss of strategic overview and new national policy on viability. The viability test set out in the National Planning Policy Framework ensures that local authorities cannot pursue local policies which compromise the financial viability of willing landowners and willing developers to receive competitive returns.[86] One research respondent was clear that this had led to a move away from directing growth into regeneration areas and towards the allocation of sites on more viable greenfield areas, which would impact on the success of inner-area renewal. The new emphasis on viability was cited by other respondents as a reason why wider community benefits were now much harder to secure in low-demand areas.[87] A number of practitioners acknowledged that greater transparency in the determination of financial viability was vital, and that this required the upskilling of planners and the use of 'open book' accounting.

On a more detailed level, there was concern in all case study areas that the deregulation of permitted development would impact on community aspirations to control the development of places such as town and district shopping centres. The proliferation of fast-food, betting and cheap alcohol establishments was a key community concern, and a problem which planning was struggling to offer an effective way of controlling even before the emergence of the reform agenda. The new reforms will allow for a much greater scale of change from offices to housing and between differing commercial uses, and there was a fear that this relaxation of control over the local built environment would further discredit the planning system in the eyes of communities looking to shape change in their area.

4.3.2 The impact of changes to area-based regeneration

Perhaps the most striking example of the impact of national policy changes was provided by the closure of the Housing Market Renewal programme. Cancellation approximately 25% of the way through delivery in one of the case study areas had a dramatic impact and required a complete re-evaluation of the future of the community, and of what could be achieved and when. The confusion and delay that resulted set back progress and undoubtedly blighted the lives of the remaining residents.

The cancellation of the Housing Market Renewal programme was the most dramatic example of the wider tendencies for national funding to be directed

86 *'To ensure viability, the costs of any requirements likely to be applied to development, such as requirements for affordable housing, standards, infrastructure contributions or other requirements should, when taking account of the normal cost of development and mitigation, provide competitive returns to a willing land owner and willing developer to enable the development to be deliverable.'* Department for Communities and Local Government (2012) *National Planning Policy Framework*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government. **https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/6077/2116950.pdf**. Paragraph 173

87 There is evidence that viability has a major impact on, for example, the level of affordable homes being delivered – see Mathiason, N./ Bureau of Investigative Journalism (2013) *Get the Data: The Crisis in the UK's Affordable Housing Supply System*. London: Bureau of Investigative Journalism. **http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/blog/2013/09/18/get-the-data-the-crisis-at-the-heart-of-the-uks-affordable-housing-supply-system/**

at employment and away from place-based regeneration.[88] Combined with local government austerity, this led to the striking conclusion of some research respondents that there is no longer any sense of a national urban policy for our most excluded communities. Awareness of this reality was clearly evident in two of the case study areas and reinforced a sense of the need to 'knit together' various more minor funding schemes, available for health improvement for example, to try to effect change.

4.3.3 Local government austerity

Local government has experienced major cuts in central funding over recent years. The range of impacts are complex, with direct effects on both the planning service and, significantly, on other services which impact on exclusion.[89] While it was considered self-evident by many research respondents, it is worth recording that in all of the case study areas regeneration was only possible because of major public sector finance and local authority leadership. Public sector investment was the key to generating private sector confidence and therefore changed the dynamic of what may be 'viable'. There was real concern among respondents that local authorities would no longer be able to play such an active role in regeneration because of the loss of staff and capacity, as well as access to investment funds.

4.3.4 Key lessons

Recent reforms to planning, housing, welfare, and local government have had a complex set of impacts on the effectiveness of planning in poverty reduction:

- There is emerging evidence that housing and welfare reform is having significant consequences in, for example, increased rent arrears and the creation of demand for single-bedroom properties, and that adverse unintended consequences of the reforms not only impact directly on poorer communities, but also have significant implications for planning.
- There was considerable (and in some ways surprising) recognition of the importance of wider regional, strategic planning in supporting inner-area regeneration.
- There was concern that the new emphasis on viability had led to changes in focus, away from low-demand areas, and to a reduction in key benefits for communities from 'planning gain'.
- There was clear concern that cuts to local planning authorities are having a significant impact on their ability to take a leading role in regeneration.
- Evidence led to the perhaps obvious but important conclusion that the public sector had taken the leading role in the regeneration of all the case study areas.

