# Mixed Use Property Development and its Place in UK Urban Policy

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# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| BCC | Birmingham City Council |
| BRE | Building Research Establishment |
| CABE | Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment |
| CAZ | Central Activity Zone |
| CEC | Commission of the European Communities |
| CNU | Congress for the New Urbanism |
| CML | Council of Mortgage Lenders |
| DCLG | Department of Communities and Local Government |
| DETR | Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions |
| DEFRA | Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs |
| DoE | Department of the Environment |
| EEH | East End Homes |
| EP | English Partnerships |
| GLA | Greater London Authority |
| GLC | Greater London Council |
| GMV | Greenwich Millennium Village |
| HCA | Homes and Communities Agency |
| ICC | International Convention Centre (Birmingham) |
| IPCC | Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change |
| KWS | Keynesian Welfare State |
| LBG | London Borough of Greenwich |
| LBTH | London Borough of Tower Hamlets |
| LDA | London Development Agency |
| LRB | London Residual Body |

| | |
|---|---|
| LDF | Local Development Framework |
| LPA | Local Planning Authority |
| LSP | Local Strategic Partnerships |
| MMR | Mixed Methods Research |
| NDC | New Deal for Communities |
| NIA | National Indoor Arena (Birmingham) |
| ODPM | Office of the Deputy Prime Minister |
| PPP | Public Private Partnership |
| RBK | Royal Borough of Kingston |
| RDA | Regional Development Agency |
| RSL | Registered Social Landlord |
| RSS | Regional Spatial Strategy |
| RAR | Royal Arsenal Riverside |
| RTPI | Royal Town Planning Institute |
| TWUP | Third Way Urban Policy |
| UCO | Use Class Order |
| UDP | Unitary Development Plan |
| ULI | Urban Land Institute |
| UTF | Urban Task Force |
| WCED | World Commission on Environment and Development |

**Abstract**

During the last 20 years, as part of a putative Urban Renaissance, Mixed Use property development has assumed a prominent place in UK urban policy, producing significant morphological and spatial change based on a distinctive vernacular deemed appropriate for the 21[st]century city, but which critics argue takes for granted multiple positive outcomes for cities and their citizens. Inspired by the work of Jane Jacobs, theorists have proposed the value of mixing types of buildings, streetscapes and activities in urban space, arguing that such diversity is the key to urban vitality. This argument has been widely accepted and absorbed into the mainstream of strategies to promote a specific urban form capable of addressing a host of policy concerns. This thesis offers a critical engagement with these theoretical and policy contentions. In his 'Arcades Project' Walter Benjamin extrapolates from a particular example of the built environment to draw wider social conclusions and this thesis argues that exploring the theoretical, policy and physical character of Mixed Use can produce similar insights. However, first it explores a typology for identifying the scale, context and qualities that reflect the variety and multiple forms of Mixed Use places. Secondly, four key discourses are discussed that have contributed to the concept's evolution and locate it in a longer history of urbanism and a wider theoretical framework that explores the relationship between city space, citizens and contested notions of 'community'. Thirdly, attention is paid to the detailed interweaving of policy that has guided the practical application of Mixed Use at local, national and international levels and fourthly, this policy rationale is related to the character and role of the planning system as the delivery vehicle for 'sustainable urbanism' against a background of increasing urban complexity. These over-lapping issues are then explored through interviews with local authority planners responsible for implementing Mixed Use policy and finally, borrowing from Benjamin's approach and using Mixed Methods Research (MMR), a combination of archival study, interviews with key participants in the urban development process and observations of the use of public space are applied to six detailed case studies that interrogate the physical and social outcomes of planning for Mixed Use. It is argued that the variable results reveal conflicts and contradictions within current UK urban policy and that the concept of 'Mixed Use' represents a metaphor for deeper cleavages and tensions in the 21st century western city.

# Chapter 1 – The Mixed Use Revival

## Introduction

The Mixed Use revival reached its apogee with the 162-floor Burj Khalifa tower in Dubai, the tallest building in the world at the time of its completion (January 2010). The 828 metres high, 1.8 million square foot tower can accommodate 30,000 people and combines 1,000 residential apartments with offices, 3,000 parking spaces, a leisure complex, 'designer' hotel, restaurants, 'indoor park', a giant shopping mall named, intriguingly, 'The Old Town' and a mosque. Burj Khalifa introduces, in gargantuan form, some of the contested interpretations that accompany the Mixed Use concept. For some writers, the 'vertical city' offers a model for high-density, sustainable urbanism (Shin 2010). For others, Burj Khalifa represents the zenith of the post-industrial city shaped by perpetual flows of global capital that create 'urban mega projects' (Darmaki 2008), a perspective endorsed by the property company that built Burj Khalifa:

> 'Crises come and go. And cities move on. You have to move on. Because if you stop taking decisions, you stop growing.' (Mohammed Alabbar, Emaar Properties, Daily Telegraph 4th January 2010)

Using language resonant of Walter Benjamin's study of 19th century Parisian arcades (Benjamin 1999), more critical views have identified Dubai as an expression of an idealised urban form that is ultimately a 'space of illusion' (Simpson 2012) where socio-economic reality is obscured by architectural ornamentation creating a 'dreamworld of conspicuous consumption' within an 'arcade of capitalist desire' (Davis 2006).

Burj Khalifa is an extreme example of the wide range of scales, forms and contexts with which Mixed Use is associated (Rowley 1996, 1998) and confirms the emergence of the concept as an 'integral element' of modern planning (Estates Gazette 14th May 2005), promoted by its supporters as a virtual panacea for the perceived ills of modern city life (Coupland 1997). The prevalence of Mixed Use is evidenced by a comprehensive survey of residential-led developments completed in London between 2001 and 2005 which found that 25% contained some element of Mixed Use, generating one million square metres of non-residential space (Giddings and Craine 2006).

The Mixed Use revival is strongly linked to the work of Jane Jacobs (1958, 1961) and her advocacy for designing and preserving urban space to accommodate a diverse range of uses and activities and as Pettersson (1997) notes, Jacobs' continues to exert a powerful and arguably disproportionate influence over contemporary policy. However, the adoption of a particular spatial strategy within the framework of policies aimed at solving urban problems requires their unpacking in order to understand how they became absorbed into the mainstream. This process of policy selection has assumed elevated importance in the quest for sustainable urbanism (Rydin 2010), reflected in multi-national governmental commitments to combat global warming (Jenks et al 1996), leading to the contested term 'sustainability' assuming a privileged place in the lexicon of contemporary public policy (Cochrane 2012a), accompanied by the adoption of the 'compact city' as the axiomatic policy response (Whitehead 2003). Within this context, Mixed Use has been identified with 'new' approaches that can successfully resolve environmentally and socially damaging patterns of city life through the promotion of well-designed places that reduce the need to travel by car, encourage walking and cycling and foster social diversity, vitality and cohesion (Aldous 1992, Rogers and Power 2000, CNU 2001, Grant 2011).

Zukin (1991) describes the complex web of forces within the property development process. It follows that the Mixed Use revival should be read not simply as a policy fad (Tombari 2005), but as part of a deeper series of socio-economic, political and cultural influences shaping a particular feature of the urban landscape. Furthermore, the elevation of Mixed Use needs to be set in the context of a continuum of discourses that have influenced the development of urbanism. As Kostof (1991) chronicles, attempts to shape and improve the city are as old as cities themselves, but the explosive growth of the 19th century metropolis provoked a wave of ideas that sought to cure the 'horrors of the slums' by planning the city's shape and future (Hall 1988). The nascent discipline of town planning generated visionary proposals based on a combination of technical and ideological thought (Benevolo 1963), but with several dominant and related themes, notably the imposition of spatial order on urban chaos, linked to a Utopian impulse to escape the city altogether and create new and improved places, key to achieving which was the separation of land uses (Hall and Ward 1998). Numerous models for settlements that met these aims were advanced, the most significant of which was the Garden City, Ebenezer Howard's attempt to blend the benefits of town and country (Howard 1902). Howard's principles were widely imitated, notably by the post-war

New Town programme (fig 1) that embodied an idealistic vision of slum-escapees enjoying an improved environment that would generate flourishing communities (Hall and Ward 1998). New Towns became synonymous with the promotion of large-scale, planned, State-led interventions featuring non-traditional building designs and construction (Gold 2007), but also demonstrate the latent ambiguity and tensions in urban policy. As Alexander (2009) argues, New Towns arose from a 'hybrid' of philosophies, mixing the humanistic principles of the Garden City with those of technocratic Modernism. Mixed Use can, to some extent, be understood as a reaction against the rigid orthodoxy of functional land use separation of New Towns that Cullingworth (1999) describes as dominating planning policy for much of the 20th century. However, the Modernist paradigm is only one of several through which to conceptualise the Mixed Use revival. The following section introduces four key discourses, explored in detail in Chapter 2, that help to unravel the strands of debate and complexity that have contributed to the concept's renewal.



Fig. 1 Sign post to the industrial area from the Wildridings residential area of Bracknell New Town (photo by author, 2nd Sept 2010)

## Modernism/Post-Modernism

The proposition that society had moved into a state of Post-Modernity has provoked one of the most significant academic debates of the past half century, implicit within the terms of which is acceptance of the concept of Modernity as the defining characteristic of a metropolis

based on industrialisation, technological innovation, predictable, largely homogeneous social relations and the production of an urban landscape that reflects these qualities (Berman 1982, Hubbard 2006). The Modernist paradigm began to fracture as the 20th century neared its end and theorists described a city where old certainties were breaking down, being replaced with a more heterogeneous urbanism, amounting to a 'multiple reconfiguration of social life' (Soja 1989), embodied in new types of eclectic space and architecture that reflected the plurality and ambiguity of Post-Modernism (Jencks 1986). While the categorical identification of historical periods is contested (Osborne 1992, Flusty and Dear 1999) and recognising that some theorists reject the explanatory power of the Modernist/Post-Modernist dichotomy (Callinicos 1989), it is argued here that some of the key imperatives mobilised in favour of Mixed Use policy can be located in the Post-Modern paradigm.

## Utopian/Dystopian

Eaton argues that the search for the ideal metropolis has been the defining characteristic of attempts to 'condition the workings of society and the behaviour of its citizens' (Eaton 2001, p11). The possibility of an idealised society has troubled and enticed philosophers since antiquity (Marin 1984) and its realisation attempted by a succession of experimental communities based on a planned approach to the built environment (Darley 1975, Taylor 1982). Utopian thought influenced Howard (Moss-Eccardt 1973) and in turn the development of the planning discipline (Fishman 1977) which, for critics, was synonymous with attempts to impose spatial design solutions informed by paternalistic assumptions of what was 'best' (Jacobs 1961, Coleman 1985). However, the long intellectual history of Utopianism also occupies a critical relationship with its conceptual opposite - dystopia (Baeton 2002). As Hubbard notes, representations of the city as the locus of social malaise have contributed to a counter-posed mythology of rural and small town life as 'morally uplifting' (Hubbard 2006, p61). Strategies seeking to recapture a lamented community through the built form, such as those associated with New Urbanism (Katz 1994), have themselves been accused of Utopianism (Harvey 1997, 2000), but efforts to create an urban idyll have been linked to various government-led 'repeopling strategies' aimed at reversing perceived urban decline and depopulation (Hoskins and Tallon 2004), within which the suggested advantages of Mixed Use (Dixon and Marston 2003) has assumed a prominent place (Macleod and Ward 2002).

## Planned/Organic

While firing 'the first shot of Post-Modernism' (Jencks 1977, p11), Jacobs lambasts orthodox planning for its wanton adherence to rigid spatial principles inherited from the 'saints and sages' who allegedly 'set spinning powerful and city destroying ideas' (Jacobs 1961, p28). The suggestion that successful urban places can be planned by a remote, pre-determined allocation of space according to function is anathema to Jacobs and those who question the capacity and legitimacy of planning in the Post-Modern city (Healey 1997, Hughes and Sadler 2000). Following Jacobs, a wide range of theorists and practitioners have proposed alternatives to the formulaic authoritarianism of Modernist planning, advocating instead a more flexible approach that responds to the changing character of the metropolis and in particular, celebrates the juxtaposition and synergy of different land uses (Healey 1997, Sandercock 1999, Lees 2010). The Planned/Organic discourse embraces a spectrum of insights to Mixed Use because it is the planning system that is the delivery vehicle for a policy that enlists organic metaphors as justification for its inclusion in the vernacular of the 21st century city.

## Third Way Urban Policy/Keynesian Welfare State

Finally, this thesis considers Mixed Use in the context of a brand of urbanism that arose from the paradigm of the Third Way, an attempt to forge an international consensus for a new policy blend that eschewed both excessive State intervention and the rapacious free market, in favour of agencies within civil society forming partnerships as the foundation for a 'new mixed economy' (Giddens 1998). In common with other examples of millennial thinking, the Third Way posited a response to a historic moment that was allegedly 'new' (Hall and Jacques 1989) and concluded that the profound scale of socio-economic change in the late 20th century brought into question established social and political conventions (Driver and Martell 1998, 2000, Freeden 1999). The clearest articulation and attempt to implement Third Way thinking came with the election of a 'New' Labour government in 1997 and a Prime Minister whose political appeal was suffused with messages that welcomed the millennium as the dawn of a new age. The Third Way inspired New Labour's reappraisal of the city as the twin-location of opportunity and threat (Cochrane 2007) and its attempt to forge an Urban Renaissance (Urban Task Force 1999). As Boyle and Rogerson (2006) describe, Third Way Urban Policy (TWUP) assumed a distinctive character and posed a particular challenge to the

post-war Keynesian Welfare State (KWS) based on a shift towards a more market oriented allocation of public expenditure (Jessop 2003). It has been argued that the underlying neoliberal meanings and assumptions of the Third Way were reflected in the resulting planning policy and urban morphology (Peck and Tickell 2002, Brenner and Theodore 2002, 2005, Johnstone and Whitehead 2004) of which Mixed Use has been a prominent feature.

Based on the four key discourses, the conceptual and policy development of Mixed Use and its production as a specific spatial form can be considered as a junction box that stands at the intersection of theories that focussed debate around the urban future in the late 1990s and early 2000s, as represented by the following diagram:
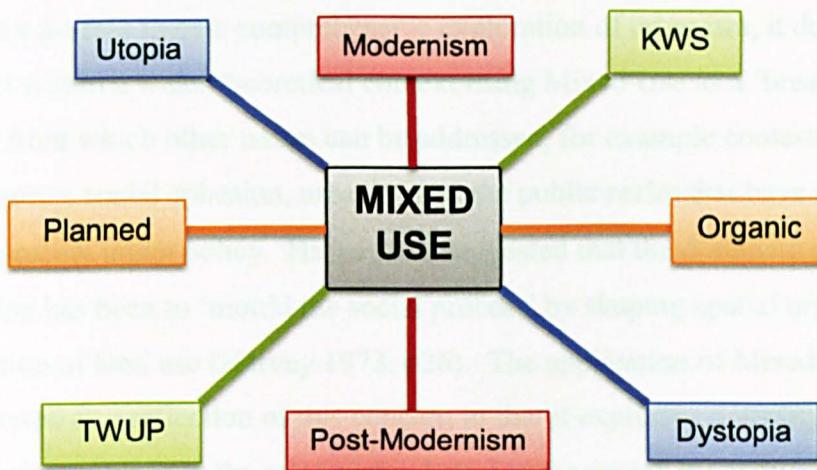


Fig. 2 Mixed Use at the centre of four key discourses

**Research Questions**

With the four key discourses in mind, this thesis addresses the following research questions:

1. What are the conceptual foundations of Mixed Use?
2. How and why does the production of Mixed Use space occur?
3. How has the Mixed Use concept been incorporated into urban policy and regeneration strategies?
4. Do the outcomes of Mixed Use development fulfil the conceptual aspirations set out in policy?

It is suggested that the fluidity and complexity of the Mixed Use concept produces places that serve as a metaphor for the tensions and contradictions of current UK urban policy. Kaplan (2000) notes the use of spatial and geographic metaphor as a tool for interpreting the urban process and avoiding the detachment of understandings of space from social reality. Similarly, Smith and Katz (1993) discuss the use of metaphor to 'ground' the renewed academic interest in the spatial, pre-figured by Benjamin and exemplified in the work of Lefebvre, Harvey and Jameson. Interpreting Mixed Use as spatial metaphor challenges the received wisdom of a policy solution to perceived urban problems, in favour of interrogating the concept's wider socio-economic and political motivations and consequences.

Mixed Use will form the central theme of this research but, as Hubbard (2006) argues, there is a limit to the amount of insight a 'policy oriented' narrative can provide. While this thesis does not profess to be a comprehensive exploration of urbanism, it does seek to locate its subject within a wider theoretical context using Mixed Use as a 'break in point' (Harvey 1973) from which other issues can be addressed, for example contested interpretations of community, social cohesion, urbanity and the public realm that have all played a significant role in recent urban policy. Harvey has suggested that the dominant purpose of town planning has been to 'mould the social process' by shaping spatial organisation through the allocation of land use (Harvey 1973, p26). The application of Mixed Use policy can be interpreted as a reflection of this concern in that it expresses a variety of material and symbolic meanings in the relationship between the social, the individual and the spatial. This broader research perspective is described by Lees who draws particular attention to the dynamic between policy formulation and the social forces that shape it:

> 'This discursive turn in urban studies and urban geography attends closely to the language and rhetoric by which policy goals and mechanisms are formed. It originates in the belief that the cultural politics of representation and meaning are inseparable from the formal politics of governance and decision making. In this way, researchers seek to integrate the study of culture and language into a wider political and economic approach...' (Lees 2003, p62)

## The Arcades Project (Das Passagen-Werk)

The inspiration for seeing Mixed Use in this wider social context is drawn from 'The Arcades Project' (Benjamin 1999) in which Walter Benjamin extrapolates from a particular example of the built environment to draw wider conclusions about the urban experience and its socio-economic relations. Benjamin's magnum opus (written between 1927 and 1940) is a collection of archival quotes, theories, speculations and observations that formed the voluminous research for a book that remained unwritten, but offers a fascinating insight into 'the capital of the nineteenth century'. The Arcades were a distinctive feature of Paris in the 1820s and 1830s and spawned numerous imitations in other cities, such that Buck-Morss describes them as 'the first international style of modern architecture' (Buck-Morss 1989, p40). For Benjamin, the Arcades represented the 'phantasmagoria of capitalist culture', reflecting the social, economic, industrial and technical advances of Modernity. Their ornate iron frameworks and vaulted glass ceilings utilised the latest materials and methods, while marble walkways and decorative shop frontages expressed the wealth of a nation (fig 3), albeit one where a warm, clean, well-lit environment stood in stark contrast to the living conditions of the majority. Originally intended to combine shelter from the elements with opportunities for the newly conceived pastime of window shopping, the Arcades were the forerunners of department stores, bringing together a multitude of products in one place and offering them to potential consumers in comfortable, safe and controlled surroundings: the Arcades have their 20th century descendants in the form of shopping malls and 'festival marketplaces' (Goss 1996).

In choosing 'a mundane site for philosophical inspection' (Buck-Morss 1989, p3) Benjamin saw deeper meanings in the Arcades which symbolised, in material form, 'dream worlds' and 'wish images' that were not purely driven by nascent consumer culture, but also appealed to idealistic Utopian instincts stored in the collective consciousness, expressed in urban forms that combine historicism with innovation, functionality and spectacle. The significance of such quasi-communal space was recognised by Fourier who celebrated the Arcades' architectural qualities as reminiscent of his designs for the Phalanx and by Howard in his Winter Gardens of Garden Cities.

Fig. 3 The Passage de l'Opera, Benjamin (1999, p49)

Benjamin derived some of his descriptive and allegorical inspiration from the work of the early surrealist Louis Aragon and in particular his 1926 book 'Paris Peasant' in which Aragon gave the following description of the Passage de l'Opera arcade:

> 'On the light that reigns in the arcades: a glorious gleam, seemingly filtered through deep water...The great American passion for city planning, injected into Paris... these human aquariums...the secret repositories of several modern myths.' (Aragon, quoted by Benjamin 1999, R2.1[1] p539)

Aragon describes the detailed 'mixed use' quality of the Arcades that combined cafes, shops, hotels and apartments in what Benjamin refers to as a 'world in miniature' infused with a sense of nostalgia, one of several themes (listed below) taken up by Benjamin as key characteristics of the Arcades which present significant ideas for exploring contemporary Mixed Use:

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[1]The Arcades Project features a particular referencing system based on letters and numbers.

- Imbued with symbolism
- Historical references
- Environments of industrial and commercial order
- Strategic embellishment
- Archaic idyll
- Modern Utopias
- Camouflage for bourgeois preferences and lifestyles
- Commodification and commercialisation
- Loss
- Wish images of the collective
- Fermenters of intoxication
- Phantasmagorias of space
- Hedonistic
- Dominance of finance capital
- Transition from an unconscious to conscious experience

(Benjamin 1999, pp 901 – 907)

For Benjamin, the Arcades transcend their identity as a built form to create spaces that exist between temporal and conceptual dimensions, combining apparently incongruous images, such that Benjamin concluded that 'surrealism was born in an arcade' (Benjamin 1999, C1.2, p82). While presenting an apparently permissive, libertarian and egalitarian milieu, the Arcades also institutionalised rigid codes of behaviour circumscribed by spatial organisation and the pre-eminence of commercialism, expressed by Benjamin in Marxist terms of the 'fetishism of commodities'. Alongside idealism and a sense of collectivism in shared space, Benjamin also sees the Arcades as a form of 'camouflage' for the dominance of finance capital and the pursuit of personal gratification manifested by the production of a self-conscious urban form that no longer represents social diversity and animation, but has become stilted artefact.

Goss (1996) uses Benjamin in an analysis of the 'festival marketplaces' that became a common feature of urban development in the 1970s and 1980s and have direct links to Mixed Use. The festival marketplace concept of a retail complex that utilised historic buildings and

environs, combined with small independent retailers to provide a flavour of locality was pioneered at Faneuil Hall in Boston and Harborplace in Baltimore. Both places were developed by the Rouse Company of James Rouse who had also built some of the first shopping malls in the US and the planned Utopian community of Columbia, Maryland. Goss identifies a series of issues that connect festival marketplaces with Benjamin's Arcades, particularly the mobilisation of a 'narrative of loss and memory' that is based on illusory, Utopian and nostalgic images that go beyond shopping. Furthermore, both examples seek to connect a built form to a range of social attributes and dynamics through a specific organisation and use of urban space, particularly in the public realm, but where the latter is circumscribed by formal and informal rules of behaviour that question the authenticity of rhetorical allusions to the creation of places designed to nurture a collective civic experience.

There are significant comparisons to be made between Benjamin's study of Arcades, Goss' discussion of festival marketplaces and contemporary Mixed Use. All three present a specific architectural response to a particular urban situation. Each enjoyed a peak of widespread popularity, in part based on their presumed capacity to unify a number of different activities in one discreet location and in so doing engender a range of outcomes perceived to be beneficial to and reflective of the diversity and urbanity of city life.

**Urbanity and the Public Realm**

The elusive quality of 'urbanity' is under-stated in other research into Mixed Use. Any attempt to measure urbanity is problematic (Trip 2007), but in this thesis is explored through the medium of public space, the design and usage of which has become central to the conceptual and policy justification for Mixed Use where it is frequently linked to an improved public realm capable of producing urban environments that nurture 'the rhythms of everyday life' without which cities lose their urbanity (Montgomery 1998). However, the 'rediscovery' of the public realm as part of 'place making' strategies (Friedmann 2010) has also been related to discourses around access to and control over such spaces (MacLeod 2002, Minton 2009), particularly in the context of attempts to foster an Urban Renaissance with which Mixed Use is strongly associated.

Public space and its use has been described as the quintessence of the city by Lofland (1998) who argues that its vitality is explicitly undermined by mono-functional land use, or the

'megamononeighbourhoods' associated with Modernist urbanism. Lofland provides an inventory of the public realms' importance, including:

- An environment for learning, particularly the socialisation of children.
- A place for respite and refreshment.
- A forum for communication and inter-action.
- A setting for the 'practice of politics'.

(Lofland 1998, pp 231 - 237).

Lofland refers to the difficulties in defining public space and some of the concepts that relate to it, but concludes:

'...the public realm is a form of social space distinct from the private realm and its full-blown existence is what makes the city different from other settlement types.' (Lofland 2009 p9)

It is this 'difference' that for some theorists, planners and urban designers makes public space of essential importance for the quality of city life and it is argued, needs to be carefully considered in places that aspire to stimulate social-dynamics that encourage cohesive and sustainable communities (CABE 2001). These sundry objectives have been directly related to the potential benefits of a well-designed public realm within Mixed Use developments, wherein the relationship between public and private space, the connections between them and the ownership patterns that distinguish them are crucial considerations (Roberts and Lloyd-Jones 1997, p156).

The positive relationship between Mixed Use, public space and social behaviour is emphasised in the theoretical roots of Mixed Use espoused by Jacobs.

'Streets and their sidewalks, the main public places of a city, are its most vital organs...More than that...if a city's streets are safe from barbarism and fear, the city is thereby tolerably safe from barbarism and fear.' (Jacobs 1961 p39)

While the absence of barbarism does not necessarily confer urbanity, Jacobs goes on to relate her conception of good urban form to well-designed public space that engenders the traits synonymous with 'successful neighbourhoods' (Jacobs 1961, pp 44 – 45). For Lofland, Jacobs was one of a group of urban theorists (including Goffman, Whyte and Lynch) who redefined and elevated the importance of the public realm, from being merely a transitory zone between other things, to being a space with its own significance. Understanding how the specific qualities of Mixed Use may influence particular dynamics in the public realm first requires an attempt to conceptualise Mixed Use.

**Conceptualising Mixed Use**

This section discusses five readings of the Mixed Use concept: the historic, the futurist, the locational, the instrumental and the contrived. These are not proposed as mutually exclusive and indeed, as Kostof notes, blanket categorisations of influences on urban form tend to be more a hindrance than aid to our understanding (Kostof 1991, p43). However, these different conceptualisations help contextualise the re-emergence of Mixed Use and contribute to the initial typology of Mixed Use proposed at the end of this chapter.

**The Historic**

Seeing Mixed Use in historical context entails confronting one of the concept's central anomalies, namely the tension between a built-form that suggests spontaneity, in the context of attempts to plan the built environment. Mumford evokes the natural sociability of the urban experience and its capacity to integrate the 'scattered organs of the common life' (Mumford 1961, p647), but also argues that since the fifth century BC, city dwellers have sought to organise their surroundings, particularly through functional and spatial separation. Similarly, Coupland (1997) traces Mixed Use to pre-industrial land use based on small-scale, diverse settlements where 'mixed use was the norm', a practice that did not significantly change until the latter part of the 19th century, but also notes that organic patterns of development did not preclude some degree of functional planning, with the separation of particular trades, particularly those regarded as noxious or potentially hazardous (Glinert 2003). In his influential work, Sitte (1889) describes the subtle inter-play of forces guiding the design of European Medieval towns, arguing that their multi-functional, compact, irregular form was 'in no way arbitrary', but evolved gradually from the pattern of previous

settlements. In a similar vein Crawford (2005) suggests that Medieval townscapes were the product of an informal planning process, with 'neighbours chatting about their street' over the course of many years and arriving at the 'stunning results' that have maintained an enduring hold over contemporary urban design reflecting a reaction against the 'engineer-controlled' city (Walker 1945) and an 'enthusiasm for organic natural town forms' (Greed 2000). Such 'traditional' urban planning has been particularly associated with New Urbanism (Dutton 1989) and the revived interest in Mixed Use and the public realm as spatial mechanisms for stimulating the kind of active citizenship that Sitte associates with the Medieval built environment.

Benevolo (1963) records the oscillations between planned and organic urban space, from which begin to emerge some of the core features of contemporary planning policy, within which the allocation of land uses assumes a particular significance. The Renaissance brought a revival of the ordered town planning of classical Greece and Rome reflected, for example, in Christopher Wren's proposal for the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire of 1666. Wren's unfulfilled attempt to 'master plan' a new city was based on the replacement of chaotic Medieval lanes with a network of straight, wide boulevards and public spaces of the type later incorporated into L'Enfant's 1792 plan for Washington (Bordewich 2008) and Haussmann's remodelling of Paris between 1852 and 1870 (Harvey 2006). Such grand designs not only demonstrated a new trend for spatial regularity, but reflected the deepening socio-spatial cleavage of the city and marked a division between previous practice and the looming prospect of a new approach to planning in response to the gathering threat of deteriorating urban conditions (Benevolo 1963). Thus, Bell and Bell argue that regimented urbanism and the organisation of space in response to perceived urban decay foreshadowed the Modernist movement and 'anticipated the dehumanisation of the city by two hundred and fifty years' (Bell and Bell 1969).

Large-scale, iconoclastic plans can, however, be seen as the exception rather than the norm in the evolution of urban form. Chalklin (2001) describes a more complex process for land use allocations at the local level of late seventeenth and eighteenth century UK towns where all land was privately owned, often in large quantities and space was notionally divided for public, institutional and private purposes. In the absence of a regulated planning system, market forces dictated the pattern of development, with landowners typically sub-leasing sites to builders who sought to maximise the quantity of units and diversity of uses in order to

optimise rental returns. Partly resulting from this unregulated, marketised land use system, Chalklin observes the increasingly sharp socio-spatial divisions in towns and cities, a phenomenon that intensified significantly under the pressure of dramatic population growth in the 19th century. Between 1841 and 1901 half a million people a year migrated from rural to urban areas of the UK, contributing to the watershed finding of the 1851 census that for the first time in the history of a modern nation, more people lived in towns than country (Long 2005).

Benevolo's argues that the 19th century marked the turning point in the evolution of the modern city when town planning assumed an increasingly technical and interventionist character aimed at bringing order to a chaotic, unhealthy and potentially insurrectionary city, the latter of particular significance in the aftermath of 1848, 'the year of revolutions' (Benevolo 1963). Metropolitan improvement projects for roads, sewers and railways crashed through existing working class areas, creating displacement exacerbated by the appropriation of land in the central district for public and commercial buildings (Engels 1845, 1872). Harvey links the shift described by Benevolo with the emergent concept of Modernity and illustrates the point with reference to the wholesale redevelopment of Paris under Haussmann which both transformed the scale of the urban process and established a method for absorbing surplus capital in a programme of public works (Harvey 2006, 2008). Hitherto, urban policy had only been able to 'tinker' with the medieval urban infrastructure: Haussmann 'bludgeoned the city into modernity'.

> 'Before, there were small stores along narrow winding streets…after came the vast sprawling department stores that spilled out onto the boulevards.' (Harvey 2006, p3)

Echoing Benjamin, Harvey describes the socially fractured quality of this new landscape of consumption. Haussmann's grand boulevards established a hybrid identity between public and private realms, with access controlled by economic power conferring exclusion or inclusion. For Harvey, Haussmannism established a symbiotic relationship between public space and consumerism by linking shops with a streetscape that afforded opportunities for pedestrians to admire window displays, while facilitating the transportation of the large number of potential customers required to sustain department stores on a scale that obliterated the local specialist stores that had existed within the former landscape of small streets. This destruction and reconstruction of urban space to facilitate new forms of capital

accumulation and exchange, leading to new patterns of social behaviour, is the phenomenon described by Benjamin in relation to the Arcades and is suggestive of some of the forces guiding the advancement of Mixed Use as a purportedly innovative response to the changing character of the 21$^{st}$ century city.

## The Futurist

While its roots can be traced back through millennia, the theoretical conceptualisation of Mixed Use took place in the last quarter of the 20$^{th}$ century and emerged from a period during which the understanding and planning of urban space had become both deeply contested and increasingly concerned with the city's future. While the problematisation of the metropolis also has a long history (Hubbard 2006), it is the late 20$^{th}$ century when the sense of a multi-faceted urban crisis calls forth a search for policies aimed at producing sustainable urbanism (Cochrane 2007). For Merrifield (2011), this quest is born of a necessity resulting from the all-consuming juggernaut of industrialisation 'gobbling up everything and everywhere' and producing a social dislocation where city-dwellers live in a 'tragic intimacy of proximity without sociability' and 'encounter without real meeting'. Addressing such urban malaise has been the task of a series of approaches to the built environment based on a radical rethinking of the metropolis that proposed solutions based on a different scale, form, texture and ideological approach than the previous practices that were portrayed as having discredited 20$^{th}$ century urban policy. One of the most prominent of such alternatives is that of the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU 2005) which specified Mixed Use as one of the key principles for guiding public policy and development practices aimed at 'reclaiming' the city through the 'art of place-making'. New Urbanism advanced a new paradigm for the dawning century posited on the unsustainability of previous practice (Katz 1994). The detailed debates around New Urbanism are examined in the next chapter, but a priori, it is possible to conceptualise Mixed Use not just as the cumulative experience of the past, but as a vital part of a broader agenda for a sustainable urban future. Thus, Mixed Use is included in prescriptions for the 21$^{st}$ century not just for its aesthetic quality, but as an essential component of a more flexible planning system that can reverse homogeneous, low-density, car-oriented patterns of development that both thwart social cohesion and deplete finite natural resources (Hall and Pfeifer 2000). Similarly, Rogers and Burdett (2001) argue that the future should not belong to the suburbs and wasteful patterns of land use, but rather that

we should 'cram more into the city', an argument that has been fundamental to the Mixed Use revival.

## The Locational

An alternative to the historic and futurist conceptualisations is to see Mixed Use as a locational phenomenon that reflects the characteristics of a particular place, although these spatial and temporal interpretations are not mutually exclusive. As Sieverts (2003) notes, it is images of compact, diverse, 'traditional' European cities and towns that have provided the counter point to sprawling, homogeneous conurbations and have inspired those seeking to revive a more balanced urban environment. Following Sitte's celebration of Medieval Italian and German towns (Sitte 1889), the re-conceptualisation of Continental townscapes as the ideal model of sustainable development has had an enduring influence, particularly associated with the Garden City movement (Miller 1992), New Urbanism (Dutton 1989, Ellis 2002) and a wider range of design philosophies that rejected the international uniformity of Modernist urbanism (Krier 1987, Rogers and Power 2000).

Sieverts describes how Mixed Use was the typical built-form in central areas of 19th century European cities such as Vienna, Berlin and Budapest;

> '...the front building, carefully distinguished in rental terms between basement, *piano nobile*, upper floors and attic; in the back crafts workshops, storage premises and, last but not least, the back building for tenants or limited means. All were integrated with each other into a type of building complex which offered maximum utilisation of the land.' (Sieverts 2003, p33)

This style of multi-use building is described and illustrated by Waters at 33 Rue Marbeuf in Paris (Waters 2007, fig. 4)

Fig. 4 Vertical Mixed Use at 33 Rue Marbeuf, Paris (Waters 2007)

The latent possibilities for social and economic interaction presented by such a concentrated

integration of functions as exists at 33 Rue Marbeuf is key to some of the conceptions of

Mixed Use that look to Continental Europe for inspiration. Thus, in proposing an alternative

vision for UK cities, Rogers and Power (2000, pp 3 - 12) compare Manchester with

Barcelona. The former is characterised by a depopulated, dilapidated, threatening inner-city,

particularly after dark, with derelict buildings and a 'bad attitude towards city life'. Although

some signs of renewal have been achieved, particularly following the 1996 bombing of the

central shopping centre with its 'heavy, enclosed 1960s architecture' and a limited revival of

residential accommodation in the central city, this is not enough to off-set overall population loss to sprawling, low density suburbs served by out of town shopping centres. By contrast, Barcelona is celebrated for its compactness, high residential density, profusion of good quality public spaces and 'mixture of activities at street level' that create places where 'people want to be…because they feel safe', contributing to a successful policy of retaining a residential population within the inner-city. This juxtaposition accords with the recommendations of the European Commission's Green Paper on the Urban Environment (CEC 1990) which invoke 'the old traditional life of the European city' as a model for reversing the multifarious adverse effects of town planning based on 'rigid compartmentalisation and location of activities on the basis of function'. In seeking to redress the 'failure of the periphery', typified by the diminution of public life and culture, a sterile built environment and wasteful commuting, the CEC proposes a return to 'the mixing of urban uses…stressing density, multiple use, social and cultural diversity'.

## The Instrumental

The images of compact, high-density, culturally and functionally diverse cities have been mobilised as key to a wider urban renaissance that have promoted Mixed Use as a vital policy instrument with the potential to meet a variety of policy goals (DCLG 2006a). More specifically, Mixed Use policy in the UK has increasingly been associated with the search for sustainable urbanism and the imperatives of increasing housing supply, reducing pollution, improving local economies and achieving a more diverse and vibrant social milieu (Evans and Foord 2007), objectives that have been endorsed by politicians:

> 'It (mixed use) enables vitality through activity and diversity. It makes areas safer. It also reduces the need to travel, making people less reliant on cars, bringing welcome environmental benefits.' (John Gummer, UK Environment Minister 1995, quoted by Coupland 1997, p3)

Underlining the scope and reach of Mixed Use as a policy instrument, Coupland sets out the advantages and disadvantages as follows:

| ADVANTAGES | DISADVANTAGES |
|---|---|
| **Definite** | **Definite** |
| Attractiveness and vitality – diversity; up to 24 hour city. | Harder to dispose of property asset quickly. |
| Uses unwanted or obsolete property, including listed buildings. | Requires active management of property. |
| Range of uses means greater likelihood of some parts letting. | Therefore harder to raise finance and may put some possible tenants off. |
| **Possible** | **Possible** |
| Reduction in travel (shorter trips, more multi-function) so reduced emissions. | Lower rents achieved. |
| Sustainability | Problems of separate access needed for each use. |
| Reduction in crime; more activity; greater uses; observation of street. | Conflict between activities; noise, traffic etc. (e.g. housing over wine bar). |

Table 1: Advantages and Disadvantages of Mixed Use (Coupland 1997, p4)

Given such a wide range of potential outcomes, the conception of Mixed Use as a policy instrument becomes necessarily complex and contested (Grant 2005, Rabianski et al 2009). In addition to the prosaic, practical and policy-oriented objectives listed by Coupland, there is a more ephemeral dimension to the Mixed Use concept that speaks to the quality of the urban experience that relates back to the discussion of 'urbanity', the recovery of which was highlighted by one of the first comprehensive attempts to conceptualise the Mixed Use concept in policy terms (Witherspoon et al 1976). Urbanity implies a range of social behaviours (Lees 2010) that advocates for Mixed Use argue can be nurtured by adopting a particular approach to the built environment that encourages diversity, civic identification, social interaction, participation and the fostering of 'community' (ODPM 2003b). However, as Gronlund (2007) notes, the relationship between urbanity and urban form is uncertain and this ambiguity relates to much wider debates about the nature of the city, to the point where 'as soon as we start to talk about the city and the urban, we start to talk about something else'. For Gronlund, this 'something else' includes the use of space syntax as a method of evaluating how people relate to each other in urban space and in turn, how these

spatial dynamics can be mediated through urban design approaches that consider, inter alia, high density, the public realm and Mixed Use. Gronlund compares Sennett's view of urbanity, based on the spontaneity and chance encounters of city life (Sennett 1970), with that of Lefebvre who similarly recognises the value of urban chaos in formulating a theory of urbanity, but with a greater emphasis on personal expression and the potential for emancipation from the shackles of the constricted capitalist city. However, for Gronlund a more rounded understanding of urbanity is needed for the purpose of empirical study. This entails the development of measurable thresholds of human activity in public space so, for example, the measure for a state of urbanity is suggested as three people within one hundred metres of each other in a shared space, combined with measures of proximity or 'crowding' and the turnover of new people in a given area over a given period of time. However, mere head counting is not sufficient to suggest levels of urbanity. This requires consideration of the inter-relationship between people and the built environment and the types of activity conducted in public spaces based, for example, on descriptions of permeability, design features that may encourage urbanity or 'hanging out' such as benches, playgrounds or fountains and the quality of urban space reflected in activities such as organised special events like festivals and equally, the capacity for people to 'personalise' space by taking part in activities that are spontaneous and unregulated. Gronlund's theory indicates the intricate inter-relationship between social, physical and environmental factors implicit within the conceptualisation and deployment of Mixed Use as a multifarious policy instrument.