4.4 Theme 4: The institutional place of the planning service

This report has noted the historic trend for land use planning to become institutionally and culturally separated from other core local authority public policy functions, and how the impact of the wider deregulation of policy discussed in theme 3 has led to further retrenchment in the scope of planning. All the case studies strongly reinforced this view of planning's growing limitations.

4.4.1 The integration of planning with wider community service delivery

All the case studies illustrate the vital importance of the co-ordination of planning with a wider variety of services in order to take effective action on poverty reduction. The case studies demonstrated examples of good practice, but they also revealed tensions between the role of planning and other key services such as regeneration and economic development. This is a long-standing issue which stems most obviously from the institutional separation of planning from economic development and estate management, often on the grounds of avoiding conflicts of interests and freeing up a more flexible approach to regeneration.

88 Lord Heseltine (2012) *No Stone Unturned: In Pursuit of Growth*. London: Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. **http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/BISCore/corporate/docs/N/12-1213-no-stone-unturned-in-pursuit-of-growth.pdf**

89 *'Chancellor George Osborne confirmed that local authority spending, administered through the Department for Communities and Local Government (DLCG), would be cut by ten per cent in 2015-16 compared to 2014-15. This follows a 33 per cent cut in central government funding earmarked for councils between 2011-12 and 2014-15.'* Geoghegan, J. (2013) 'Planning chiefs angry over further town hall budget cuts'. *Planning*, 28 June, 2013. **http://www.planningresource.co.uk/news/1188241/**

Some research respondents highlighted how in some circumstances land sales were driven by wider economic development imperatives, with little direct focus on those most in need. Other respondents expressed a sense of frustration that planning stood in the way of maximising land sales receipts. While planners and regeneration professionals did work closely together in some of the case study areas, there were clear tensions in others where corporate imperatives for asset sales did not sit easily with a planning strategy pursuing wider sustainable development. Given that public sector land assets have the capacity to drive inclusive outcomes – in relation to social housing, for example – there is plainly a major opportunity to secure better integration of planning and other key policy areas such as regeneration.

In a wider context, the notion of 'multi-agency responses' was cited in all the case studies, and there were some clear examples of its practical application in forums such as 'Neighbourhood Improvement Boards'. Further research would be necessary to establish the precise effectiveness of such mechanisms. It is significant that across all the case study areas multiple policy actions are required to secure wider poverty reduction, including action in the planning, regeneration, property, housing, health, transport, and education sectors.

In some of case studies, it was clear that misalignment of these sectors had resulted in negative consequences for the community, particularly in relation to planning and transport and planning and health. It is also significant that co-operation needs to reflect the realities of the development process, so that, for example, agreements on training are agreed up-front. Retrofitting for such issues after consent is given is less effective, and can lead to long-standing community tensions that are hard to challenge.

4.4.2 Key lessons

Two important lessons emerged within this theme:

- There is a major public policy 'prize' in finding pathways to better integration between sectors at the local authority level. This has been a long-standing goal, reflected in the work of 'Total Place' projects,[90] and more recently by 'Whole Place Community Budgeting',[91] in relation to budgeting and some aspects of the Government's reform package – such as the devolution of public health responsibilities to local government, which may make this integration easier.[92]
- However, institutional problems remain, including the structure and powers necessary to secure maximum co-ordination of effort between sectors. In particular, the case studies illustrate the need for greater control over services which are now in the private sector, such as public transport provision.

4.5 Theme 5: The skills, culture and morale of the planning service

All the case studies offered insights into the state of the planning service in terms of culture and morale. There was a strong dual narrative between the understandable need of planners to present a positive corporate view, often in difficult circumstances, and the reality of their everyday professional experience, which tends to be 'bleak'. This is not to say that in some instances this positive view was not justified: it is perhaps a surprise to see just how much commitment and dedication remains in the public service, given the wider negative discourse about planners and

90 Burton, M. (2010) 'The lessons so far from the Total Place pilots'. *Local Government News*, 2 Mar. 2010. **http://www.localgov.co.uk/index.cfm?method=news.detail&id=86911**

91 *'Sixteen first-phase Community Budgets for families with multiple problems were announced in April 2011 as part of the effort to help turn round the lives of at least 10,000 families over 4 years. Following consultation 2 further types of budget pilots were announced on 21 December 2011:*

- *whole-place Community Budgets will test how to bring together all funding for local public services in an area to design better services and achieve better outcomes;*
- *neighbourhood Community Budgets will give communities more power and control over local services and budgets.'*

Department for Communities and Local Government (2013) 'Giving local authorities more control over how they spend public money in their area'. Policy webpage. London: Department for Communities and Local Government. **https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/giving-local-authorities-more-control-over-how-they-spend-public-money-in-their-area--2/supporting-pages/community-budgets**

92 The new public health role of local authorities is set out in the Health and Social Care Act 2012, which received Royal Assent on 27 March 2012 – see Department of Health (2012) *The New Public Health Role of Local Authorities*. London: Department of Health. **https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/213009/Public-health-role-of-local-authorities-factsheet.pdf**

planning. It is significant that all the planning practitioners consulted during the research remained idealistic about the core principles of social town planning.