For Sieverts, these multiple complexities are compounded by the transition to a new type of city where historical theories founded on the discrete urban entity and 'the myth of the old city' have been replaced by physical and social realities based on dispersal, regional agglomeration and changing socio-economic conditions, particularly shifts in property ownership and life-style patterns that place a particular question against Mixed Use policy because,

> '...only a small group of citizens can still live in a unity of time, place and work. For the majority the possibility of being able to choose a house and employment in spatial proximity has gone.' (Sieverts 2003, p36)

However, in opposition to 'post-modernist introspection' that rejects the possibility of successfully planning this diffuse metropolis, Sieverts argues for a renewed urbanism within

which Mixed Use policy is a key element, but informed by an appraisal of different scales, forms and locations of development, rather than taken for granted benefits. This argument is perhaps suggestive of the phenomenon of suburban Mixed Use that has begun to interest planners and policy makers (Grant and Perrott 2011). Moreover, Sieverts draws specific attention to the role of large scale financiers and property developers whose motivations for investing in Mixed Use tend to be short-term and conservative, in contrast to the long-term, flexible view of individual, middle class owners of the typical type of Continental Mixed Use building illustrated at fig. 4 above. However, as recent governmental research on Mixed Use argues (Scottish Government 2009), it is clearly going to be necessary to overcome the resistance and commercially-motivated scepticism of private property developers towards Mixed Use if it is going to make a genuine contribution to a sustainable urban future.

**The Contrived**

The role of property developers is indicative of a conceptualisation of Mixed Use as a contrivance designed and utilised by participants in the urban development process to achieve particular purposes (Rydin 2010). This reading locates Mixed Use within the nexus of short-term, pragmatic, utilitarian commercial and political interests and in so doing, potentially relegates some of the more complex and long-term policy thresholds suggested by alternative concepts. An early example is the Urban Land Institute report (ULI 1976) that proposed a framework for the post-Jacobs formulation of Mixed Use. The ULI sets out the principle policy drivers for Mixed Use as increasing the tax yield for public authorities, achieving cost savings for property developers, optimising the value of infrastructure investment, creating high-profile locations and acting as a catalyst for further development. This overwhelmingly commercial list of incentives partly reflects the alignment of the ULI towards the property industry, but also demonstrates that Mixed Use as a distinct strand of urban policy pre-dates the widespread adoption of policies for sustainable urbanism, to which it has subsequently been added. More recent conceptualisations of Mixed Use, even if written from a commercial perspective, include environmental benefits as one of the key policy drivers (Dixon and Marston 2003), summarised by the British Council for Offices (BCO) as follows:

> '...(mixed use) is driven by a broad confluence of social, economic and political pressures. Of these pressures it is public policy, as expressed through the UK Government's urban regeneration, sustainability and planning policies, that is the

strongest influence.' (BCO 2005, p3)

However, the BCO also refers to a 'pragmatic acknowledgment' that complying with this list of policy objectives helps to gain planning permission (BCO 2005, p4), a vital element of the development process identified by Rabianski and Clements (2007) as forming part of the strategy of risk mitigation deployed by developers for whom the reduction of uncertainty represents a significant commercial objective. This identification of Mixed Use within the broader context of the political economy of the property development industry is suggested by Logan and Molotch (1987) who describe the imperative towards maximising land values according to its different potential uses. Consequently, as Feinstein has argued, the role of property developers in shaping urban form surpasses that of planners and policy makers (Fainstein 1994, p4) and as Peck and Tickell (2002) point out, has been fundamental to recent urban policies that have sought to 'stretch' regeneration strategies to incorporate marketised and neoliberal formations of space.

In summary, this section argues that there are several different ways of understanding Mixed Use, but all of them require an analysis that relates to socio-economic, historic and spatial context. The next section looks in more detail at how the multifarious qualities of a particular approach to the built environment have become firmly established within the contemporary policy framework.

**The Mixed Use Revival**
**Jane Jacobs**

The work of Jacobs in influencing the Mixed Use revival is difficult to over-state. One of her biographers credits Jacobs with coining the term 'mixed use' to define the unique qualities of urban life that she experienced, studied and fought to preserve:

> 'Jacobs saw value and logic in the sometimes messy traditional neighbourhoods where work, play, residence, industry, retail and education lived cheek by jowl in a variety of building styles, ages and scale...' (Brandes Gratz 2010, pXXII)

Jacobs' arguments in favour of Mixed Use and diversity are pre-figured in 'Downtown is for People' (Jacobs 1958) in which she attacks the urban renewal projects being implemented by

cities across the US for their uniformity and deadening effect on urban life, particularly by separating different functions and isolating them from 'hustle and bustle'. Jacobs develops her critique in 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities' (Jacobs 1961) in which she specifically addresses the consequences of attempts to 'sort and sift' land uses and 'arrange' them in 'relative self-containment' as part of a bureaucratic process for controlling cities and the people who live in them. Instead of such 'city destroying ideas', Jacobs celebrates the organic vitality of the 'ballet of the good city sidewalk' and argues that cities work best when their natural qualities, which she defines as informal, spontaneous and symbiotic, are allowed to flourish. This analysis, based on observations of the dynamics of particular neighbourhoods in New York City, is distilled by Jacobs into four inter-dependent conditions that determine the ability of an urban area to be socially and economically successful. First, in an explicit endorsement of the importance of Mixed Use, a neighbourhood must serve more than one primary function, preferably more than two. Primary functions are attractions or 'anchorages' that bring people to an area in the first instance. These may be commercial activities such as shops, offices or factories, but could include schools, libraries, theatres, leisure facilities or some combination of these, although Jacobs is at pains to emphasise that the blend of uses must reflect the character of the district. Thus, Jacobs rails against the sanitisation of the Battery Park area at the southern tip of Manhattan where the removal of an aquarium not only deprived the neighbourhood of an important tourist attraction, but also the associated uses and activities, while transplanting the facility to another part of the city where it appeared artificial and out of context, a suggestion of the debate around urban authenticity that has emerged more recently (Goss 1996, Zukin 2010). Primary functions in turn stimulate the development of secondary functions that visitors might use having first been drawn to the district by the primary uses. This symbiotic relationship generates a level of activity from a range of different people, with different purposes, throughout the day: crucially, they also share the same facilities, thus generating social as well as economic benefits. Secondly, Jacobs advocates short street frontages/blocks that encourage pedestrians to turn corners and use side streets, thus avoiding 'no go areas' and blind alleys that may attract crime and foster a sense of insecurity, while contributing to the synergy of different uses through ease of access and avoiding the isolation of commercial enterprises and residents. This proposal was a repudiation of 'super blocks', a feature of post-second world war urban renewal programmes in the US that bulldozed traditional neighbourhoods to make way for large scale housing and infrastructure projects, a practice most notoriously associated with the 'modernist master builder' of New York City, Robert Moses (Flint 2009). Thirdly, for Jacobs

successful districts feature the mingling of buildings of different ages and types to create a 'fine grain' urban landscape. This not only provides visual interest, but older buildings present a wider range of potentially viable uses because they do not embody the high costs of new-construction and thus can attract a greater diversity of primary and secondary uses than would be the case in an area dominated by high commercial rents. Finally, in another direct challenge to planning orthodoxy of the time, Jacobs argues for high density development to produce an intensity of land use where greater vitality and diversity can be generated by achieving the critical mass of population that makes different commercial uses viable and provides businesses with a continuous flow of potential customers, while stimulating an active community through the interaction of residents. Although Jacobs is reluctant to specify an 'ideal' level of density, because this must be related to the character of the area in question, she argues that neighbourhoods become more successful at development levels of 100 units per acre and above (Jacobs 1961, pp196 – 197).

In short, Jacobs argues that a 'mix of uses generates a mix of users and thus produces social diversity' (Grant 2011, p92). However, for Jacobs the creation of successful places derived from Mixed Use needs further qualification. First, it requires that people using streets at different times must be using the *same* streets: any form of spatial or physical separation will nullify the benefits. Second, there must be some degree of sharing of the same services, such as shops or cafes, by different groups of people so, for example, factory shift-workers and school-run parents can provide a different type of clientele at different times of day, but contribute to the overall vitality of a neighbourhood. This is also a warning against the inappropriate co-location of different uses that, while they may provide a superficial 'mix' on paper, in fact do nothing to break down social or cultural barriers. Jacobs offers the extreme example of the siting of an opera house[2] next to a low-income housing estate, with an assumption that there is unlikely to be a cross-fertilisation of populations between the two places. Finally, the distribution of different uses must be reasonably proportionate. A single office, shop or café in an otherwise overwhelmingly residential area can only add superficial 'atmospheric' effect (Jacobs 1961, pp 175 – 176).

Jacobs drew inspiration from neighbourhoods that challenged the edicts of post-war orthodox planning, such as Greenwich Village and North End in Boston, where 'all kinds of working

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[2]Jacobs is referring to the redevelopment, under Robert Moses, of a working class area of Upper West Side Manhattan to create the Lincoln Centre for the Performing Arts.

places and commerce mingled in the greatest complexity with its residences'. In 1959 North End had avoided renewal projects aimed at 'wiping away its non-conforming uses' and had survived as a district which, despite being officially designated as a 'slum', for Jacobs enjoyed the kind of vitality that has become linked with the aspirations for contemporary Mixed Use policy.

> 'The streets are alive with children playing, people shopping, people strolling people talking. Had it not been a cold January day, there would surely have been people sitting.' (Jacobs 1961 pp 18 – 19)

Amongst the 'bedrock attributes' identified by Jacobs as resulting from such a level of diverse urban animation are increased personal safety and security. The maxim of 'eyes on the street' has become readily associated with Jacobs' work, but this is a shorthand expression for a more intricate exposition of the dynamics of city life, such as those explored by Whyte (1993, 2000) and Sennett (1970, 1974). An 'economic foundation of basic mixed uses' is intrinsic to Jacobs' formula for mutually supportive urban communities because it produces multiple types of activity throughout the day, thus generating continual movement and inter-communal surveillance. For Jacobs, the successful neighbourhood lets people feel safe even though they are, as an inevitable consequence of the nature of city life, surrounded by strangers (Jacobs 1961, pp 39 - 40). Jacobs contrasts the flourishing networks of familiarity and social support that she found in well-established, poor, high-density, multi-ethnic communities with the mono-cultural, low-density middle-class enclaves resulting from urban renewal projects that failed to take account of such voluntary, informal controls and feel less secure as a result (Jacobs 1961, pp 39 - 42), an argument that was also being made by one of Jacobs' contemporaries, Herbert Gans, in relation to the 'Urban Villages' of Boston (Gans 1962).

Although Jacobs herself invited systematic and on-going analysis of her hypotheses (Jacobs 1961, p26), it has been suggested that her 'ascension to saint-like status' has dulled the edge of critical appraisal and led to the 'simplistic cherry-picking of Jacobs' ideals' (Larson 2009). However, one of the urban theorists aligned by Jacobs with the errors of orthodox planning was quick to question her recipe for successful cities. Lewis Mumford (1962), in a trenchant and at times withering review of 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities', suggests the book could be subtitled 'Pride and Prejudice'. Mumford accuses Jacobs of advancing a

universal theory of the city based on 'bits and pieces (of) local personal observations' and of wanting to preserve overcrowded slums as she 'gaily bulldozes out of existence every desirable innovation in urban planning during the last century'. For Mumford, the scale of urban problems far exceeds Jacobs' 'home remedies' which he argues are based on a pre-occupation with criminal behaviour for which 'eyes on the street' are an unrealistic solution, based on 'wishful thinking'. Mumford also suggests theoretical inconsistencies in Jacobs' celebration of the organic spontaneity of West Greenwich Village which for Mumford has the character of a planned neighbourhood in a UK New Town, with its relatively low densities and well-defined architecture and layout. Mumford also accuses Jacobs of an obsession with 'power and profit' by supporting the type of wanton commercialism that for Mumford is the root of an urban pathology characterised by overcrowding, materialism and disorder, the very qualities Jacobs 'vehemently upholds as marks of urban vitality'.

Later critics have echoed Mumford in arguing that Jacobs' work is 'folksy' and subjective (Pettersson 1997, p184), 'favoured anecdote over systematic observation' (Grant 2011, p91), privileges commercial business interests (Larson 2009) and is based on a romantic, nostalgic conception of the city (Sennett 1970). Schmidt (1977) carried out an empirical investigation of Jacobs' conditions for successful neighbourhoods by collating data for land use alongside statistics for health, crime and other social indicators from the city of Denver between 1960 and 1970 and compared it to data from a similar piece of research in Chicago (Weicher 1973). Schmidt concludes that there was little statistical evidence to support Jacobs' theories and that, on the contrary, in some instances indicators of social malaise increased with higher density and Mixed Use, but Schmidt qualifies this finding by suggesting that a true evaluation of Jacobs' theories in practice would require a context more akin to 'free market' conditions than offered by the regulated planning system of North American cities of the period.

Other critics have argued that Jacobs' work provides a theoretical justification for gentrification. Klemek (2008) describes the opposition of sections of the local working class community to attempts by Jacobs to prevent the redevelopment of Greenwich Village, based on a 'suspicion of white collar newcomers' and a fear that renovation of existing buildings, as envisaged by Jacobs, would lead to conversions into luxury apartments that would displace low income households. For Grant, Jacobs' work contains a fundamental anomaly because while being a self-professed anti-planning treatise, it also provides a theoretical foundation for planners by privileging spatial form as the key predictor of social behaviour and as such,

Grant contends that Jacobs can be criticised for design determinism, while underplaying the significance of social and economic factors (Grant 2011, pp92 – 93).

Despite these criticisms, Jacobs' ideas were so influential that by the mid - 1970s they were described as 'mainstream' (Ellin 1996, p64) although, as Brandes Gratz notes, their application in terms of Mixed Use policy and practice have often failed to meet Jacobs' intricate definition and sometimes appear only to seek legitimacy by claiming a 'Jacobs imprimatur' (Brandes Gratz 2010, p285). Moreover, Burden[3] has argued that it is now possible to synthesise the urban philosophy of Jacobs with that of her adversary, Robert Moses:

> '...we are building...like Moses, on an unprecedented scale, but with Jacobs firmly in mind.' (Burden 2006)

This is an intriguing statement, particularly in the context of the development boom that was taking place in New York City at the time it was made. It suggests that contemporary urban policy makers can 'have it all': enabling large-scale planning interventions based on private property development, while also being sensitive to the identity and context of place espoused by Jacobs, thus reconciling the possible tension between the 'planned' and 'organic' city.

Perhaps reflecting Burden's contention and despite apparent misappropriations of the concept as set out in 'Death and Life of Great American Cities', at a rhetorical level at least, many of Jacobs' precepts for the successful city have been incorporated into subsequent urban policies that privilege Mixed Use (Grant and Perrott 2010), for example

> 'Neighbourhoods need to comprise a mix of uses which work together to encourage formal and informal transactions, sustaining activity throughout the day. The mixing of different activities within an area should serve to strengthen social integration and civic life' (DETR 2000b)

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[3]Amanda Burden was Director of the New York City Planning Department in 2006.

The next section considers how the legacy of Jacobs' conception of Mixed Use has been interpreted and operationalised by subsequent theorists and practitioners.

**The Mixed Use Revival Post-Jacobs**

Rabianski et al (2009) credit Jacobs with being 'the voice initiating the revival of interest in mixed use' and this is reflected in the fact that literature on the subject, whether academic or policy oriented, invariably cites her influence (Pettersson 1997). However, in the process of updating Jacobs' original concept and particularly in applying it in the context of practical policy implementation, post-Jacobsian definitions of Mixed Use exhibit a noticeable level of variation and fluidity. As Coupland (1997) argues, these are 'more than merely academic questions'. The uncertainty has particular consequences at the inter-face between planning authorities and property developers, who seek unambiguous statements of policy in order to structure their development proposals. Doubts about Mixed Use can be compounded by uncertainty about related planning policies, particularly the expectation for 'Mixed Tenure' housing (DCLG 2006b), while Tombari suggests a further layer of complexity by linking Mixed Use to the much wider palate of policy instruments associated with 'smart growth' (Tombari 2005), which in turn includes the diverse forms of neo-traditional development associated with 'new urbanism' (Ellis 2002, Grant 2006). It has been argued that this broad spectrum of understandings has contributed to some of the ambiguities, contradictions and over-blown rhetoric that have become associated with the application of Mixed Use policies in practice (Rowley 1996, 1998, Grant 2005, Hoppenbrouwer and Louw 2005, Rabianski 2009. Grant and Perrott 2011).

Notwithstanding these uncertainties and confirming the tendency towards hyperbole, the first comprehensive post-Jacobs study of Mixed Use (ULI 1976) opines that the concept was 'quietly reshaping much of American life'. The report attempts to codify Mixed Use and identifies the distinguishing characteristics as:

1. Three or more significant revenue-producing uses. The ULI explicitly discounts flats above shops as a form of genuine Mixed Use.
2. Significant functional and physical integration of project components requiring high density land use capable of generating the critical mass and high public profile necessary for a development to achieve a synergy of uses and become a 'destination'.

3. Development in conformance with a coherent plan that takes into account the complexity and financial risk of Mixed Use compared to other types of development.

Describing Mixed Use as a 'tool for treating blight and decay', the ULI also argues that genuine Mixed Use development must be relatively large in scale, suggesting a minimum development size of 50,000 square metres. Any scheme failing to meet all of these criteria is classified as 'multi use'. Thirty years after its original report, the ULI maintains the importance of Mixed Use for successful and vibrant urban development, based on the 'work, live, shop' principle it associates with historic towns and villages, but its definition is noticeably looser, reflecting a shift towards a more generic incorporation of Mixed Use within area-based regeneration strategies where direct inter-relationships of uses and users within single buildings are seen as less important than creating 'a sense of place' (ULI 2007).

Rowley (1996) argues that defining and implementing Mixed Use requires a detailed appreciation of the 'internal texture' and character of a particular place, as reflected in the key features of its morphology. This more intricate typology, with echoes of Jacobs, addresses a location's grain, reflected in the type and distribution of land uses in relation to its scale, location, patterns and time profiles of movement and occupancy/tenure characteristics. Moreover, Rowley relates these factors to the planning policy rationales which combine to produce a Mixed Use development that may be part of a 'new build', conservation or refurbishment programme. Rowley argues that more rigorous definition might mitigate some of the problematic design and management issues that have acted as a disincentive to developers in bringing forward the type of schemes that can produce the benefits of Mixed Use areas to be found in 'traditional' English towns and thus prevent the concept from degenerating into a 'marketing slogan for a product that is a very pale imitation of the genuine article' (Rowley 1996, p95).

Hoppenbrouwer and Louw (2005) suggest some adjustments to Rowley's definition and propose a multi-dimensional model that takes account of other types of Mixed Use beyond the 'horizontal' spatial perspective. First, the 'shared premises' category refers to 'live/work' accommodation that can be seen as the 'ultimate' model of Mixed Use by combining domestic and employment activities within one building. A second dimension of 'vertical' Mixed Use describes multiple functions within a single building, possibly carried out by different enterprises, most traditionally in flats above shops. Thirdly, Hoppenbrouwer and

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Louw include the 'time dimension', where uses are mixed, but separated at different times of the day, such as an office operating from nine-to-five, above a restaurant that stays open into the evening. Hoppenbrouwer and Louw further categorise these dimensions according to scale, where Mixed Use is visible at a building, block, district, or city level and add a further layer of analysis by assessing grain, density and the level of interweaving and synergy between uses.

The widening of the Mixed Use concept to include a variety of building and spatial types is linked to the increasing importance placed by public authorities and private developers on 'place making' (Savills 2010), reflected in the practice of Local Planning Authorities (LPAs) adopting designated Mixed Use Zones as part of their spatial development strategies (see, for example, London Borough of Greenwich UDP 2006, p38). This more general application is reflected in more generic definitions that embrace a wide range of policy possibilities, for example:

> 'A mixed use development is a real estate project with planned integration of some combination of retail, office, residential, recreational or other functions. It is pedestrian-oriented and contains elements of a live-work-play environment. It maximises space usage, has amenities and architectural expression and tends to mitigate traffic and sprawl.' (Rabianski and Clements 2007, p4)

There is a noticeable discrepancy between this definition and the 1976 iteration of ULI in that the specification for 'three or more significant revenue-producing uses' has been replaced by 'some combination' of uses. Herndon and Drummond (2011) argue that such blurring and dilution undermines the potential for Mixed Use to address more specific policy objectives.

Building on Jacobs' original formulation and those that have followed it, Mixed Use has tended to be strongly associated with strategies for inner-city regeneration (Lees 2003). However, as a further illustration of the elasticity of the concept, it is worth noting in passing that Mixed Use is increasingly being applied to ex-urban and urban-edge developments in order to resolve the apparent oxymoron of 'suburban downtowns', particularly in North America (Grant and Perrott 2011), but also in the UK (Rice 2010). A particularly striking example of this phenomenon is Tysons Corner, fourteen miles outside Washington DC, once described as a classic, mono-functional 'edge city' (Garreau 1991), now being extensively

'retrofitted' to accommodate Mixed Use ('Time' magazine, 11th June 2009). For Bowron (2010), Tysons Corner demonstrates a 'radical shift in vision' from archetypal, low density, car-dependent suburban sprawl to a network of compact, pedestrian-friendly, Mixed Use, Transit-Oriented Developments (TODs), re-connected to their surroundings by a light rail system. Bowron argues that Tysons Corner is illustrative of the dichotomy discussed by Logan and Molotch (1987) for whom the allocation of land uses is a crucial variable in the complex dialectic between use and exchange values in relation to identities of place. Thus the new image for Tysons Corner is the product of a series of pragmatic compromises between the different interested parties (developers, residents, politicians, planners), in particular around the granting of permission for developers to build at higher and therefore more profitable densities. To some extent, Garreau anticipated the likely changes in spatial form at Tysons Corner when arguing that the locomotive of property development is geared towards a perpetual battle with obsolescence.

'The buildings themselves are often regarded as having a life span of no more than twelve or twenty years. By then, the original logic of their use...have been overtaken by events. They are no longer competitive with the rest of the market. At that point, their owners become highly interested in new ways to retrofit or replace them.' (Garreau 1991, p398)

While the final outcome of this process is yet to be determined and has been interrupted by the economic recession, the case of Tysons Corner illustrates the capacity of the Mixed Use concept to be utilised in a variety of spatial contexts and as a vehicle for a wide range of policy objectives. Moreover, as Garreau has suggested of previous urban interventions, Mixed Use can be seen as 'a model that integrates all our apparent contradictions' (Garreau 1991, p369) because it offers the hope of a balance between a number of apparently competing spatial visions so that a local sense of 'place', with integrated services and facilities, can be reconciled with regional, national and even international planning imperatives and development forces.

The most recent detailed UK review of Mixed Use practice provides a definition that acknowledges the potential vagueness of the term, but is again, a significant watering down of the 1976 ULI definition:

'Mixed Use is generally loosely defined but can encompass single developments with two or more revenue producing uses ('vertical' mixed use) and mixed use neighbourhoods with significant physical and functional integration including real physical connections between uses within a five minute walk ('horizontal' mixed use). (The Scottish Government 2009, para. 1.5)

An even more nebulous definition is provided by the British Council for Offices:

'It is perhaps most useful to view mixed use as a development approach that enables the creation of vibrant urban forms, high density development and sustainable built environments.' (BCO 2005, p3)

By contrast, some writers offer an understanding of Mixed Use that relates more to peoples' everyday lives than to the internal dynamics of the property development process:

'...mixed use implies that the simple acts of going to work, buying a cup of coffee, renting a video, or taking clothes to the cleaners would require only a few minutes' walk from one's home' (Hirt 2007a).

It is the breadth of interpretations of Mixed Use that has led Rowley (1996) to describe it as an 'ambiguous concept' based on 'simplistic analysis and wishful thinking'. The conceptual foundations of Mixed Use are built on shifting sands. This thesis considers the extent to which this is reflected in the physical and spatial reality of Mixed Use places, but will do so by referring to a typology that is capable of suggesting a more robust framework of understanding.

**Mixed Use Typology**

Theorists have employed a variety of techniques for classifying urban types with the objective of enabling comparative analysis based on adopting a systematic approach to identifying and differentiating key characteristics of the build environment (Lupala 2002). However, constructing a typology for Mixed Use development is problematic for several reasons. First, as the preceding discussion suggests, the theory and practice of Mixed Use is diffuse and at times ambiguous, leading to a wide variety of forms that have been described

as 'Mixed Use', ranging from small individual buildings within the existing urban grain to entire new neighbourhoods. Secondly, it could be argued that Mixed Use is an urban type in itself, distinguished from other urban morphologies by its multi-functional character, an understanding that is implicit in policy and planning narratives that adopt a generic, undiscriminating approach to Mixed Use such that the term appears to require little more elaboration (Anders 2004). Thirdly, not only does Mixed Use operate in a wider context of urban complexity, but is an inherently multi-faceted concept that does not readily submit itself to archetype. On the contrary, reacting against rigid, systematic and categorical urbanism provides part of the ideological underpinning for the Mixed Use revival, as reflected in the opposition of Jacobs to Moses (Flint 2009) and the broader Modernist/Post-Modernist discourse (Ellin 1996). Therefore, constructing a Mixed Use typology inevitably entails multiple, linked and over-lapping layers of information.

Rapoport (1976) argues that a typology of urban morphology requires the deconstruction of elements of urban form in order to relate physical properties to wider social processes. This task is particularly pertinent in relation to Mixed Use because of the wide range of attributes and manifold influences associated with the concept, requiring the engagement of a combination of physical and spatial characteristics, policy drivers and social qualities. It is the inter-relationship of these factors (fig. 5) that can contribute to a basic Mixed Use typology.
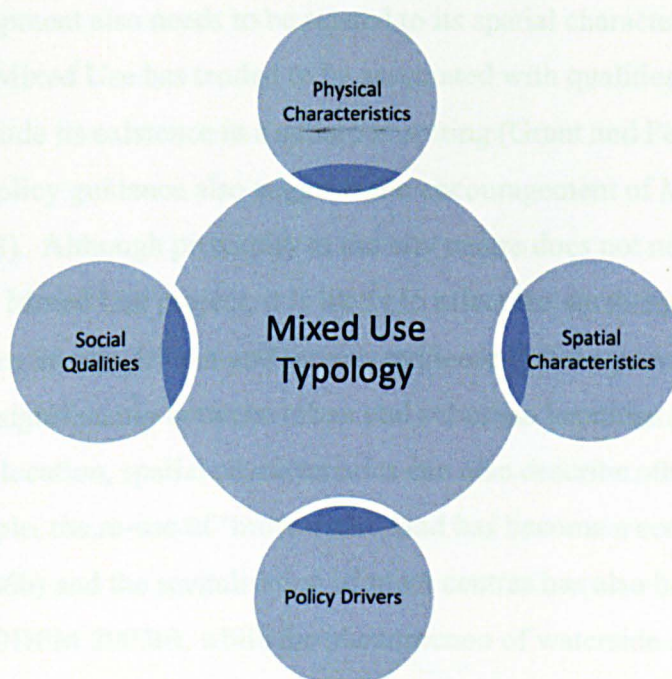


Fig. 5 Factors contributing to a basic Mixed Use typology

However, further detail is necessary within these four headings. Assessing the physical characteristics of a given Mixed Use development can begin with a quantification of scale based on the scheme's overall footprint and the space allocated to different uses, including the number of homes and residential density. These measurements provide an indicator of the size, design and commercial rationale of a Mixed Use type and as such its impact on the urban landscape. As Hoppenbrouwer and Louw (2005) suggest, the physical characteristics of Mixed Use should also take into account the level and type of integration of different activities, ranging from single to multiple buildings that may incorporate different uses in both vertical and horizontal plains. However, some caution needs to be adopted in interpreting spatial data from the construction industry in general and in relation to Mixed Use in particular. As Giddings and Craine (2006) point out, there can be significant variance between the composition of a scheme as stated in the planning phase and its final makeup at completion, discrepancies that can be aggravated by protracted development periods and multiple revisions, some of which are undocumented. Quantifying the physical characteristics of Mixed Use presents particular problems because different uses typically require different amounts of space so, for example, one project featuring a leisure centre, health care facility, or large supermarket might provide more square metres of 'Mixed Use' space than five projects with a convenience store, thus skewing average figures.

Mixed Use development also needs to be related to its spatial characteristics (Rowley 1996, 1998). Although Mixed Use has tended to be associated with qualities of the urban sphere, this does not preclude its existence in a suburban setting (Grant and Perrott 2011) and recent UK government policy guidance also suggests the encouragement of Mixed Use in rural areas (DCLG 2012). Although proximity to the city centre does not necessarily change the physical form of a Mixed Use project, it is likely to affect the socio-economic, demographic and political influences that drive it and there is evidence that the prevalence and type of Mixed Use varies significantly between urban and suburban locations (Giddings and Craine 2006). As well as location, spatial characteristics can also describe other qualities of a Mixed Use site, for example, the re-use of 'brownfield' land has become a central tenet of planning policy (DCLG 2006b) and the revitalisation of town centres has also been identified as a political priority (ODPM 2005b), while the phenomenon of waterside development has been widely associated with urban regeneration strategies (Falk 1992). Brownfield sites, town centres and waterside regeneration have all been separately associated with Mixed Use, but it

is quite common for a single Mixed Use site to exhibit all three spatial characteristics, thus emphasising the point that a Mixed Use typology must accommodate a significant level of overlapping data.

A complex web of policy drivers has evolved around Mixed Use, some of which operate specifically within the planning system, such as Use Class Orders (UCOs) while others have more general application, such as those that shape the commercial or environmental rationale for a given development. The origins of UCOs lie in the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act (Wood 1999) and provide a categorisation of permitted land uses within a particular development, designated by the Local Planning Authority as part of the planning application process (Greed 2000, Cullingworth and Nadin 2006). By definition, a Mixed Use development entails a combination of UCOs. Permitted uses are grouped within four main activity types[4]:

1. Class A: shops (A1), other retail premises including professional and financial services (A2), cafes and restaurants (A3), drinking establishments (A4) and takeaways (A5).
2. Class B: offices and light industrial use (B1), general industrial use (B2) and storage and distribution (B8)
3. Class C: hotels (C1), residential institutions e.g. hospitals and care homes (C2), housing (C3) and houses in multiple occupation (C4)
4. Class D: non-residential institutions e.g. health centres, schools, nurseries and art galleries (D1) and places for assembly and leisure e.g. cinemas, concert halls and gyms (D2).
5. Sui Generis: other uses e.g. theatres and nightclubs.

Alongside land-use planning, a series of other primary and ancillary policy drivers can be identified as shaping the character of a Mixed Use development. The orientation of a Mixed Use scheme towards housing, shops or offices can be seen not purely as a commercial decision on the part of developers, or a design decision on the part of architects, but as a response to a range of issues that form the basis of the planning process and the complex

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[4] The UCOs listed here are found in the Town and Country Planning (Use Classes) Order 1987 and apply to England and Wales, with some differences in Scotland and Northern Ireland. For a more detailed exposition see Cullingworth and Nadin (2006) pp 153 – 154. It should also be noted that UCOs are periodically reviewed and amended.

negotiations between developers and LPAs (Ratcliffe et al 2009). A given Mixed Use development, therefore, may be categorised as 'residential led' if it meets overriding policy concerns to increase the supply of housing, while addressing other strategic objectives. Such multi-faceted policy drivers are illustrated in the following brief on the policy scope of Mixed Use:

'...the consultants were asked to explore the possible market implications of Mixed Use policies designed to encourage office development, linked to planning obligations to secure housing from the office space and to draw out the policy implications for the Sub Regional Development Frameworks.' (GLA 2004, p4)

Similarly, a 'retail-led' Mixed Use development may be promoted by developers and supported by the LPA as a mechanism for encouraging 'sustainable economic growth', particularly in town centres (GVA Grimley 2011). The intricate commercial and policy dynamic that motivates Mixed Use has been summarised by the British Council for Offices:

'...the emergence of Mixed Use (is) conditioned by broader trends and themes within the UK property market. Of particular influence has been the market's treatment of secondary locations and, in particular, regeneration areas, the character of the residential property market in the UK and innovations within property investment and finance.' (BCO 2005, p3)

In addition to an overall orientation towards residential, retail or commercial use, ancillary policy drivers imprint further layers of complexity on our understanding of Mixed Use by linking the concept to a series of other inter-linked strategies: for example, as Raco and Henderson (2009) discuss, policy makers have combined the promotion of flagship development with the iconography of the Global City in order to address concerns for economic growth and social cohesion, while Bromley et al (2005) examine the relationship between increased residential uses as part of town centre revival strategies and the wider community impact of aspirations for a night-time, leisure and consumer economy. The factors contributing to a detailed typology proposes sixteen ancillary policy drivers and groups them thematically, but it is important to add that this representation is indicative, not definitive and that an almost limitless combination of these factors might be utilised in promoting a given Mixed Use development. However, overlapping and inter-changeable

policy drivers may be both complementary and competing, so, for example, Campbell (1996) has asked whether urban growth is compatible with social equity, while Pieterse (2009) has questioned the relationship between the increasing cultural homogenisation of globalisation alongside the aspiration to maintain local forms of cultural identity.

Finally however, what distinguishes Mixed Use in typological terms is the linking of a specific built form to a host of social qualities. It is the nature, validity and demonstrability of this relationship that forms a key focus for this research, one aspect of which is the difficulty in defining or measuring these social attributes, but it is possible to suggest indicative categories of urbanity, animation, diversity, communitarianism and environmental awareness. The latter qualities all imply much wider theoretical discourses, but have all been directly associated with the benefits of Mixed Use.

Combining these different issues enables us to elaborate the basic factors contributing to a Mixed Use typology (fig. 5) to produce a more detailed representation (fig. 6) that more accurately reflects the subject's complexity.

Scale – Total Area
        Space allocated to different uses
        No. of homes
        Residential Density

Integration – Single building
              Multiple buildings
              Horizontal
              Vertical
              Mixed

Urbanity
Animation
Diversity
Communitarianism
Environmental  Sensitivity

Urban
Suburban

**Physical Characteristics**

**Social Qualities**

# Mixed Use Typology

**Spatial Charateristics**

**Policy Drivers**

Brownfield/greenfield site
Town Centre
Waterside
Regeneration area
Council estate
Historic site
Urban Village

Ancillary - Regeneration - Economic Development
        Mixed Communities - Mixed Tenure –
        Stock Transfer
        Cultural Quarter – Heritage Tourism
        Global City - Flagship Development
        Remodelled public space
        24-hour city – Night time economy
        Sustainable Urbanism – Urban Village
        Urban Renaissance – Town Centre revival

Primary – Residential-led
          Retail-led
          Commercial-led

Use Class Orders (UCOs)

Fig. 6  Factors contributing to a detailed Mixed Use typology

Using the multiple variables in fig. 6 it is possible to identify some indicative types within the broad spectrum of Mixed Use developments.

| Mixed Use Type 1 Stand Alone | | |
|---|---|---|
| Physical Characteristics | Scale | < 50 homes, < 0.5 hectares |
| | Integration | Single Building Vertical |
| Spatial Characteristics | Location | Urban or suburban Variety of sites |
| Policy Drivers | UCOs | A1 (shops) A3 (cafes and restaurants) A5 (takeaways) C3 (residential) |
| | Primary | Residential or retail-led |
| | Ancillary | Regeneration – Economic Development Urban Renaissance – Town Centre Revival |
| Social Qualities | | Animation |

Table 2:  Mixed Use Type 1, 'Stand Alone'

| Mixed Use Type 2 Urban Infill | | |
|---|---|---|
| Physical Characteristics | Scale | < 500 homes, < 5 hectares |
| | Integration | Multiple Buildings Vertical and/or Horizontal |
| Spatial Characteristics | Location | Urban or suburban Brownfield Town Centre Waterside Council Estate |
| Policy Drivers | UCOs | A1 (shops) A2 (financial and professional services) A3 (cafes and restaurants) A4 (drinking establishments) A5 (takeaways) B1 (offices) A3 (residential). Class D (non-residential e.g. gym, cultural or community facility) |
| | Primary | Residential-led |
| | Ancillary | Regeneration – Economic Development Mixed Communities – Mixed Tenure – Stock Transfer Cultural Quarter – Heritage Tourism Remodelled public space Urban Renaissance – Town Centre Revival |
| Social Qualities | | Animation, Diversity |

Table 3: Mixed Use Type 2, 'Urban Infill'

| Mixed Use Type 3 Piece of the City (1): Residential-Led | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Physical Characteristics** | Scale | > 500 homes, > 5 hectares |
| | Integration | Multiple Buildings<br>Vertical and/or Horizontal |
| **Spatial Characteristics** | Location | Urban<br>Brownfield<br>Town Centre<br>Waterside<br>Regeneration area<br>Council Estate<br>Historic Site |
| **Policy Drivers** | UCOs | A1 (shops)<br>A2 (financial and professional services)<br>A3 (cafes and restaurants)<br>A4 (drinking establishments)<br>A5 (takeaways)<br>B1 (offices)<br>A3 (residential).<br>Class D (non-residential e.g. cultural or community facility) |
| | Primary | Residential-led |
| | Ancillary | Regeneration – Economic Development<br>Mixed Communities – Mixed Tenure – Stock Transfer<br>Cultural Quarter – Heritage Tourism<br>Global City – Flagship Development<br>Remodelled public space<br>Urban Renaissance – Town Centre Revival |
| **Social Qualities** | | Urbanity, Animation, Diversity, Communitarianism |

Table 4: Mixed Use Type 3, 'Piece of the City (1)'

| Mixed Use Type 4 Piece of the City (2): Retail or Commercial-Led | | |
|---|---|---|
| Physical Characteristics | Scale | > 50,000 sqm office/retail space, > 5 hectares |
| | Integration | Multiple Buildings Vertical and/or Horizontal |
| Spatial Characteristics | Location | Urban Brownfield Town Centre Waterside Regeneration area Historic Site |
| Policy Drivers | UCOs | A1 (shops) A2 (financial and professional services) A3 (cafes and restaurants) A4 (drinking establishments) A5 (takeaways) B1 (offices) A3 (residential). Class D (non-residential e.g. cultural or entertainment facility) |
| | Primary | Retail or commercial-led |
| | Ancillary | Regeneration – Economic Development Cultural Quarter – Heritage Tourism Global City – Flagship Development Remodelled public space 24-hour city – Night time economy Urban Renaissance – Town Centre Revival |
| Social Qualities | | Urbanity, Animation, Diversity |

Table 5:  Mixed Use Type 4, 'Piece of the City (2)'

| Mixed Use Type 5<br>New Neighbourhood | | |
|---|---|---|
| Physical Characteristics | Scale | > 500 homes, > 5 hectares |
| | Integration | Multiple Buildings<br>Vertical and/or Horizontal |
| Spatial Characteristics | Location | Urban or suburban<br>Brownfield<br>Town Centre<br>Waterside<br>Regeneration area<br>Historic Site<br>Urban Village |
| Policy Drivers | UCOs | A1 (shops)<br>A2 (financial and professional services)<br>A3 (cafes and restaurants)<br>A4 (drinking establishments)<br>A5 (takeaways)<br>B1 (offices)<br>A3 (residential).<br>Class D (non-residential e.g. health, education, community, cultural or entertainment facility) |
| | Primary | Residential-led |
| | Ancillary | Regeneration – Economic Development<br>Mixed Communities – Mixed Tenure<br>Cultural Quarter – Heritage Tourism<br>Global City – Flagship Development<br>Remodelled public space<br>Sustainable Urbanism – Urban Village |
| Social Qualities | | Urbanity, Animation, Diversity, Communitarianism, Environmental Sensitivity |

Table 6: Mixed Use Type 5, 'New Neighbourhood'

Type 1 embraces the most common manifestation of Mixed Use, both in history and since its revival. The physical integration of home and work space in a single, privately owned building has been the norm of human settlement and its legacy remains in the form of residential accommodation above shops that dominate UK town and city centres (Lloyd 1992) and in the bigger and more diversified multi-use buildings of continental Europe described by Waters (2007, see fig. 4 above). However, as the research of Giddings and Craine (2006) shows, multiple flats above retail and/or commercial space (fig. 7) has been the preeminent form of Mixed Use development in the recent period and has been particularly associated with the growth strategies of nationwide supermarket chains (Simms 2007), but may not necessarily be linked to any wider regenerative policy aims.