However, there was clearly a sense of realpolitik in the culture of planning, in that planners saw their role as facilitating development and accepted that, on occasion, good design or community benefits were being sacrificed for shorter-term economic imperatives. Two research respondents made clear that this culture extended to a fear of being critical of private sector investors, even when their behaviour was plainly not in the public interest.

There was also a significant issue of what might be characterised as a lack of self-confidence in planning and local government. For example, in some cases there was a reluctance to use planning or other local government powers that could have effected change, either for fear of costly appeals or because the institutional knowledge required to act effectively was no longer present. There was some evidence of a tendency for planning to retrench to only those things that were legally required or that engaged directly with corporate priorities. In all the case studies, planning did not always appear to be regarded as a source of creative solutions, compared with, for example, regeneration.

Many of the planners interviewed during the research reinforced the view not only that planning had an economic development focus, but that the service in general lacks core skill sets. The first of these missing skills is in identifying and managing complex socio-economic data in order to understand the extent and causes of poverty in particular localities, and then in applying that knowledge to planning decisions. Without this ability, which is linked to corporate priorities, it is hard for planners to see decisions through the lens of social outcomes as well as purely economic benefits.

The second missing skill set is in community development and participation. Younger practitioners reflected that these skills were not often taught as part of the core curriculum in planning schools. Other planners noted a lack of recognition of the need for planners to have 'time to talk' to communities, and a lack of the support they needed in dealing with the natural suspicion and sometimes outright hostility of communities.

4.5.1 Key lessons

Four key lessons emerged within his theme:

- There is huge commitment and dedication among planners working in the public sector.
- However, the core skills needed to identify and manage complex socio-economic data, so as to understand the extent and causes of poverty in particular localities and then apply that knowledge to planning decisions, is often missing.
- Community development and participation are core components of planning education that are currently not being delivered.
- Planners need to be given sufficient time, training, resources, and support to talk to local communities.

section 5
policy recommendations

5.1 A return to social town planning?

The heart of this research project is the question: **'How can we re-focus planning to be more effective in dealing with poverty reduction?' Analysis of the policy themes distilled from this study suggests that to achieve this goal we need both a profound reconsideration of the social purposes of planning and detailed actions to enhance its effectiveness.** This reconsideration must be framed by the undoubted capacity of spatial planning decisions to impact on social exclusion, for better or worse – for example through the physical organisation of accessibility to key employment opportunities. There is also strong evidence that planning could play a more positive role by integrating more fully (within both local and national public policy) with sectors such as regeneration and health and by reconnecting with issues that matter to local people. The imperative to make planning work as effectively as possible for specific issues such as poverty reduction, as well as in the wider public interest, is thrown into sharper focus by economic austerity and by reforms which residualise the remit of planning to dealing with neighbourhood issues, and by welfare reforms that are having an impact in all the case study areas.

The reinvention of 'social town planning', which has been effectively residualised for 30 years, requires a re-visioning of planning within wider social policy, rather than being left within a legislative cul de sac. At the same time, this requires planners to be much more concerned with professional values and ethics.

Even within terms of narrow statutory land use, planning could work better if social outcomes were to be understood and factored into decision-making in more sophisticated ways. This means moving beyond simply assuming that development is 'good' to think about how its benefits can be maximised for those most in need. It also means being much more honest when development impacts upon, but does not benefit, a host community. This requires recognition in national policy that *distributional* outcomes matter and can be assisted through smart planning.

The reinvention of social town planning also requires the reinvention of the practice of planning. Planners must have the skills and opportunity to increase their understanding of places and the lived experience of communities. While the disciplines of psychology and sociology were core to the foundation of planning, they now receive little or no emphasis in, for example, Continuing Professional Development (CPD). Likewise, key delivery skills such as community development are not given sufficient emphasis in planning education.