Fig. 7 'Stand Alone' Mixed Use, flats above shops, East India Dock Road, London E14 (photo by author 24th May 2009)

Type 2 suggests a scheme with greater spatial ambition that encompasses more than one building (though may include vertical integration within single buildings) as part of a planned intervention to redevelop an urban or suburban site. Such a project would typically be residential-led, but include two or more additional uses and be linked to several ancillary policy drivers. The one hectare, canal-side Gainsborough Studios development in inner London ('Building' 2001) comprises 213 apartments in three buildings with a gym (use class D2), a convenience store (use class A1), a restaurant (use class A3) and offices (use class B1) distributed at ground floor level of the blocks. The project was part of a scheme to regenerate a former industrial site and promote its identity as a cultural destination associated with the film industry (fig 8).

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Fig. 8 'Urban Infill' Mixed Use at Gainsborough Studios, Poole Street London N1, the central public space with giant bust of Alfred Hitchcock (photo by author 7th Sept. 2010).

Types 3 and 4 are of significantly greater scale, are residential or commercial led respectively and form part of comprehensive urban regeneration programmes to create new pieces of the city. The following examples of each also illustrate the wider discourse around the evolution of Mixed Use policy and its relationship to fluid urban paradigms. The 16 hectare, 1,200 - home Crown Street project in central Glasgow (figs 9 and 10) was built on a brownfield site, cleared following the demolition of twelve 1960s, Modernist tower blocks. The new housing, based on a 'traditional' street network is integrated with retail, business, leisure, health and a variety of community uses, with an emphasis on creating a 'liveable' place capable of sustaining local economic activity (GLA 2002).

Fig. 9 'Piece of the City' Mixed Use, residential-led Crown Street redevelopment (photo Glasgow City Council)

Fig. 10 Mixed uses in Crown Street, Glasgow (photo by Dave Cowlard)

The 13 hectare post-modernist Broadgate complex (Jencks 1991) in the commercial centre of London comprises 360,000 square metres of office space, combined with shops, restaurants, bars and leisure uses within pedestrianised landscaped public space (fig.11). The development formed part of the strategy to identify the City of London as a 'global' business location by producing a 'landmark' commercial development.



Fig. 11 'Piece of the City': a scene of urbanity at the commercial-led Broadgate development, City of London (photo by author 9th Dec. 2012).

Type 5 may be of a similar scale to types 3 and 4, but suggests a very specific link between Mixed Use and sustainable urbanism as an exercise in the tabula rasa tradition of Utopian 'place making' that is also related to the Garden City concept (Darley 1975). As Aravat (2002) notes, the concept of place-making relates to an extensive and at times contested discourse of urban design, but has assumed a renewed prominence in the context of growing environmental concerns for which an extensive range of strategies, including Mixed Use, has been proposed (Hebbert 2009). An example of this type is the Urban Village (Biddulph 2003), advocated as a sustainable form capable of addressing a variety of policy concerns, but within which Mixed Use has a privileged place (Aldous 1992). While Urban Villages have an international presence (Bell and Jayne 2004), they have had a particular incarnation in the UK where they were explicitly endorsed by the New Labour government as part of the Urban

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Renaissance (DETR 2000b, 2000c) which promoted the development of seven 'Millennium Villages' (Frey and Yanesky 2007) including West Silvertown (also known as Britannia Village) in the London Borough of Newham, a ten-hectare development of 1,174 homes built on a waterside brownfield site where a range of uses, including shops, a post office, a community centre, health facilities, primary school and public space in the form of a piazza (fig. 12) and 'village green' were intended to foster a sense of community and identity, although the successful integration of these uses has been questioned (GLA 2002).



Fig. 12 'New Mixed Use Neighbourhood', West Silvertown/Britannia Urban Village, London E16 (photo by author 15th May 2009).

Ratcliffe et al (2009) argue that different types of sustainable urban form should not necessarily be seen as mutually exclusive because elements of one model may be applicable or related to another, an argument they illustrate with reference to Poundbury in rural Dorset, designed by Leon Krier, which has influenced the composition of Mixed Use oriented developments in a variety of contrasting spatial contexts. Similarly, the boundaries between the Mixed Use typologies presented above are wide and the terminology used to describe them may overlap. This reflects the fluidity and diversity of the concept, but does allow some analytical comparisons to be made between developments.

## Conclusions

There are some general conclusions to be drawn from the preceding discussion as to how the Mixed Use concept has sat within the wider context of changing perspectives on the city. As Bell and Bell (1969) point out, attempts to unambiguously classify patterns in the urban process as the product of any one particular planning philosophy break down under close analysis and as Harvey (2006) notes, the suggestion that the city has developed in a series of periodic breaks is similarly flawed. Thus, we are led to Kostof's conclusion that the urban process has been episodic and uneven and that urban form, including contemporary Mixed Use, is shaped by a complex multitude of socio-economic and creative forces (Kostof 1991).

The heterogeneous influences that have shaped the Mixed Use revival are discussed in the following chapters in which the research questions are exposed to broader analysis. Chapter 2 considers four key discourses that provide insights into some of the theoretical, political and philosophical strands that have contributed to the conceptual foundations of Mixed Use (Research Question 1), particularly in terms of the relationship between city space, citizens, and contested notions of 'community'. Chapter 3 looks in detail at the policy framework that has supported the widespread incorporation of Mixed Use into urban regeneration strategies (Research Question 2) and relates this to the role and character of the planning system in contributing to the production of Mixed Use space (Research Question 3), arguing that these forces converge in the search for 'sustainable urbanism'. These theoretical issues inform the empirical research methodology described in Chapter 4 and its particular focus on how the policy objectives for Mixed Use compare with the physical and social outcomes (Research Questions 2 and 4). Chapter 5 presents the results of structured interviews with planners that explore how local authorities attempt to interpret the different elements of Mixed Use theory and policy and apply them in practical spatial terms, while Chapter 6 amalgamates the preceding discussion as the basis for detailed evaluations of six places where Mixed Use has provided the central rationale for property development capable of fostering urban revival, enlisting the approach of Benjamin in seeking to relate a particular physical form to its wider social meanings.

## Chapter 2 - Four key discourses

This chapter develops the multi-faceted complexities set out in Chapter 1 by exploring four key discourses that shed light on the foundations and evolution of Mixed Use. It is argued that the Mixed Use revival as a specific land use designation can in part be explained by engaging with a series of theoretical debates about the nature of the 21$^{st}$ century city in the developed world and how it is understood and shaped by human agency. While these discourses have followed distinct academic journeys and are presented separately here, it will become clear that their paths cross repeatedly and in conclusion, that the considerable overlap between them provides a new way of interpreting the significance of Mixed Use in the contemporary urban landscape.

### Modernism/Post-Modernism
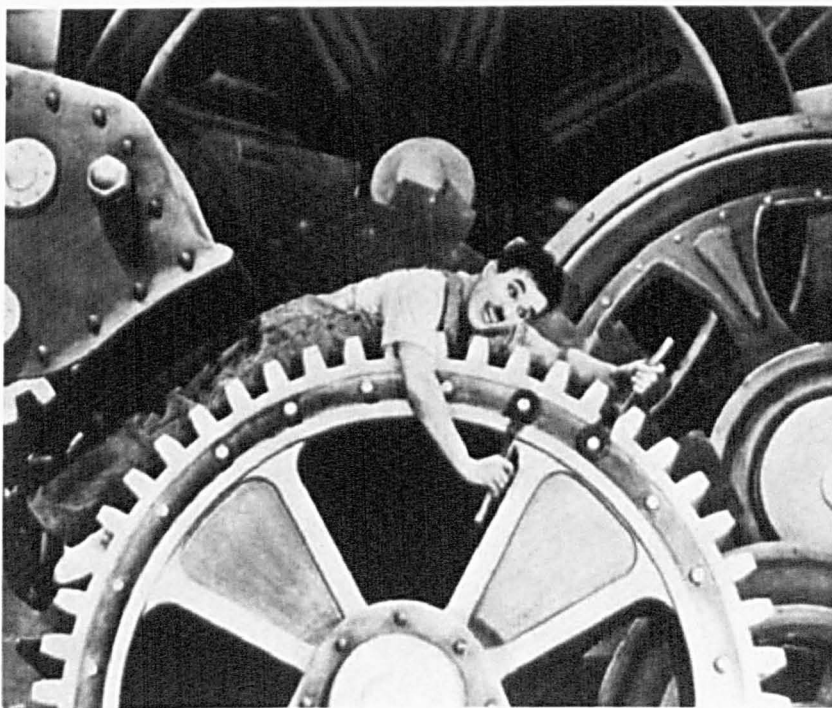


Fig. 13 'Modern Times' (United Artists 1936). The tramp becomes enmeshed in the workings of the factory.

The nature of urban space assumes a particular relevance in understandings of the city within the Modern/Post-Modern discourse. Chaplin's silent[5] classic 'Modern Times' (fig.13) offers

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[5]Chaplin expressed his own ambivalence to the modern age by rejecting the use of spoken sound in 'Modern Times', even though the technology had been available for a decade.

a vision of the 20<sup>th</sup> century industrial metropolis in which mankind has become a cog in the machine of mass production and as Whitworth (2007) notes, the industrialising city has held a central place in Modernist thought because it contained the most visible concentrations of those social forces and symbols that constituted a 'new' age:

> '...electric light, motorised transport, boulevards, telephone wires, and department stores. In many cases, particularly imperial capitals, it was where the visible signs of empire manifested themselves...' (Whitworth 2007, p181)

Berman (1982) describes Modernity as the product of a dialectical process spanning five centuries, embracing every aspect of the human experience, but also containing the seeds of its own theoretical destruction. The relationship between advances in knowledge and technology and the capacity of humans to form and reform their environment creates a perpetual social anxiety as people are hurtled into new types of habitat and social relations. The 20<sup>th</sup> century marks a culmination of this 'maelstrom' in which people are presented with a multitude of possibilities for shaping the world at the same time that they are being shaped by it, leading to unprecedented advances in technical and artistic expression, but also increased alienation from the urban process for those unable to resist the forces of redevelopment. Consequently, Berman argues that the accumulation of social tensions engendered by the modern metropolis marks the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the point at which the unifying force of modernism begins to fracture, particularly as cities became the subject of sweeping renewal and improvement programmes. Berman relates this dynamic to personal experience of living in New York City in the 1950s where established patterns of community life began to break down in the face of social and physical change wrought by the massive infrastructure projects administered by Robert Moses, 'the moving spirit of modernity' (Berman 1982, p294). Moses' legacy to the built environment was embodied by high-rise public housing blocks designed in the brutalist style that became lightning rods for critics of modernist urbanism (Flint 2009) and provided part of the conceptual justification for Mixed Use.

As the work of Moses illustrates, the concept of Modernity provided the essential theoretical context for the evolution of town planning because it suggested the potential for finding immutable, scientific solutions to the problems of the modern city that were 'rational, predictable and aesthetically pleasing' (Bridge and Watson 2002. p505) and furthermore, that

these solutions could be applied on a grand scale, encapsulated by Daniel Burnham's maxim to 'make no little plans' (Hall 1988). Sennett associates the twin ascent of Modernity and town planning with the comprehensive remodelling of Paris between 1850 and 1870 under the direction of Haussmann. For Sennett the emergence of Modernist urbanism had two key features. First, it encapsulated a belief that cities could and should be planned as a whole, not piece-meal, with an assumption that their social, economic and physical development can be predicted and treated as inter-related so that changes in one area of city life will 'inevitably transform other realms of city life' (Sennett 1970, p90). Secondly and resulting from the latter, Modernist thought proposed that urban space could be planned for pre-determined social purposes and that changes in the physical landscape can alter social behaviour, a suggestion of environmental determinism that stalks Modernism and also plays a significant part in contemporary critiques of Mixed Use (Grant 2005). Carmona (2002) depicts the transformative redesign of Paris as an attempt to control 'a monster', such was the extent of social divisions in a city that by mid-19th century had a population of one million, of which 65% lived in poverty. The Paris of the poor was densely populated, insanitary and congested, making movement around the city more time consuming than was compatible with increasing commercial demands and arousing perpetual concerns on the part of the authorities to maintain social order. Haussmann's long, straight boulevards cut through the alleys and courtyards where the Parisian working class lived (fig.14), breaking up hotbeds of potential insurrection and making any such uprisings easier to suppress, while displacing communities and hiding the remaining poverty behind a wall of genteel mansion blocks. While an element of social control and engineering may have been part of the intention, Carmona argues that the priority for the modernisation of Paris was to improve communication, transport links and ease of movement around the city, but for Harvey the changes wrought by Haussmannism were indicative of much wider social and cultural convulsions, expressed in material terms. Describing Paris as the 'capital of modernity', Harvey sees the city's reconfiguration as the reflection of revolutionary and ideological forces that accompanied the establishment of the industrial city, but questions the notion that this represented a 'break' from pervious historical periods. Harvey notes that the accumulating forces of Modernity and the displacement of the Parisian poor pre-dated Haussmann and formed part of a reformation of class relations and the elevation of an urban bourgeoisie developing a distinctive set of cultural habits and preferences, particularly in terms of the rising tide of consumerism chronicled in Benjamin's Arcades Project (Harvey 2006).

Fig.14 The narrow streets and mixed uses of Pre-Haussmann Paris (photo by Charles Marville).

While central Paris has largely retained the physical inscription of Haussmann, in the 20th century it also provided the context for an even more ambitious and controversial urban vision. Le Corbusier's 1925 plan promised 'the demise of the historic city' (Kostof 1991, p260) and its replacement with massive, utilitarian blocks that reconfigured urban space based on a rigid, hierarchical spatial plan. Le Corbusier's description of houses as 'machines for living in' perfectly captures the mechanistic philosophy associated with Modernist architecture, but Frampton (2001) suggests that Le Corbusier's ideas were shaped by a wide range of influences, not all of which are readily associated with harsh, concrete urbanism. These included Sitte's 'artistic fundamentals' and the Garden City model, reflected in Le Corbusier's insistence on green open space between buildings, but also Garnier's Cite Industrielle, with its definitive land-use separation and spatial idealism (Garnier 1917). Frampton concludes that Le Corbusier's avowed egalitarianism was ultimately compromised by the authoritarian image of a 'machine city' and was thus 'caught between the poles of Utopia and dystopia' (Frampton 2001, p51).

Le Corbusier's striving for functional order is expressed in the founding statement of the Congress International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), of which he was a signatory:

'Urbanisation cannot be conditioned by the claims of a pre-existent aestheticism; its

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essence is of a functional order... the chaotic division of land, resulting from sales, speculations, inheritances, must be abolished by a collective and methodical land policy.' (CIAM 1928)

This is a vivid example of the 'metanarrative' associated with Modernist theory and practice (Hubbard 2000, p55), suggesting an all-encompassing spatial ambition, reflected in a willingness to break and remake the city on a scale that erases previous uses and creates an ahistorical ideological force represented by 'big plans' of the kind articulated by.Manzoni[6] in justifying the extensive demolition of Victorian buildings in Birmingham in the 1960s to make way for the Inner Ring Road:

'I have never been very certain as to the value of tangible links with the past. They are often more sentimental than valuable... As to Birmingham's buildings, there is little of real worth in our architecture. Its replacement should be an improvement... As for future generations, I think they will be better occupied in applying their thoughts and energies to forging ahead, rather than looking backward.' (Manzoni quoted by Foster 2005, p197)

Coleman (1985) argues that the pragmatism and ruthlessness implied in this exposition of Modernist thought is tinged with Utopian idealism exemplified by the naïve expectations of post-war UK council housing. The negative linkage of Modernism with large scale public housing is given expression by Jencks (1977) who marks the beginning of the end of Modernism as 3pm on 16th March 1972 and the demolition of the notorious Pruitt-Igoe housing project, a case that dramatically demonstrates the competing urban visions that underlie the Modernism/Post-Modernism discourse and the arguments that a failed form of urban intervention needed to be replaced with something more in tune with the complexities and nuance of the late 20th century city. Pruitt-Igoe, in St Louis, had comprised 2,870 apartments in thirty-three, almost identical eleven-storey slab blocks completed only sixteen years earlier, but never fully occupied. Pruitt-Igoe's perceived multiple failures have come to symbolise those of Modernist architecture and urban policy (Hall 1988), although this interpretation does not take account of some of the endemic problems that beset the scheme

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[6]Herbert Manzoni was the Chief Engineer and Surveyor for Birmingham City Council (BCC) from 1936 to 1963. In an interesting historical symmetry, BCC is conducting the consultation on its post-2010 urban redevelopment programme under the heading 'The Big City Plan'.

from the outset (Rainwater 1970, Bristol 2004). Nonetheless, for Jencks the demolition of Pruitt-Igoe raised wider issues about the theory and practice of Modernism, which he compares with the Protestant Reformation and Marxism for its all-encompassing and doctrinaire philosophy:

'...these explosions were becoming a quite frequent method of dealing with the failures of Modernist building methods; cheap prefabrication, lack of personal 'defensible' space and the alienating housing estate. The 'death' of Modern architecture and its ideology of progress which offered technical solutions to social problems...' (Jencks 1986, p16)

Jencks identifies the importance of Jacobs and Krier in challenging Modernist certainties, in favour of an approach that reflects the complexity and diversity of the Post-Modern city (Jencks 1986, p20). The contrast between the two approaches is summarised in the following extract:

'Modernist urban planning essentially works through fragmenting any part of a territory (city and Country) into separate monofunctional zones. This leads to the effective and habitual mobilization of society in its entirety (all classes, all spaces, all ages) in order to perform basic life functions. As a result CIRCULATION of people, hardware and software became the main industrial activity. Artificial ARTERIES and MEANS of circulation became the necessary extension of the human body and mind. Functional ZONING generates the maximum and obligatory consumption of units of hardware and software in the accomplishment of all social activities. Functional society is the principal cause for our wastage of TIME, ENERGY and LAND. It is by nature ANTI-ECOLOGICAL.

Traditional urban planning realizes mankind's basic right to reach all habitual urban functions on foot. While making the best use of artificial means of circulation and communication, the good city provides the totality of urban functions within a comfortable and pleasant walking distance. Like all mature organisms in nature, it cannot grow by extension in width or height, it can only grow through multiplication. It is a complete and finite urban community, a member of a larger family of independent urban quarters of cities within the city, of cities within the country. The

traditional city is economical in the use of TIME, ENERGY and LAND. It is by nature ECOLOGICAL. (Krier 1987, original capitalization)

This elucidation is quoted at length because it presents both a summary of the old approach and a manifesto for the new, as well as indicating the importance of land use and its relationship to environmental and life-style concerns that have become emblematic of Mixed Use development. A distinguishing and recurring theme of Post-Modern urbanism, alluded to by Krier, is a desire to recapture something that has been 'lost' in the city of modernity, by referring back to qualities of pre-industrial and/or rural settlements as part of a 'traditional' model of urban planning, an aspiration that is strongly associated with the New Urbanism movement discussed below, but for Dutton (1989) represents a form of 'hollow sceneography' that separates physical design from spatial reality. Dutton critiques Krier's prescriptive attempt to reconstruct the European city as detached from the cultural processes that shape urban space, which for Dutton are related to the distribution of power in post-industrial society and require a more politicised and less abstract role for architects.

The Post-Modern 'reimagining' of the city stresses the transitory and fluid (Amin and Thrift 2002) and an 'ensemble of processes' that contribute to the creation of urban space (Castells 1977). This exercise in critical re-evaluation spawned a profusion of 'post-prefixed 'isms' (Soja 1989 p5). The salient point for this thesis is the theoretical and practical recasting of urban and planning policy summarised in the following proposition:

'...critical social science appeared to explode into more heterogeneous fragments, losing much of their separate cohesiveness and centralities... post-modernity, postmodernisation and postmodernism now seem to be appropriate ways of describing this contemporary cultural, political and theoretical restructuring; and of highlighting the assertion of space that is complexly intertwined with it.' (Soja 1989 pp 4 – 5)

For Soja, Modernity and Post-Modernity are defined by their relationship to the dynamic between time and space and how it impacts on the 'late modern metropolis', characterised by six dimensions. The 'Flex City' describes a place that is increasingly in flux, where a flexible, temporary labour force contributes to transience. The 'Cosmopolis' refers to globalisation both in the market for capital and labour, but also in terms of a hierarchy of global cities competing with each other to attract the talented, innovative and creative populations of Richard Florida's 'superstar cities' (Florida 2008). The 'Exopolis' is a

phenomenon exemplified by Los Angeles as the archetypal Post-Modern city - referred to by Soja as 'the capital' of the 20th century, an allusion to Benjamin's description of Paris as the capital of the 19th - with its multiple, polycentric development patterns that extend beyond the traditional suburban ring. Soja argues that the Post-Modern city is also increasingly riven by deep social and ethnic divisions – the 'Metropolarities'. These socio-spatial cleavages are also reflected in 'Coerced Archipelagos', Soja's term for the emergence of a fortified, high surveillance cityscape in response to what subsequent theorists have referred to as a state of urban paranoia (Flusty 2001). Finally, Soja relates these spatial dynamics to the seismic influence of new technology, leading to new imaginings of 'Simcities' (Soja 2000). Soja's typology illuminates a number of recurring themes in the exploration that follows because it captures the diffuse and complex characteristics of contemporary urban life for which Mixed Use is advanced as an appropriate response.

For Harvey, the increasingly fractured and uncertain city described by Soja had direct consequences in the realm of urban planning where there was a shift away from large-scale, metropolitan-wide projects, towards a more nuanced, fluid understanding of the urban:

> "Modernist town planners…tend to look for 'mastery' of the metropolis as a 'totality' by deliberately designing a 'closed form', whereas post-modernists tend to view the urban process as uncontrollable and 'chaotic', one in which 'anarchy' and 'change' can 'play' in entirely 'open' situations." (Harvey 1990, p44)

The new spatial and design possibilities suggested by Harvey are specifically related by Lees to Mixed Use:

> 'With its emphasis on functional and economic diversification and social diversity, postmodern planning has sought to enforce the juxtaposition of different residential, commercial and leisure users and uses of urban space in new heterospaces. Modernist monozoned spaces are being replaced by postmodernist heterozoned spaces…which offer a fine-grained dense network of uses…(and) are celebrated as being more vibrant, liveable and uniquely urban.' (Lees 2010, p2303)

Soja's attempt to construct a 'politicised spatial consciousness' (Kaplan 2000. p152) has been critiqued by Massey (1991) who also rejects what she sees as Harvey's view that 'the only

evil is capitalism', in favour of an urban understanding that extends beyond reductionist Marxist class analysis and can embrace a wider range of social multiplicity and diversity. Massey welcomes the more inclusive range of social possibilities suggested by Post-Modernism, but still finds conventional Modernist and Post-Modernist interpretations of the city limited by their 'unimaginatively patriarchal' readings that exclude both feminist writings on and female experiences of the city, the particular relevance of which for this thesis lies in the organisation of urban space and the separation of public/private and domestic/occupational realms that have enshrined the creation of a 'gendered' metropolis (Watson 2010). Mixed Use can be seen as indicative of the Post-Modern restructuring of cities by reconnecting and concentrating previously disaggregated spheres of activity, but Scraton and Watson (1998) have argued that old power and gender relations, with zones of inclusion and exclusion, remain inscribed in this 'new' metropolis.

While Modern and Post-Modern urbanism are generally portrayed as mutually exclusive (as they are by Lees above), the work of Lefebvre suggests a theoretical perspective that straddles the terrain between them and as such is particularly useful for contextualising the Mixed Use phenomenon. In 'The Right to the City' Lefebvre distances himself from the failures of 'planning rationality' based on linear and biological metaphors of urban development and 'closed and dogmatic' analyses, in favour of an 'analytical science' of the urban that is multi-layered and nuanced. This renewed approach to the city is founded on an examination of a 'triplicity' of structure, function and form related to 'the times and rhythms of daily life' that contribute to the qualities of 'successful places' (Lefebvre 1996, p152). Lefebvre sees the metropolis as a scene of enormous human potential, full of creativity, spontaneity and encounters that cannot be reduced to 'exchange value, commerce and profit' (Lefebvre 1996, p148), but like Sieverts, argues that such urban vitality cannot be based on a nostalgic reconstruction of old city forms:

> 'It is impossible to envisage the reconstitution of the old city, only the construction of a new one on new foundations, on another scale and in other conditions, in another society.' (Lefebvre 1996, p148)

While Lefebvre appears to be arguing for a 'new urbanism', it is not one based on the same assumptions as the capitalised New Urbanism discussed below because Lefebvre sees the ultimate agency of change not as planning, architecture or design, but the revolutionary

action of the organised working class to overthrow the capitalist system that is responsible for the atrophied urbanism and rationalised spatiality that Lefebvre associates with Modernism (Lefebvre 1996, p158) and thus Lefebvre rejects the possibility that spatial reorganisation 'from above', such as that proposed by contemporary Mixed Use policy, can resolve the embedded contradictions of the capitalist city.

Lefebvre's urban vision is also explicitly Utopian, seeking to rescue the term from its pejorative meanings, presenting Utopian thought as a means to human emancipation that has been denied by Modernity:

> 'There is still another way…the simultaneous overcoming of the old 'social animal' of the ancient city…towards a polyvalent, polysensorial, urban man (sic) capable of complex and transparent relations with the world…Urban life has yet to begin.' (Lefebvre 1996, pp 149 - 150)

Even if coming from a different theoretical and political source, Lefebvre's belief that the city holds the key to the fulfilment of the human experience resonates with some of the arguments deployed by other theorists and practioners, such as Sennett (1970) or Calthorpe (1994), calling for a new urban and spatial perspective that reconnects with innate human sociability, articulated through a reconfiguration and re-integration of city space to bring social as well as physical renewal.

In conclusion, it would be simplistic to attribute every aspect of Mixed Use to the 'death' of Modernism and the ascendancy of Post-Modernism, but possible areas of contradiction and anomaly that surround Mixed Use can be located within the Modernist/Post-Modernist discourse. The impetus for Mixed Use can be seen as a 'break' from previous practice, particularly in relation to mono-use planning policy, but also as providing a built form that responds to a more heterogeneous, holistic interpretation of the city (Ellin 1996), something that was particularly in tune with visions of the millennial metropolis (Hoskins and Tallon 2004). However, Mixed Use policy can also be seen as the product of a top-down process still resonant of Modernist planning practices (Allmendinger 2011), suggesting, as Callinicos does, that claims of fundamental socio-economic and cultural change made by Post-Modernists are exaggerated (Callinicos 1989), just as critics of Mixed Use argue that it is 'nothing new'. Frustration with Modernist urbanism and an accompanying concern for the

plight of the central city spawned a wide variety of new approaches, of which Mixed Use is one, but not one that can be automatically categorised as flowing exclusively from a particular theoretical perspective. As the following section argues, there may be deeper intellectual roots supporting preferences for a built form that explicitly holds out the promise of a more sociable city.

## Utopia/Dystopia

'A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not even worth glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing.'

(Oscar Wilde, 'The Soul of Man Under Socialism, 1891)

'There is never any shortage of horrible creatures who prey on human beings…but examples of wise social planning are not so easy to find.' (Thomas More, 'Utopia' 1516)

'…he's intoxicated by the whirlwind of confusion, by the city itself, the rain falling from an ice-cold sky but still warm enough in the city, on the ground, for fog to drift through the passageways the skyscrapers create…most of them a kaleidoscopic blur…then he's running like crazy, running full tilt, his brain locked into the physical exertion of utter, sheer panic…' (Bret Easton Ellis, 'American Psycho' 1991)

Thomas More stimulated an ancient literary genre (Eaton 2001) that has spawned over three thousand successors (Turner 2003, pXX), but the intellectual impulse to imagine, describe and if possible, create an idealised society extends beyond literature. As Harvey notes, the evolution of urban policy is fraught with 'Utopian dreams' (Harvey 2000). However, Utopianism exists in constant dialogue with its conceptual opposite, dystopia (Baeton 2002), expressed in a multitude of cultural forms evoking urban anxieties which, as Prakash (2010) notes, reached 'fever pitch' in the context of increasing global urbanisation and a perception that such patterns of development are economically, socially and environmentally unsustainable, reflected in the profusion of slums (Davis 2007), sprawl (Hayden 2004) and socio-spatial segregation (Low 2003), concerns that have been at the forefront of arguments in favour of Mixed Use.

For Prakash, dystopic discourses raise fundamental issues for the identity of the city that are of key concern for planners and policy makers seeking to shape a more sustainable urban future:

> 'The image of the modern city as a distinct and bounded entity lies shattered as market-led globalisation and media saturation dissolve boundaries between town and countryside, centre and periphery.' (Prakash 2010, p1)

One hundred years earlier, it was part of Howard's purpose to resolve the spatial ambiguity described by Prakash as a means of confronting the appalling urban conditions of the time and his efforts to do so were deeply influenced by Utopian thought. Howard's disciple and colleague, Frederic Osborn, argues that, while the inspiration for Garden Cities had many sources, it was Edward Bellamy's 1888 work of Utopian literature, 'Looking Backward' that 'triggered off the charge accumulating in Howard's mind' (Osborn 1945, p20). Howard himself acknowledges this intellectual debt, as well as that owed to James Silk Buckingham's imagined Model Town, 'Victoria' (Howard 1902, pp 126 – 127). Like other Utopians, Buckingham presents his vision in relation to a dystopic opposite that echoes emergent Modernist reconfigurations of the mid-19th century city described above, based on an alignment of environment and morality, laced with a significant degree of urban paranoia and judgmental paternalism:

> 'From the entire absence of all wynds, courts and blind alleys, or culs-de-sac, there would be no secret and obscure haunts for the retirement of the filthy and the immoral from the public eye, and for the indulgence of that morose defiance of public decency which such secret haunts generate in their inhabitants. There being neither beer-shops, dram-shops, cigar divans, pawnbrokers, gambling-houses, or brothels, permitted or possible to be established without immediate detection or suppression...' (Buckingham 1849)

Under the title 'National Evils and Practical Remedies' Buckingham proposes a spatial layout that could hardly be more geometrically ordered (fig. 15), but moves beyond a design blueprint to propose a comprehensive scheme for the operation of the ideal settlement, including rent levels, dimensions, economic planning and a rigid socio-spatial hierarchy.

Buckingham specifies the importance of functional separation of buildings, with workshops close to workers' dwellings, arranged within covered galleries modelled on the Arcades of London (and similar to those in Benjamin's Parisian study), but with the 'removal...some distance from the Town' of industry that might be 'offensive to the inhabitants'. 'Victoria' has a population limit of ten thousand, located in a rural setting that will promote 'healthfulness' through improved light, space and sanitation and where public buildings, squares and other facilities are arranged for 'the general convenience' (Buckingham 1849).

Fig. 15  J S Buckingham's plan for 'Victoria' (Buckingham 1849)

Kostof draws the distinction between planned cities and Utopias whereby the latter are, by definition, abstractions that are literally 'nowhere', but nonetheless have exerted significant influence over 'real' places (Kostof 1991). The similarities between Buckingham's Victoria and Howard's original conception for Garden Cities are striking, the latter based on a circular radial plan designed to accommodate private dwellings and public amenities arranged along a system of grand boulevards bisected by a colonnade for all-weather shopping and recreation within easy reach of all residents. All industrial uses are moved to the outer ring of the town

to minimize pollution and congestion, but located close to a railway link for ease of moving goods into the town and for distribution to other areas. Like Buckingham, Howard proposes a detailed financial model, as well as a spatial one and describes the overall objective of Garden Cities as being 'to raise the standard of health and comfort of all' through,

'...a healthy, natural, and economic combination of town and country life, and this on land owned by the municipality.' (Howard 1902, p51)

However, Howard is keen to draw a distinction between his conception and that of Buckingham by emphasising the egalitarian 'inner life' and diverse character of the Garden City community, where there would be 'the fullest rights of free association' and 'the most varied forms of individual and co-operative work'. (Howard 1902, pp 126 - 127).

Among the wide range of influential and wealthy individuals that coalesced around the Garden City vision, several had been involved with previous Utopian projects, in the form of model industrial villages, such as the Cadbury family (Bourneville, Birmingham) and Lord Leverhulme (Port Sunlight, Merseyside). In 1901 Raymond Unwin proposed the first Garden City design framework with a clear intention to address urban miasma through a combination of physical and social improvement, infused with pioneering zeal and idealism:

'No weak compound of town and country, composed of meandering suburban roads, lined with semi-detached villas, set each in a scrap of garden, will ever deserve the name of 'Garden City'... a clean slate to work upon...it promises to call together a community inspired with some ideal of what their city should be...which will have in its life something more worthy to be expressed in its architecture than mere self-centred independence and churlish disregard of others...' (Unwin 1901, pp 69 - 72)

A persistent trait in Utopian thought and one directly referring to its Dystopian opposite, is its hankering for the rural, both as an escape from the city and as a source of design inspiration and social values capable of improving the urban experience. This is evident in William Morris' depiction of pastoral urbanism in an imaginary future London whose inhabitants live in a cash-free, co-operative society where the type of work, that Morris and other members of the Arts and Crafts movement cherished, was valued above business and commerce (Morris 1890). There are numerous personal and professional links between the aesthetic movement

of Morris and Ruskin and some of the pioneers of urban planning, most enduringly, Parker and Unwin's plans for Garden Cities (Hall 1988) which, Miller suggests, were directly inspired by Morris' visions for the ideal built form and its interdiction against 'brutal wasteful disorder' based on,

> '...(a) synthesis of social and environmental factors with which the Garden City movement and subsequently town-planning, would be centrally concerned...' (Miller 2002, p4)

Parker and Unwin's earliest work demonstrates their Utopian philosophy and belief that co-operative communities could be fostered and supported by the appropriate architecture. In 1890 Unwin designed a blueprint for quasi-communal housing with shared facilities, a model that was later incorporated at Letchworth in the shape of Homesgarth[7], a co-operative housing block that attempted to challenge the conventions of domestic labour by providing thirty-two apartments without kitchens where meals were taken in common dining rooms (Ravetz 2001). Hayden (2000) argues that while communitarianism in the Garden Cities concept is often overlooked, it drew heavily on the work of earlier Utopians such as Fourier and also influenced the shared space of Le Corbusier's Unite d'Habitation.

The final scenes of 'Modern Times' (fig. 16) captures the essence of the Utopian/Dystopian tension and concludes that the only escape from the brutality and isolation of the industrial metropolis is a return to a simpler existence.

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[7] 'Homesgarth' is now Sollershott Hall, a private housing development.

Fig. 16. 'Modern Times' (United Artists 1936). The tramp escapes the dystopian city of Modernity for a more rural environment.

The tramp's escape remains a powerful and durable metaphor for understanding urban policy, embracing Utopian and model settlements and the Garden City movement (Hall and Ward 1998), but also resonant of contemporary approaches to 'sustainable urbanism', replete with allusions to rural life-styles and 'neo-traditional' communities (Katz 1994, pIX). Unwin's work is suffused with pastoral yearnings, reflected in designs that sought to harness 'the self-contained organic nature of rural communities' (Miller 2002, p41). This is vividly expressed in the following extract, which conjures up a host of idyllic images that combine design and social purposes:

> 'In such views as these there are houses and buildings of all sizes; the hut in which the
> old roadsweeper lives by himself, the inn with its ancient sign, the prosperous
> yeoman's homestead, the blacksmith's house and forge, the squire's hall, the vicarage,
> and the doctor's house, are all seemingly jumbled together; and mingled with them are
> barns and village shops, wood yards and wheelwrights' sheds. Yet there is no sense of
> confusion; on the contrary the scene gives us that peaceful feeling which comes from
> the perception of orderly management…The village was the expression of a small

corporate life in which all the different units were personally in touch with each other, conscious of and frankly accepting their relations; and on the whole content with them.' (Parker and Unwin 1901, pp 91 - 92)

Unwin implicitly contrasts the serenity and order of the village with the dystopic chaos of the city, but this spatial and social harmony is the product of a process that seeks to combine organic evolution of place with a planned and deliberate process of development in which the diversity of physical form mirrors that of the social structure. The jumbling of buildings and uses does not compromise, but actually enhances the overall environment in a similar way to that advanced by Jacobs sixty years later. Furthermore, the description of people from different classes living side-by-side anticipates Nye Bevan's 'butcher and doctor' living as neighbours in council housing (Timmins 1996) and New Labour's formalisation of 'mixed communities'. However, the fascination is how the theories of Unwin and the Garden City movement came to be applied at a level that far exceeded their own immediate ambitions, in the form of post-war New Towns (Ravetz 2001) and in their abiding influence over more recent design philosophies. As Brindley notes in relation to the more recent concept of 'Urban Villages', the design values of Unwin and other proponents of Utopian ruralism continue to inform planners, architects, the property industry and the policy-political discourse because of their presumed capacity to unite a range of social, environmental and physical concerns.

'As symbolic referents, both 'village' and 'community' stake a claim to continuity between the social and physical frameworks of pre-industrial, rural past…and present day urban living.' (Brindley 2003, p58)

The influential design philosophies and practices bracketed under the term 'New Urbanism' also relate to a much wider range of policy concerns. New approaches to urban planning and 'place making' emerged in the 1990s founded on an essentially dystopic reading of the modern city as 'unsustainable' and sought to find solutions through improved design that emphasized the continuity of place suggested by Brindley. The Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) was formed in the USA in 1993. Its founding charter opens with the following paragraph:

'The Congress for the New Urbanism views disinvestment in central cities, the spread

of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of agricultural lands and wilderness and the erosion of society's built heritage as one inter-related community-building challenge.' (CNU 2001)

CNU proposes 27 principles based on an explicit rejection of Modernist methods (Calthorpe 1994, pxv). Among them is the importance of containing the city and defining its limits and edges in order to restrict its uncontrolled growth. Compact, walkable neighbourhoods should be geographically identifiable in order that local people can identify with and take responsibility for them. Public and commercial services should be 'embedded', not 'isolated in remote, single-use complexes' (Katz 1994). CNU directly links its solutions with an idyllic rural past in small town America, much as Parker and Unwin do in relation to the English village. A similar observation can be made of CNU's English cousin, the Urban Village movement and its comprehensive manifesto for 'civilised and durable urban environments' (Aldous 1992). These new master-planned communities would have populations of 3,000 - 5,000, occupying up to 100 acres of land, preferably on brownfield sites and in areas able to sustain local employment. For Aldous, Mixed Use is fundamental to the Urban Village concept because it 'tends to be more friendly and secure'.

Cochrane argues that New Urbanism implies a form of spatial-social determinism, based on a belief that 'better communities can be built through particular forms of development or urban design' (Cochrane 2007 p64), but Ellis (2002) suggests that such critiques are often based on aesthetic and ideological objections, rather than empirical evidence. In particular, Ellis draws attention to the on-going and fundamental debate as to whether or not places inspired by New Urbanism offer more sustainable life-styles than conventional property development: for example, the extent to which sprawl (Bruegmann 2005) can be restrained by more compact urban patterns (Jenks et al 1996). While Newman and Kenworthy (2000) see direct environmental benefits from the creation of places with a range of local services that do not require a car, Gordon and Richardson (1998) argue that New Urbanism in general and Mixed Use in particular are incapable of reversing consumer preferences that not only favour suburban living, but allow greater flexibility and economic sustainability by enabling people to travel by car, while Cervero and Gorham (1995) point out that New Urbanist and Mixed Use street patterns can be overwhelmed if they are islands 'in a sea of freeway-oriented suburbs'. This suggestion that New Urbanism might become a Utopian exception to prevailing development rules is echoed by Jenks et al who warn of the dangers of a

romanticism 'which assumes a golden age that can be recaptured through urban form, leading to sustainable and benign civility' (Jenks et al 1996, p5). Similarly, Falconer Al-Hindi and Till (2001) ask whether New Urban models are genuinely sustainable and equitable, or whether they are based on a socially-conservative urge to escape the city for a mythical small town Utopia. This line of argument suggests that such alternative planning and design models may result in prescriptive landscapes that are more resonant of the suburbs than the city. Similarly to some of the criticisms made of Mixed Use, Franklin and Tait argue that the Urban Village concept has not been exposed to rigorous academic evaluation that might relate it to 'previous failed Utopian models' (Franklin and Tait 2002, p260). For Harvey, New Urbanism offers a false hope of reversing urban decay through design, thereby repeating the technological and spatial determinism of the Modernism it sought to displace by privileging form over social process (Harvey 1997, 2001), a criticism that has also been made of Mixed Use (Grant 2005, 2006) . Several of these debates are continued in the next section which compares the inter-relationships between planned and organic models of urban settlement.