The Government and the planning sector should act together to shape a system which produces better outcomes for people by reconfiguring planning to increase understanding of social factors and human behaviour. This requires the fulfilment of a long-standing ambition for planning to move away from a simple focus on land use and towards a wider spatial perspective in which land use regulation is only one aspect of a more progressive and positive agenda. Looking at planning decisions through the lens of social exclusion would help to deliver smarter outcomes, creating the conditions for greater social inclusion by, for example, making economic opportunities more accessible.

The following recommendations are designed to reflect the project's ambition to embed a recognition of the importance of social issues within planning practice. Recommendations are made to both national and local government, to the private sector, and for the wider planning community.

5.2 Recommendations for national government

Recommendation 1: Make changes to the National Planning Policy Framework to prioritise poverty reduction

We cannot expect the planning service to deliver on poverty reduction and social justice without a clear signal from national government that it should be a key priority for planning. This report has noted that the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) has de-prioritised social justice as a planning outcome in comparison with guidance set out in the previous Planning Policy Statement 1 (PPS1): *Delivering Sustainable Development*, stressing instead general housing provision and economic growth. The Government should act to rectify this. Sustainable development rightly remains the core objective of the planning system, but the Government should act to ensure that social sustainability, and in particular equity, is properly recognised within this paradigm. The weakness of the current NPPF in setting out a robust and coherent definition of sustainable development illustrates the need for clarity about social outcomes. **This would require forensic changes to the key planning objectives set out in paragraph 17 of the NPPF, through the addition of a new core planning principle: *'Local plan policy should seek to reduce social inequalities by promoting inclusive development which fully considers its impact on the social fabric of communities. Policy should in particular take into account the needs of all of the community, including requirements relating to age, income, sex, ethnic background, religion, or disability.'***[93]

Recommendation 2: Introduce new legal duties on poverty reduction

Legal duties are a signal of government priorities and ensure that action is taken by local authorities in an era when many non-statutory functions are under threat. Given the need for an integrated local government approach, national government should review the wider role of local government in tackling poverty and consider a general duty on poverty reduction, to which planning would be subject. This would complement specific duties in relation to child poverty, introduced through the Child Poverty Act 2010,[94] and would mirror the general duty on economic growth being proposed by the Government in the draft Deregulation Bill 2013.[95]

Active consideration should also be given to specific changes to planning legislation to ensure that data on poverty and social exclusion are explicitly included in the survey requirements for local plans.[96] More importantly, there are currently no explicit social outcome duties in the planning system, and social justice could be added to the three existing outcome duties set out in the 2004 Planning Act. Consequent clarification of the relationship between planning law and equalities legislation would be a valuable contributing element to these changes, for example by making equality impact assessments a mainstream part of the sustainability appraisal of plans.

The language of 'social justice, fairness and equalities' in law and policy is seen by some as both politically and legally problematic. However, as Campbell concludes, *'there is no need for perfect definition of, for example, justice or equality to be able to take actions which will reduce injustices and diminish inequalities'*.[97] At the heart of a new social model of planning would be a metric which takes account of the complexity and diversity of social exclusion and tests policy options against the needs of groups who may, for a variety of reasons, be excluded. Strategic decisions which can show progress in terms of distributional outcomes would be recognised in, for example, the soundness test of plans.

Recommendation 3: Change the National Planning Practice Guidance to include guidance on poverty reduction and the promotion of social justice

The Government has recently produced a range of National Planning Practice Guidance (in draft at the time this report went to press)[98] for local authorities

93 All of this formulation reflects wording that has featured in previous national policy

94 The Child Poverty Act 2010 places a range of duties on local authorities. They are obliged to undertake a child poverty needs assessment, and they must co-operate with partner agencies with a view to reducing child poverty. These agencies include district councils, the police and criminal justice systems, transport authorities, and health authorities

95 HM Government (2013) *Draft Deregulation Bill*. Cm 8642. Norwich: TSO. **https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/draft-deregulation-bill**

96 Section 13 of Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004

97 Campbell, H. (2012) ''Planning ethics' and rediscovering the idea of planning'. *Planning Theory*, **11** (4) 379-399

98 Department for Communities and Local Government (2013) *National Planning Practice Guidance*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government ('Beta' version until 14 October 2013) **http://planningguidance.planningportal.gov.uk/**

and has committed to producing further guidance on issues such as building standards.[99] The draft National Planning Practice Guidance contains no explicit material on poverty reduction in general, or on specific issues such as health inequalities. The Government should urgently review the National Planning Practice Guidance to ensure that it contains effective guidance on how planning can contribute to poverty reduction and the promotion of social justice.

Recommendation 4: Enhance planning powers for local communities

The research identified a major gap between the remit of planning and the fine-grain issues which affect people's lived experience. There is a strong case for re-examining the micro-spatial planning issues which communities find most important, such as the proliferation of betting shops, off-licences and fast-food outlets in some district shopping centres. The Government should actively consider granting new powers, perhaps on a discretionary basis, to allow for meaningful community control over, for example, changes of use.[100]

Expanding the remit of planning to allow it to play a more positive and meaningful role in people's social lives would also involve greater exercise of existing local authority powers in dealing with issues such as dereliction or health promotion. As one of the case studies revealed, this could help to sustain district shopping provision by avoiding the clustering of health care provision in one part of an estate. Equal attention would have to be paid to resources and the confidence of local authorities necessary to exercise these powers.

Recommendation 5: Target neighbourhood planning support in areas of social exclusion

To enable local authorities and communities to maximise the benefit of community-led planning approaches, the Government should review the effectiveness of neighbourhood planning in areas of social exclusion and target its limited resources to these areas. As the case studies have illustrated, planning is often remote from people's lived experience in terms of outcomes and invisible in terms of people's voice in the planning process. Building legitimacy and trust in the process of planning would of course be aided by securing a more sophisticated understanding among planners of the lived experience of communities, and by ensuring that community dialogue is continuous, and not simply focused on the needs of practitioners to get responses from the community. Community planning, which might use tools such as neighbourhood planning, can act as a tool of community development, but it will only be effective if the Government targets sufficient resources to areas most in need.

Box 2

Can we afford further planning reform and new measures?

One clear objection to any new obligations on national and local government would be the costs of regulation. Further research would be needed to provide careful estimates of these costs, but they would have to be set against the very substantial potential benefits of securing places which, for example, promoted accessible employment, healthy lifestyles, high-quality housing, and ultimately a wider sense of equity and wellbeing.

Recommendation 6: Review the impact of welfare, housing and planning reform on poverty reduction

This report has noted the complex interaction between the current welfare reforms and the prospects for poverty reduction. There is a growing body of evidence that the welfare reforms, along with the impact of spending reductions on local planning authorities, are having serious unintended impacts on poverty reduction. The Government should consider an early review of the combined impact of the reforms on our most excluded communities.

Recommendation 7: Introduce a new form of placed-based area planning

There is a need for both strong objectives and institutional integration of service delivery if

99 Department for Communities and Local Government (2013) *Housing Standards Review. Consultation*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government. **https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/housing-standards-review-consultation**

100 This could be achieved by making modifications to the Use Class Order so that use of retail premises for a betting shop would require planning permission

Box 3

'Community Development Corporations'

The defining features of new 'Community Development Corporations' (CDCs) might be as follows:

- Designation of a CDC would be bottom-up, flowing out of the priorities of the local authority and community. The local council would ask central government for a designation.
- Designated areas could be at ward or estate level.
- Once designated by central government, the CDC would take on all the planning powers of a development corporation, and also a general power of competence and so could act as a housing or energy provider.
- The CDC would have a 25-year life span, perhaps enshrined in a Royal Charter so that it could not be disbanded unless by local agreement.
- The CDC would have a governance model which reflected the lead role of the community and local authority representation, but with space for business and other institutions.
- The CDC would have a sustainable development objective, but with specific social emphasis. Policy objectives would be sensitive to the detailed fabric of community views and aspirations.
- The CDC would inherit relevant local planning authority assets, playing a co-ordinating role over other agency spending. It would require its own public funding.

planning is to contribute effectively to poverty reduction. While this report has noted the absence of a clear urban policy for England which deals specifically with the multiple problems faced by many communities, it is also the case that previous rounds of comprehensive interventions such as the Housing Market Renewal programme could themselves have been better integrated with wider local services. The Government should consider a review of the value of area- and place-based regeneration, with a view to publishing a clear articulation of future urban policy for England.

The wider objective of developing a new 'social town planning' model should be drawn together with the more detailed requirements of community governance, continuity of approach, broader planning powers, and the wider integration of related health, education, policing and local authority powers and institutions. This would essentially result in a new form of area-based planning which seeks to combine the powers of the planning system, and in particular place-based delivery vehicles, with a much greater sense of social outcomes and community governance. The concept of place-based policy is not new, but the emphasis and outcomes would be tailored specifically to deal with those areas facing complex social exclusion, where multiple and powerful intervention may be considered necessary.