## Planned/Organic

The two discourses discussed above imply the significance of the third. The ascendancy of the planning discipline within the Modernist urban paradigm and the relationship to Utopian and dystopian conceptions of the city raises what is arguably a more fundamental question, namely the extent to which urban form can or should be subject to a deliberate process of spatial organisation, or whether cities more effectively reflect human needs and tastes by being left to natural, organic patterns of development. This dichotomy is of particular relevance for Mixed Use because it addresses the extent to which the built environment can be shaped to achieve particular outcomes. Debates about the role of planning ultimately relate to its place in the organisation of human affairs and our capacity to improve our physical environment and social relations, a question that was of concern to Lefebvre:

> 'For a few years now planning has gone beyond partial techniques and applications…to become a social practice concerning and of interest to the whole of society.' (Lefebvre 1996, pp 95 - 96)

Kostof warns against the crude binary of identifying places solely with reference to whether they are perceived to be the product of planned or organic patterns of development,

concluding that 'this neat dichotomy, intended to simplify our appreciation of urban form, turns out to be more a hindrance than an aid' (Kostof 1991, p43). Nonetheless, there are some insights to be gained from an understanding of the extent to which a place has been subject to a deliberate, strategic intervention, with planned, or at least desired, outcomes, or has been allowed to develop in an ad hoc, informal fashion where any particular social dynamics can be seen as unintended consequences. 'Planning' conveys a variety of meanings, ranging from a mundane system for policy implementation, to a quasi-philosophical creative process that seeks nothing less than to improve the human condition and the world we live in (Rydin 2011). 'Non Plan' theories (Hughes and Sadler 2000) also cover a broad spectrum of opinion, ranging from neoliberal opposition to the Big State as a fetter on capitalist free enterprise, through Jacobs' celebration of innate urban vivacity, to anarcho-radical contentions that people and places develop co-operative and communitarian relations when left without the interference of external government agencies because the whole concept of planning 'has gone cockeyed' (Barker 2000, p8). Anticipating life 'after the planners', the orthodoxy of the Big Plan has been repeatedly challenged by those who question the capacity of comprehensive, rationalistic interventions for addressing complex urban problems (Goodman 1971, Lee 1973). In the context of contemporary Mixed Use, the planned/organic discourse raises questions about the apparent anomaly between an urban morphology that privileges ideas of social spontaneity, but does so within a policy-driven, bureaucratised planning framework.

The nature and reach of planning also has relevance for Mixed Use because, stripped of some of the policy rhetoric, it is essentially concerned with decisions about urban land use and how and by whom these decisions are taken. As Cullingworth (1988, 1999) notes, the first century of the UK planning system was concerned with the allocation of land uses, a manifestation of State power over the urban process that is anathema to Non-Plan, or Less-Plan advocates and for some has contributed to the unsustainable city for which new forms of urbanism, including Mixed Use, are advanced as antidotes (Rydin 2011). As we have seen, the principle of sifting and separating land uses according to different functions was shared by several of the formative models of the modern planning movement (Hall and Ward 1998). While subsequent practice may have deviated from these pioneering concepts (Mumford 1945), organising land according to function in accordance with a mapped, spatial plan remains the dominant methodology of town planning (Hardy 1999, Greed 2000), even when this is combined with encouragement of more fluid spatial arrangements. However, this orthodoxy

has been robustly challenged by those who question the role of planners and the discipline's potential to keep pace with the more diffuse, dynamic and heterogeneous urban landscape of post-modernity (Healey 1997, Sandercock 1999). In critiquing such approaches however, Fishman argues that placing excessive emphasis on urban disorder and diversity as the guiding principles of planning policy runs the risk of diminishing the discipline's confidence and capacity to advance any kind of unifying concept capable of providing collective, as opposed to individual, solutions to urban problems (Fishman 1977, p267).

Urban perspectives that emphasise diversity are wont to align themselves to biological or ecological metaphors for the city, as opposed to the mechanistic conceptions associated with Modernity, as illustrated by the following from two key theorists of New Urbanism:

> 'Like the habitat of any species, the neighbourhood possesses a natural logic that can be described in physical terms.' (Duany and Plater-Zyberk 1994, pXVII)

Understandings of cities as organisms emerged comparatively recently in the history of urban thought, related to advances in modern science from the mid-17th century, but have retained a significant theoretical influence (Kostof 1991). Depicting cities as living organisms allows for a number of pleasing conceptual metaphors, thus central business districts become 'hearts', parks become 'lungs' and roads become 'arteries', while urban problems are depicted as pathological reflections of 'sick cities' (Gordon 1963). Furthermore, it can be argued that organic urban development presents a more natural pattern of growth than the mechanistic approach of planned Modernism, so that like a tree or plant, cities grow in self-limiting efficiency in tune with the flows and rhythms of human movement and behaviour.

The body as a metaphor for the city is used by Sennett (1994) to assess the impact of the planned city exemplified by the work of Moses which Sennett describes as an effort to 'undo diversity' by fragmenting the urban core and dispersing its populations to new suburbs reached by private cars driven along newly constructed highways. However contested his legacy, in terms of pollution, suburban malaise or ethnic discrimination, Sennett argues that Moses completed a vision of the city based on the moving body first conceived in the Enlightenment and this exposition has direct relevance for the urban experience in general and the process of separating uses in particular:

'Rapid movement, such as occurs in an automobile, encourages the use of an image repertoire, that disposition to classify and to judge immediately. Fragmented geography also strengthens the image repertoire, since on the periphery each fragment has its special function – home, shopping, office, school – separated by empty patches from other fragments. It is thus an easy and quick matter to judge if someone doesn't belong, or is behaving in an inappropriate way in a particular place...(by) subjecting the environment to simple categories of representation, comparing likeness to difference, a person diminishes the complexity of urban experience.' (Sennett 1994, p366)

Sennett suggests that deliberative planning aspires to a regulation of human activity that mirrors the efficiency of the biological system of the human body, but that this alters both behaviour and perception by presenting a spatial orderliness based on functional separation. For Sennett, part of the purpose of new approaches to urbanism is to disrupt such simplicity and restore something of the spatial and social ambiguity that advocates associate with Mixed Use.

The form of urban disaggregation identified by Sennett with Modernism is also addressed by Breheny (1996) in tracing the theoretical division between decentrist and centrist planning models. For decentrists, such as Howard and Moses, the answer to urban chaos is dispersal, allowing people to escape polluted cities for the suburbs and countryside, where homes, jobs and services can be spatially separated. By stark contrast, Le Corbusier, while sharing the ambition of interventionist spatial planning for urban improvement, argues this should be done in the context of concentrated urban centres, as expressed in his Radiant City. Whyte describes concentration as 'the genius of the city' and adds that increased densification is the prevailing pattern of urban development (Whyte 2000, p213). The decentrist/centrist tension persists and adds further confusion for conceptualising Mixed Use, advocates for which can be found aligned with calls for the Compact City (Jenks et al 1996), the decentralised Urban Village (Aldous 1992) and an 'in between' space that seeks to combine urban and rural qualities in a similar way to the planned Garden Suburb (Miller and Stuart Gray 1992) or in new types of 'in between' or hybrid space (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000).

For Castells, all forms of urban intervention, including planning, are a response to the endemic crisis and contradictions of capitalism. So, for example, in the UK, the Abercrombie

Plan and New Towns were an attempt to mitigate the 'urban problem' of post-second world war London and rising working class demands for decent housing and social services. Castells describes similar patterns in relation to post-war planning polices in the US and what he describes as the 'reconquest' of Paris via the redevelopment of areas like Les Halles and La Defense. Castells further links these State sponsored changes in urban form to changes in the 'political tendency' and 'ideological plane' of an area, where the former is produced by the displacement of working class communities and the latter is promoted by the symbolic value of French 'grandeur' (Castells 1977 pp 314 - 318), an argument that can be linked to the more recent phenomenon of urban entrepreneurialism and the pursuit of 'flagship' property developments by local authorities (Swyngedouw et al 2002). For Hall and Hubbard (1998) these new models of local State governance reflect a shift away from welfare-related services towards economic development strategies within which locally specific adaptations of urban morphology have mediated wider socio-economic changes. As Doucet (2007) argues, despite numerous criticisms from the academic community, these 'new urban visions' have retained their force within 21st century planning policies and continue to reinforce class-based spatial divisions.

Whether regarding the Planned/Organic as dichotomy or oxymoron, it remains a significant discourse for understanding Mixed Use because it encapsulates the tensions in a policy that seeks to resolve urban complexity by imposing a system of spatial order that is itself inherently disorderly. Moreover, the attempt to identify planned solutions to intricate social problems raises the wider question of the limits to State intervention, a concern that was central to the Third Way's prospectus for a new type of urban intervention based on a reconfiguration, in rhetorical and physical forms, of the relationship between cities, citizens and the State.

## Third Way Urban Policy/Keynesian Welfare State

Theories emphasising the fragmentary and fluid qualities of contemporary cities, such as those aligned with Post-Modernism and New Urbanism, connect with the promotion of the Third Way as an attempt to reconcile the complexities of $21^{st}$ century global society by reforming its key institutions and reframing its political discourse. The task of modernisation is given added urgency by pressing environmental concerns which necessitate new forms of government intervention and planning in order to address the danger of climate change (Giddens 2009). The theoretical and political phenomenon of the Third Way dominated UK politics between 1997 and 2010 when it was given articulation by the New Labour government: the same period during which Mixed Use development assumed greater significance. This is not to suggest a direct causality between the two, but the distinctive brand of urbanism espoused and pursued by New Labour, under the influence of the Third Way, can be seen as creating the policy and ideological climate for Mixed Use to flourish.

The city has held a prominent place in the political imagination and appeal of the Third Way and New Labour (Macleod and Ward 2002), symbolized when Tony Blair made his first public policy announcement as Prime Minister from a London council estate, where he launched the significantly named New Deal for Communities (NDC), New Labour's flag-ship urban regeneration programme, presented as a rejection of top-heavy, bureaucratic, property-led redevelopment strategies in favour of 'social inclusion, neighbourhood renewal and community involvement' (Imrie and Raco 2003, p4). The adoption of 'community' as a vital New Labour policy tool (Levitas 2000) was confirmed by Prime Minister Blair who described it as 'the answer to the challenges of a changing world' (speech to Women's Institute $7^{th}$ June 2000). New Labour's vision of a more diffuse, sustainable, culturally sensitive, dynamic, but still economically robust city is shared by the narrative of justification for Mixed Use. This section seeks to examine these renewed understandings of the city and different interpretations of the Third Way in the context of their imprint on urban space and their wider relationship to restructuring the State.

As its leading theoretician, Anthony Giddens (1998, 2000, 2001) portrays the Third Way as a reaction against the breakdown of the post-war political consensus and the discredited philosophies of Old Left Stateism and New Right neoliberalism, the latter particularly associated with the government of Margaret Thatcher, necessitating a distinctive ideological

'break' and the development of a new policy framework. The Third Way posited an adaptation to the transformational social dynamics seen as defining the new millennium, particularly those resulting from globalization and the technological advances driving the 'knowledge economy', which in turn generated profound changes in peoples' everyday lives, leading to a more open and reflective, if fragmented, society shaped by reconfigurations in traditional class, domestic and gender relationships. Giddens explicitly links the 'socialist planning' that dominated urban policy (in East and West) after 1945 with a bygone, obsolete age, but adds that by the turn of the new millennium, no viable alternative had been found. The Third Way sought to fill this void by replacing old, monolithic systems with a more flexible, enterprising State acting in partnership with a mutually-reinforcing blend of public, private and voluntary sector agencies, allied to a new emphasis on the role of the individual, to achieve a renewal of civic society that had, it was argued, been eroded by excessively mechanistic models of governance (Giddens 1998, p125),

Hall and Jacques (1989) argue that the fundamental structural changes of 'New Times' had altered the nature and experience of city life which had suffered a 'slow disintegration' and become 'brutalised' as the result of insensitive modernist planning and remote political leadership. This crisis called forth new forms of policy and activism, particularly in response to heightened ecological anxieties and offered the potential for a more progressive and inclusive model of politics. Similarly, Golston and Kamarck (2001) have argued for the emergence of a new coalition of interests based on the increasing spatial and political significance of the suburbs, alongside revitalised inner-cities, where citizens in both places share a concern for good quality public services, sustainable economic development and environmentalism, a symbiosis of a strong society with a strong economy that is fundamental to the modernizing project of the Third Way.

Against this background, Boyle and Rogerson (2006) identify the key characteristics of Third Way Urban Policy (TWUP) as a renunciation of previous failed urban interventions associated with the Keynesian Welfare State (KWS) which, it was argued, had produced deprived, fragmented and demoralised communities. However, TWUP also rejected the model of neoliberal urbanism which was seen as relying excessively on the free market to 'trickle down' wealth from rich to poor. Instead, TWUP proposed a new model of State involvement based on targeted strategies that prioritised planning and urban design, alongside a warning against the dangers of 'welfare dependency' and associated social ills resulting

from excessive State provision. This required the encouragement of urban regeneration through self-help based on a more active model of citizenship and a 'new moral politics of community' capable of harnessing the capacity of social networks that would lead to vibrant, sustainable neighbourhoods.

The Third Way was also driven by conceptions of the urban landscape that drew heavily on the Utopian/Dystopian discourse through a narrative of the socially riven post-industrial metropolis that needed to be replaced with 'new' ways of living in the city.

> 'Made manifest in films like Blade Runner…the cities of the future divide between gleaming skyscrapers…and a brutalised, impoverished, heavily policed periphery, set in the blackened remains of the industrial age. It is the vision of Los Angeles squared…the dark side of post-Fordism, that the Left now needs to present an alternative vision, one that shows how the different communities in the city can share its spaces in relative equality.'
> (Mulgan 1989, p263)

Herein can be detected trace elements of what became hallmarks of Third Way urbanism such as mixed communities, mixed tenure housing, Mixed Use property developments and other mechanisms for 'sharing' and reshaping the city, with specific spatial objectives and consequences. Parkinson (2001) notes that these intentions were confirmed by a 'flood' of policies that aimed to change the ways cities were managed and governed, but adds that there was nothing particularly novel about New Labour urbanism and the volume of initiatives carried the risk of confusion and contradiction. This is one of a range of critiques aimed at the Third Way, of which perhaps the most fundamental is the extent to which, in contrast to Giddens's claims, it represented a new turn, or was in fact an ameliorated continuation of previous policy trends. Martell (2004) suggests that the Third Way's legacy was a form of 'new pragmatism' that allowed centre-left governments to pursue what were essentially policies associated with the right. Others argue more explicitly that the Third Way was both an agent for and a reflection of the triumph of neoliberalism and provided New Labour with an ideological banner (Callinicos 2001). Cammock (2004) argues that Giddens's claim that the Third Way represented something that moved beyond old formulations relied upon equating neoliberalism with unregulated, laissez faire capitalism, when in fact previous social policy had always been based on a degree of government intervention to regulate the free

market. For Cammock the most salient feature of the Third Way was an attempt to realign social values in support of an ideological project that suggests that 'there is no alternative' to neoliberalism. Morrision (2004) suggests that the key element of this ideological project was the attempt to redefine the notion of citizenship and use it as camouflage for supporting neoliberal objectives such as reducing the role of the State, so that 'active citizenship' becomes equated with participation in labour and consumer markets. Morrison, like Driver and Martell (2002) and Cochrane (2007), rejects the proposition that the Third Way is merely 'warmed over' Thatcherism, concluding that it combined 'neoliberal political economy with a communitarian social perspective'.

Other writers have drawn attention to the anomalies and contradictions implicit in Third Way urban policy. Barrientos and Powell (2004) suggest that this is partly a consequence of the paradigm's innate theoretical uncertainty, illustrated by apparent conceptual incompatibilities such as the combining of 'fairness' with 'enterprise', 'communitarianism' with 'individualism', 'local' with 'global' and 'tradition' with 'change'. Cochrane (2007) links the process of substitution of State provision to a longer tendency towards managerialism and argues that under New Labour the aim of a co-ordinated, holistic, 'joined up' approach to community regeneration was accompanied by increasingly bureaucratic and centralised demands to meet targets and outputs. Brenner and Theodore (2002, 2005) question the extent to which seemingly benign 'place making' strategies, such as those identified with New Labour regeneration programmes like NDC, can act as an effective counterpoint to the overwhelming forces of international capitalist restructuring and its multiple effects on urban space and the urban condition, suggesting that flexible approaches to governance, economic development and service delivery have acted to conceal the deregulation and privatisation of public services.

Brenner and Theodore's arguments are developed by Jessop (1998, 2002, 2007) with more specific attention to neoliberalism as a response to a crisis in the KWS based on a shift from government to market forces as the appropriate fulcrums of policy intervention and with New Labour seen as a political mechanism for applying and 'normalising' these changes by 'deliberately, persistently and willfully' driving forward neoliberalism. Jessop relates this recasting of State, community and citizen relationships to economic and labour force restructuring and the failure of 1980s municipal socialism to defeat Thatcherism, which in

turn led to the widespread adoption of entrepreneurial models of place making and service delivery. Indeed, some writers have argued that the sustained attacks on local government mounted by the Thatcher government left municipalities with no alternative but to 'jump on the bandwagon' of market-driven methods of sustaining their activities (Peck and Tickell 2002). Within this context, the role of the local state has become more significant as the agent of strategies for creating spaces capable of promoting economic activity and growth (Jessop 1998, pp 79 - 80).

> '...cities or city-regions acquire significance in the neoliberal project, since they are major sites of civic initiative as well as of the accumulating economic and social tensions associated with neoliberal projects.' (Jessop 2002)

Jessop identifies the need for neoliberalism to establish strategies designed to 'displace or defer contradictions and conflicts', such as *neocommunitarianism*, a concept that offers particular insights into the policy rationale for Mixed Use. Jessop argues that neocommunitarianism not only embodies the justification for third sector and other avowedly non-marketised partnerships for service delivery, important elements of Third Way thinking, but also focuses on less competitive economic areas such as inner cities where it claims to address socio-spatial and economic imbalances in the form of a 'spatiotemporal fix' capable of addressing a host of intersecting urban regeneration concerns. Spatiotemporal strategies can be pursued at a variety of scales and as an example Jessop critiques the World Report on the Urban Future 21, a document that implicitly endorses Mixed Use in its argument against rigid land use zoning and calls for more flexible planning policies (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000, p294). For Jessop, Urban Future 21 implies a responsibility for contemporary cities to embrace neoliberalism through a range of strategies, including becoming more competitive, entrepreneurial and commercially focussed.

The shifting sands of urbanism and its relationship to the State discussed by Jessop operate not only at an institutional level, but as Holston and Appadurai (1999) argue, constantly disturb and reconfigure meanings of individual citizenship shaped by the city's social dynamics. Concepts of identity and entitlement are essential to reshaping the relationship between the citizen and the State, a connection that was presented as one of the key dilemmas for the Third Way, reflected in a high-profile speech by Tony Blair that also vividly records the New Labour project's millennial ambitions:

'Today at the frontier of the new Millennium I set out for you how, as a nation, we renew British strength and confidence in the 21$^{st}$ century…The liberation of human potential not just as workers, but as citizens…It is time to move beyond the social indifference of right and left…This generation wants a society free from prejudice, but not from rules…A common duty to provide opportunity for all. An individual duty to be responsible towards all.' (Tony Blair speech, Labour Party conference 28$^{th}$ September 1999)

Jones and Ward (2002) elaborate on the theme of neoliberalism as a form of crisis management, particularly in inner-cities where the partial and fragile success of the Urban Renaissance was questioned by the riots of 2001[8] (Kesten et al 2011). The perennial problems of urban areas called forth new forms of regulation under TWUP, including Regional Development Agencies which attempted to establish 'The Region' as a new focus of spatial planning and policy implementation, but based on an essentially pro-business agenda that formed part of the 'rolling back' of the KWS, reflected in the promotion of models of inter-area competition as a mechanism for urban regeneration through the creation of 'eligible' partnerships for policy delivery. Jones and Ward argue that this neoliberalisation of urban policy had four key principles: first the creation of market relations where they had not previously existed, second, the direct involvement of the private sector in urban policy, third, the reconfiguration of delivery mechanisms that negated the need for direct State provision and fourth, the creation of new institutions to manage these processes. These factors can be discerned across a range of policy initiatives instigated by New Labour and informed by Third Way thinking, including Mixed Use.