The foundation of this idea is to take the development corporation model and morph it into a 'Community Development Corporation'. Past models of this urban policy have had significant effects on the economy of a locality but have been criticised as being imposed on local authorities, having little meaningful community governance, and, in the case of London Docklands Development Corporation, bringing few direct benefits to those most in need in the host community.[101]

This recommendation combines the best of the statutory planning system with a strong social remit and modernised governance. A 'Community Development Corporation' (see Box 3) would provide a vehicle to create long-term confidence, both for the community and for investors, and, of vital importance, it would be constituted for a 25-year period in order to withstand different political and economic cycles and policy priorities.

5.3 Recommendations for local government

Recommendation 8: Integrate planning with local placed-based service delivery, including through 'single integrated departments'

Subject to changes to national policy, spatial planning could play a greater role in the co-ordination of wider service delivery and regeneration. The research themes presented in this report reinforce evidence of the contemporary problem of the fragmentation of service delivery agencies – for

101 Lawless, P., and Brown, F. (1986) *Urban Growth and Change in Britain: An Introduction*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing

example in health, education, and transport. Integration is long-standing ambition, reflected nationally in ideas such as 'Total Place' and more recently 'Whole-Place Community Budgets'[102] and numerous other local initiatives. However, the institutional structure in local authorities remains largely divided by sector instead of by place. The 'Whole Place Community Budgets', with pilots in Essex, Greater Manchester, the West London tri-borough (Hammersmith and Fulham, Kensington and Chelsea, and Westminster) and West Cheshire, entail a different way of working, rather than a specific set of programmes or projects; however, it is less clear at this stage how they would integrate with housing, planning, and economic development.

A 'single integrated department' based on community boundaries could join up initiatives such as 'Whole Place Community Budgets' and key local authority functions such as planning, property, housing regeneration, economic development, and transport planning (where there is a two-tier local government system, a number of functions are the responsibility of the county council, for example transport, and therefore there needs to be specific integration and co-ordination of both tiers of government).

If planning is to fulfil a wider social remit, it needs to connect, as it once did, to all the key delivery agencies. Because planning is framed by powerful legal obligations to make plans, it could provide the focus for the co-ordination of strategies for communities and places, setting out the combined strategic response of a range of agencies. There are clear benefits in reducing the range of 'strategising' undertaken by councils and other agencies in initiatives that often overlap but are not integrated fully. At the same time, planning's great weakness is that it cannot always shape delivery in a positive way; but a closer relationship with service providers, along with a major institutional culture change, could help to deliver more effective outcomes.

The local authority sustainable community strategy was intended to fulfil something of this role and act as a starting point for plans. The abolition of these strategies, proposed in the Draft Deregulation Bill,[103] risks further isolation of planning from the wider social goals and aspirations of the local authority.

Recommendation 9: Share and promote local government led best practice

Local government is the source of both best practice and innovation on issues such as securing local employment contracts or disposing of council land at less than best value to achieve social objectives. Local government, through organisations such as the Local Government Association, should be encouraged to consider the active sharing and promotion of best practice and, for example, model contracts.

5.4 Recommendations for the private sector

Recommendation 10: Encourage greater corporate social responsibility

One challenge in securing fairer outcomes from planning is the behaviour of the private sector, which often has a dominant role in the development process. This issue is difficult to discuss as much of recent planning reform has been predicated on removing controls from the private sector. However, the case studies demonstrate the contrasting approaches of private sector organisations and the major impacts that these approaches had on host communities. This report has acknowledged the increasing focus on corporate social responsibility in era when planning regulation is retrenching. In this context, there is a major opportunity to align the objectives of the public and private sectors more effectively, to secure lasting public benefits. This might be achieved by industry-wide best practice.

It will be difficult to change the nature of decision-making to make it more effective and inclusive, but there are potential benefits from greater mediation and from changing the culture of both private and public sector organisations. This requires us to evolve the current development model to incorporate elements of best practice such as 'open book accounting' or to make greater use of mediation. The issue of rebuilding trust remains a central objective of rethinking decision-making. In the absence of these 'softer' measures, it is vital that the public sector has the power to require 'good' behaviour and the confidence to use this power effectively to secure wider social benefits.

102 Local Government Association (2013) 'Whole Place Community Budgets'. Webpage. London: Local Government Association. **http://www.local.gov.uk/web/guest/community-budgets/-/journal_content/56/10180/3692233/ARTICLE**

103 HM Government (2013) *Draft Deregulation Bill*. Cm 8642. Norwich: TSO. **https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/draft-deregulation-bill**

5.5 Recommendations for the planning community

Recommendation 11: Develop a 'new vision' for the planning profession

No transformation of the powers and policy of planning to deal with social justice is likely to be effective without the agreement and enthusiasm of the wider profession and planning academia. There are a range of actions that could be taken to achieve this. The Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) guidance on planning education – which already emphasises procedural justice in terms of reaching out to excluded communities – might more fully reflect the Institute's excellent 2001 statement *New Vision*,[104] which recognises how existing power structures can lead to disadvantage. This would require a wider consensus that the values of justice and equality are a core part of the ethical understanding of professional planners, and this in turn is much more problematic when the majority of delivery opportunities lie with private sector organisations who have separate legal and ethical responsibilities to clients and shareholders.

Recommendation 12: Enhance skills and education

There are practical skill sets which need to be developed, including primary 'people' skills. Community development and public participation should be a core part of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) and planning education, and should include specific issues such as mediation and facilitation.

104 *'Planning processes, policies and outcomes therefore need:*

- *to embrace more fully a **respect for differences**, notably of gender and ethnicity; changes should be considered to guarantee the rights of all to be included in the process;*
- *to reduce **social and spatial inequalities** and not create new ones;*
- *to be negotiated through a process that is first transparent, and second subject to **independent scrutiny and arbitration**; and*
- *to result in a **shared commitment** to act upon the agreed outcomes of discussion, and to review and update plans.'*

Royal Town Planning Institute (2001) *A New Vision for Planning*. Executive Summary. London: Royal Town Planning Institute. **http://www.rtpi.org.uk/education-and-careers/learning-about-planning/what-planning-does/rtpi-vision-for-planning/**

section 6
conclusion

'Planning has simply lost its way, and it's time for planners to start really making a difference to peoples' lives.'
Nigel Lee, formerly Chief Planner,
Liverpool City Council

The debate about the future of planning has become a largely sterile discussion of the merits or otherwise of continued deregulation. Little or no attention is being paid to the positive potential of spatial planning to provide solutions to many aspects of our most difficult public policy problems. This potential is complex, but it is real and powerful. This study has noted the power of the spatial planning system, even in its residualised state, to make decisions which are critical to the welfare of individuals and communities. This is perhaps best illustrated when the system gets things wrong and makes decisions which simply make people's lives worse. It seems clear that the system is more likely to get things right when the needs of all sections of the community, but particularly of those in greatest need, are considered fully from the outset, and when understanding the outcomes which decisions have on people's lives is made a core focus.

There is an enormous opportunity to reduce poverty and promote social inclusion by refocusing planning legislation, policy, and practice. Good planning can offer greater opportunities for excluded communities, both at a national level, in shaping investment patterns, and at a local level, by getting the right outcomes from planning decisions. We must accept that socially mixed communities are far more successful than exclusively poor ones. Everyone should have a right, irrespective of earnings, to a decent home in a safe environment that helps promote their long-term wellbeing.

appendix 1
stakeholder input

The TCPA is very grateful to representatives from the following organisations who gave their time, insight and feedback for the benefit of this report:

- Belle Isle and Middleton Neighbourhood Improvement Board
- Bolsover District Council
- Derbyshire County Council
- First Ark Group
- Haringey Council
- Homes for Haringey
- Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Leeds City Council
- Liverpool City Council
- Liverpool Vision
- Project 2020 (Homes for Haringey)
- Places for People
- Webb Memorial Trust

about the tcpa

Founded in 1899, the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA) is the UK's oldest independent charity focused on planning and sustainable development. Through its work over the last century, the Association has improved the art and science of planning both in the UK and abroad. The TCPA puts social justice and the environment at the heart of policy debate, and seeks to inspire government, industry and campaigners to take a fresh perspective on major issues, including planning policy, housing, regeneration and climate change.

The TCPA's objectives are:

- To secure a decent, well designed home for everyone, in a human-scale environment combining the best features of town and country.
- To empower people and communities to influence decisions that affect them.
- To improve the planning system in accordance with the principles of sustainable development.

tcpa

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