For Driver and Martell (2002), the cornerstone of the Third Way policy framework was the redefinition of the role of the State from being a direct, monopoly provider of public services to acting as an 'enabler' and regulator of services. As part of what was portrayed as the essential modernisation of government, the State would retain its role and increase investment in sectors seen as underpinning economic success (particularly education), with a more 'proactive' and 'targeted' approach to welfare benefits founded on a new social contract of rights and responsibilities and 'a new flexible state that puts policy efficiency and delivery

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[8]Such concerns were given new impetus by the much more extensive riots of summer 2011 which are referred to further below.

above all else' (Imrie and Raco 2003, p13). The political justification for these changes was summarized by the New Labour Home Secretary who described,

'...declining popular confidence in the ability of institutions to do their job and to respond to the needs of the communities that they are supposed to serve.' (Blunkett 2001)

This narrative is interpreted by Latham (2001) in relation to a set of values underpinning Third Way thinking, listed as inter-dependence: where nations and communities can only grow through co-operation, responsibility: where individuals recognise the impact of their actions on society, incentives: where citizens are encouraged to live and work 'more intelligently' and devolution: where government is moved closer to the people. A revival of social democracy founded on these principles, Latham argues, also creates a new economic geography where governments are able to reconcile the apparent tensions between global flows of capital and localised shifts in labour markets by investing in relatively immobile commodities such as infrastructure and the built environment which can form the foundation of sustainable local economies and communities. Hall and Hubbard (1998) reflect on the role of urban entrepreneurialism in creating types of urban space and projecting images of city life that result from the Third Way's pursuit of renewal, but are based on a movement away from the prioritisation of public services, towards strategies for economic growth in the form of private property development and the pursuit of high-profile, 'prestige' projects (Loftman and Nevin 1998). Such property-led urbanism in turn creates the conditions for a range of new policy orientations based, as Leisering and Leibfried (2001) argue, not on direct State intervention, but an approach more sensitive to the inter-relationship between different aspects of social policy, mobilised by the avowedly more collaborative approach to planning advocated by Massey, Sandercock, Healey and others. The incorporation of a redefined notion of 'Communities' is a vital feature of this strategy, particularly in relation to planning and urban regeneration, where communities became 'part of the reinvention of government' (Imrie and Raco 2003, p5). The relevance of these arguments for Mixed Use lies in the translation from the generality of policy to the specific of the urban morphology arising from the inter-relationship of policy formulation, delivery and outcome suggestive of the 'process based' analysis of Peck and Tickell for whom TWUP provided the dominant ideological rationalisation for reforms of the KWS that were reflected in specific geographic terms

through the reshaping of urban spaces to the point where 'neoliberalism does indeed seem to be everywhere' (Peck and Tickell 2002).

At the heart of Third Way urbanism and charged with providing Mulgan's 'alternative vision' was the Urban Renaissance (UTF 1999), a conceptual paradigm that sought to address the wide-range of challenges confronting 21st century cities (Johnstone and Whitehead 2004). At the forefront of this campaign for a new urban future was Richard Rogers whose architectural and design values were inspired by the aforementioned image of compact, diverse, multi-functional cities of Continental Europe (Rogers and Fisher 1992). Thus the Urban Renaissance was motivated not merely by improving planning and design, although these were of paramount importance, but by advancing a philosophical and ideological case for the city that had a distinctly Utopian flavour that also connects with Benjamin's city of illusion with 'selected imaginations' (Imrie and Raco 2003) evoking a seductive blend of lifestyle images of urbanity, citizenship, self-help and communitarianism which, it was argued, could be secured through an approach to urban policy that was capable of attracting people back to the city (Davidson 2008): an ambition summarised by another leading Third Way theorist:

> 'To make our physical environment more community-friendly, our homes, places of work, streets and public spaces – whole developments, suburbs and even whole cities – need to be designed to achieve the communitarian nexus.' (Etzioni 1993, p127)

The policy edge of the Urban Renaissance was provided by the Urban Task Force (UTF), a policy unit established by the New Labour government with the following remit:

> '... (to) identify causes of urban decline in England and recommend practical solutions to bring people back into our cities...establish a new vision for urban regeneration founded on the principles of design excellence, social well-being and environmental responsibility...' (Mission Statement, UTF 1999)

To achieve this would require a 'change in urban attitudes' and a 'change in culture' driven by social, technical and environmental forces (UTF 1999). As with its wider political shift, the reappraisal of the role and potential of the city advanced by the Third Way was not restricted to the UK. Raco notes the specific policy overlap between the UK and US to produce 'a new form of Anglo-American capitalism' (Raco 2003, p243), while Gordon (2004) argues that, by

the turn of the millennium, resurgent urbanism was 'conventional wisdom' on a global scale, with property-led urban development and 'repeopling strategies' (Hoskins and Tallon 2004) promoted by multi-government agencies as key to economic success and social cohesion, with environmental sustainability as a 'bonus' (Gordon 2004, p373).

Colomb describes the key aims of the Urban Renaissance as the construction of a new type of urbanity based on a rediscovery of the qualities of the city as a potential 'urban idyll' where cultural diversity and creativity can be the engines of social cohesion, economic prosperity and environmental sustainability. Crucial to achieving this objective was a new importance attached to forms of urban design that were seen as capable of nurturing civility and citizenship (Colomb 2007), a task which, according to Imrie and Raco, has been passed to professionals within the development industry assumed to have the knowledge to enhance the urban environment, rather than the communities whose lives may be improved by it (Imrie and Raco 2003, p27). Nonetheless, concerns about the nature of civility and the potential for policy makers to promote it remain high, particularly in the aftermath of the riots of summer 2011. A leading New Labour think tank defines civility, at its narrowest point, as the types of behaviour that enable people to share public space. This propensity is affected by a range of factors including relationship to time expressed as levels of 'busy-ness' and 'time poverty', population density, engagement with civic activities, 'neighbourliness', population mobility and uses of new technology, such as mobile phones, that may inhibit civility (Young Foundation 2011). Understandings of these multifarious issues are related to the increasing diversity of contemporary society and the nature and quality of space:

> 'Migration and ethnic diversity are common in many major cities and parts of London, Leicester and Birmingham have already made the transition to hyperdiversity….Our working patterns have become more specialised and different generations interact less. Technological advances mean that our networks are more diffuse, exposing us to an ever-expanding range of people without the constraints of space and time.' (Young Foundation 2011, p34)

Addressing the potential for nurturing civility, the Young Foundation looks to the arguments of Jacobs and Sennett in favour of urban spaces that foster organic, rather than authoritarian reinforcement of civil behaviour, ideals to which Mixed Use theories are closely aligned. Sennett himself defines civility as the capacity of people from different backgrounds to live

together without 'daily control by the state' and advocates planning policies that can 'knit the city together', but notes that current Mixed Use practice is failing to achieve this (Sennett 2005). However, Sennett remains explicit in his advocacy of Mixed Use as the 'Holy Grail' for improving the quality of city life by encouraging inhabitants to 'develop a more complex, adult understanding of one another', but adds that extant neighbourhoods of this type are 'fragile' because they tend towards the development of gated communities and the displacement of the poor by newly arrived middle class residents (Sennett 2011).

For Knox (2011) establishing the relationship between urban design and the wider political economy has the potential to improve the quality of urban life, but in practice good design is constantly confronted by a range of contradictory forces. This 'matrix of relational networks' within the development process includes clients, financiers, policy makers and politicians all of whom are able to exert pressures that make outcomes that go beyond 'artful fragments' conditional and negotiated, a dynamic that Knox relates to Giddens' theory of 'structuration' which emphasises the inter-relationship of different actors in shaping the built environment. However, Knox maintains the paramount importance of an urban landscape that is capable of nurturing and sustaining 'animation, conviviality and sociability' (Knox 2011, p241), to which end the concentration, mixture and distribution of uses plays an important part and can foster additional benefits that strongly correspond with the Third Way's wider aims by increasing,

> '...people's sense of civil society...(and) the probability of their participation in local affairs and local democracy...' (Knox 2011, p243)

Keil (2000) has discussed the extent to which the ideological drivers of the Third Way, particularly its deployment of urban design as a social solution and promotion of 'spectacularisation' in the form of flagship property developments, can be related to a distinctive form of urban morphology. In tune with Giddens' original conception and echoing Golston and Kamarck (2001), Keil suggests the potential for the urban middle class to lead a 'progressive hegemony' in the city, as a contrast to traditional neoliberal and left-wing urbanism and adds that the terms of any such reconfiguration is based on the acceptance of 'social difference' and is reflected in architectural visions that create 'fields of dreams' for those seeking to participate in an urban renaissance. Thus it is argued that the built environment associated with the Third Way bears the imprint of an aspiration for social and

cultural diversity, but one that, like Benjamin's Arcades, may be illusory. This deeper reading of Third Way urbanism is taken on by Davidson (2012) who notes the paradigm's distinctive spatial dimension whereby the nature and characteristics of particular neighbourhoods are associated with their socio-economic condition and therefore that 'fixing' an area's propensity for poverty, unemployment or social exclusion requires reordering and redesigning its urban morphology. In particular, social and functional 'mixing' have been specific policy objectives aimed at reducing socio-spatial agglomerations based on class, tenure and a variety of other social characteristics perceived as a damaging legacy of monolithic, mono-cultural and mono-functional planning policies, themes that recur in the narratives around the creation of Mixed Use space.

In reviewing the architectural and morphological legacy of the Urban Renaissance, Punter (2010) links the revival of city centres with the property boom and the opportunity it presented to local authorities, developers and those able to participate in the market to repopulate urban areas. In response to increased demand, planning policies were adopted that allowed for increased scale and density of development, but also brought collateral benefits in the form of 'planning gain' deals that enabled the building of some affordable housing, infrastructure projects, environment improvements (including the public realm) and Mixed Use that encouraged the revival of retail and other non-residential activities. The combination of these factors led to a reshaping of the urban cores of UK cities which Punter also relates to a 'collective commitment' to good design that has permeated key participants in the development process, particularly local authorities, to produce a 'dynamic urbanism' that reflects the multi-faceted, heterogeneous, textured cities envisaged by the Third Way (Mulgan 1989). However, Punter also recognises some of the emerging critiques of this new urban landscape, particularly those that regard the Urban Renaissance as a proxy for wholesale, State-led gentrification justified by amorphous terms such as 'mixed communities' (Bridge et al 2012), but concludes that the resulting new developments have been a catalyst for the type of reinvestment in inner cities that the Third Way called for and is intrinsic to the Mixed Use concept.

From a more critical perspective, Hatherley (2010, 2012) also identifies a specific architectural vernacular with Third Way thinking and New Labour urban policy that he characterises as an attempt to 'create Barcelona or Berlin using the methods of Canary Wharf' (Hatherley 2012, pXIII), thus arguing that the reputed novelty of continental civic

design promoted by the Urban Renaissance was actually born of a continuation of neoliberal property-led regeneration associated with Thatcherism. As physical evidence for this assertion, Hatherley describes urban landscapes bearing the imprimatur of the Third Way, particularly the phenomenon of 'PFI Architecture' – buildings such as hospitals and schools constructed through the Public Finance Initiative which, for Hatherley, represent in architectural form 'New Labour's attempt to transform the Welfare State into a giant business' (Hatherley 2010, pX). While acknowledging that the Urban Renaissance focussed attention on the importance of good design, Hatherley contends that the consequences for the built environment have been amorphous developments that he describes as 'Pseudomodernism', or 'Modernism without the politics' (Hatherley 2010 pXXIV), suggesting a hybrid of authoritarianism, uniformity and vacuous commercialism which is typified by Mixed Use:

> '...five or six-storey blocks of flats, with let or unlet retail units at ground floor level, the concrete frames clad in wood, aluminium and render – can be seen in every urban centre.' (Hatherley 2010, pXIV)

For Hatherley, nowhere is the legacy of Third Way urbanism more evident than in the London Borough of Greenwich where it connected with a series of key New Labour motifs. Greenwich was chosen as the primary location for the Millennium celebrations and the newly-built Dome (now the corporately branded 'O2 Arena') as the venue for an exhibition celebrating the innovations of the dawning 21st century. The Dome was built on a brownfield, waterfront site that was an exemplary New Labour, de-industrialised regeneration area because it provided a 'Blairite Tabula Rasa' (Hatherley 2010, p291) for reshaping the urban landscape and attracting people to the city. Greenwich Millennium Village (GMV) provides, Hatherley suggests, the quintessential example of New Labour-era urban policy, but carries the danger of becoming an isolated exemplar whose aspirations of 'sustainability' are undermined by prevailing planning policy that facilitates car-oriented retail parks. Hatherley is similarly pessimistic about the Royal Arsenal Riverside site, a mile down river from GMV where 'London's contradictions are built-in' (Hatherley 2010, p314) by creating an exclusive enclave that fails to connect with its surroundings and presents a sterile combination of uses.

Hatherley suggests a link between the changes to the urban landscape during the New Labour years and the ambition of the Third Way to restructure the KWS through such mechanisms as

PFI and other forms of public-private partnerships (PPP). While various forms of PPP were introduced by the preceding Conservative government, they became synonymous with New Labour (Musson 2009) and can be seen as part of its break with the post-war social policy consensus based on the 'five pillars' of the Welfare State. The unprecedented scale of the post-war State-led policy intervention entailed a specific ideological commitment to planning in social, economic and spatial terms in order to deliver a comprehensive range of public services, co-ordinate investment in infrastructure and shape the built environment, most notably through the 1946 New Towns Act and 1947 Town and Country Planning Act (Timmins 1995). As Harrison notes, these changes

'...transformed both the material and social worlds of its citizens, through new state policies, new networks of political and social control, the centralisation and nationalisation of a range of existing aspects of civilian life and the construction of housing on a monumental scale.' (Harrison 2009)

Harrison argues that State ideologies such as the 'high modernist ideals' of the Welfare State were reflected in new designs for the urban landscape and the use of materiality to reinforce social relations, exemplified by the dramatic expansion of council housing in the post-war period. It was a backlash against such arguably overweening, centralised State control that formed the background to the Third Way's attempt to restructure – and replace - the social and physical infrastructure of the KWS.

Despite the Third Way's avowed commitment to inclusivity in promoting its new urban vision, a succession of critics have accused TWUP of fostering, by default or design, landscapes of exclusivity and division. For Lees (2008), the series of ideological, cultural and physical epithets linked to creating a livable city raise the question of the extent to which New Labour urbanism has fostered gentrification. Lees argues that implicit within the Urban Renaissance is a policy narrative that justifies the attraction of middle class people to run-down inner-city areas that had become subject to abandonment, worklessness, crime and crucially, falling property values (Smith 1996). This downward spiral could, it was claimed, be arrested by attracting a middle class population that would revive the property market, raise the economic profile and act as advocates for an otherwise disempowered community, while strengthening its cultural sinews through the deployment of social capital and networks of the type described by Putnam (2000).

For Lees, the multiple advantages of 'mixed communities' and by association, Mixed Use, became firmly embedded in TWUP as received wisdom:

> '...the benefits of functionally as well as socially mixed urban communities have
> become something of an unquestioned gospel in policy discourse.' (Lees 2008)

This conclusion is echoed by Cheshire (2009) who traces belief in the virtues of mixed communities to Garden Cities and refers to it as a 'favoured outcome of new urbanism', but in critiquing the methodology of New Labour's strategy for mixed communities (ODPM 2003b, 2005a) argues that the policy is 'faith based' rather than evidence based and that there is,

> '...scant evidence that making communities more mixed improves the life chances of
> the poor.' (Cheshire 2009)

Unsworth (2007) also discusses the alignment of policy objectives and physical outcomes associated with the Urban Renaissance within which the quality of urban life is linked to improvements in the public realm and Mixed Use, illustrated by the revival of a 'declining northern industrial town to become a go-ahead city', but Unsworth questions whether the type of people attracted to live in such places – young, work-oriented, childless and transient – are able to generate the kind of communities envisaged by TWUP as a key component of sustainable urban revival (Unsworth 2007). Such doubts are echoed by Hoskins and Tallon who suggest that the theoretical rationale for the Urban Renaissance was based on a 'selective' urban vision located in an 'imagined geography', partly informed by unrealistic attempts to translate city forms from Continental Europe to the UK:

> '...efforts to generate a sense of place are becoming more sophisticated, employing
> strategies that involve street layout, building design, mixed use designation and the
> recruiting of streets performers to animate the space and self-consciously reflect an
> image of cosmopolitanism.' (Hoskins and Tallon 2004, p27)

The implication of this argument chimes with that of Zukin (2010) who interrogates the authenticity of urban places that express a contradiction between political and corporate

interests that seek to reconfigure post-industrial cities through a landscape of consumption, alongside a simultaneous desire to recapture social connectedness and communitarianism. Such 'wish images' and 'dream worlds' formed the basis of Benjamin's exploration of the Arcades and Goss' account of festival marketplaces where he found 'imaginings of a mythical natural urbanism...made from symbols of a lost past' (Goss 1996) and can be related to the host of meanings that have been linked to the potential for Mixed Use to reinvigorate urban places and provide them with a sense of urbanity and animation such as Grant and Perrott (2011) observe at 'lifestyle' retail centres that seek to imitate a 'self-contained village' or provide a 'downtown experience'. Levitas (2000) suggests that TWUP was explicitly concerned with the recreation of just such a form of idealised urbanism and places it within the long tradition of Utopian thought and argues that for New Labour, the tangled and ambiguous concept of 'community' was a key signifier of something lost in the life of the city. The revival of community was vital because it reaffirmed the ideological difference that the Third Way had sought to establish between itself and the New Right - which had once denied the existence of society - and the Old Left, which had defended the role of the State as the provider of social well-being. Instead, the Third Way proposed community as a mediating force between a naked free market and the dominating and enfeebling KWS.

In summary, it has been argued that the re-emergence of Mixed Use formed part of the creation of 'conditions and contexts' (Raco 2007, p168) for a radical reform of State services that directly rebutted the assumptions of the KWS in policy and spatial terms. This entailed a particular approach to urban design invested with power to produce a given set of social outcomes. Given such a sweeping scale of policy ambition, Mixed Use can be understood as operating at several levels within the TWUP/KWS discourse, becoming a repository for a variety of ideas about the contemporary city, capable of containing and integrating, literally and figuratively, the swirling socio-economic, political and environmental complexities identified by the Third Way as necessitating radical governmental intervention. Thus Mixed Use is not merely a 'policy instrument', but a metaphor for Third Way-inspired attempts to reform and reshape the metropolis in order to reconcile its threats and contradictions.

## Conclusion: Synthesising the Four Discourses

The purpose of this chapter has been to develop an understanding of the specificity of Mixed Use from a wider theoretical and conceptual palate. The schema for the four key discourses provided in Chapter 1 (fig. 2, p17) suggests a linear relationship, but it is apparent from the preceding discussion that there are significant areas of overlap and intersection that suggest a more fluid, kaleidoscopic set of influences on the development of Mixed Use as a particular policy intervention and that this is based on some common points of reference. First and foremost, the four discourses have a shared perspective of the city as the preeminent social artifact that captures the most salient features of human civilization and is the seat of our best dreams and worst nightmares. These Utopian-Dystopian visions, whether explicit or implicit, reside within both Modernist and Post-Modern urbanisms which in turn express a shared fundamental belief in the capacity of human beings to shape their physical environments whether through planned or organic patterns of development. This belief in the importance, potential and dynamism of the city is expressed, in practical policy terms, by the efforts of TWUP to shape the city as part of a wider attempt to reconfigure social and spatial relations in tune with the emerging 21$^{st}$ century metropolis. In part, this effort entails the Utopian search for a built form capable of producing social cohesion and urban sustainability, just as the Garden Cities movement had done a century earlier, but in contrast to and rebuttal of the physical and policy architecture of the KWS. Based on these conclusions, the diagram of the relationship between the four key discourses can be redrawn to reflect the fluidity and complexity within the Mixed Use concept.
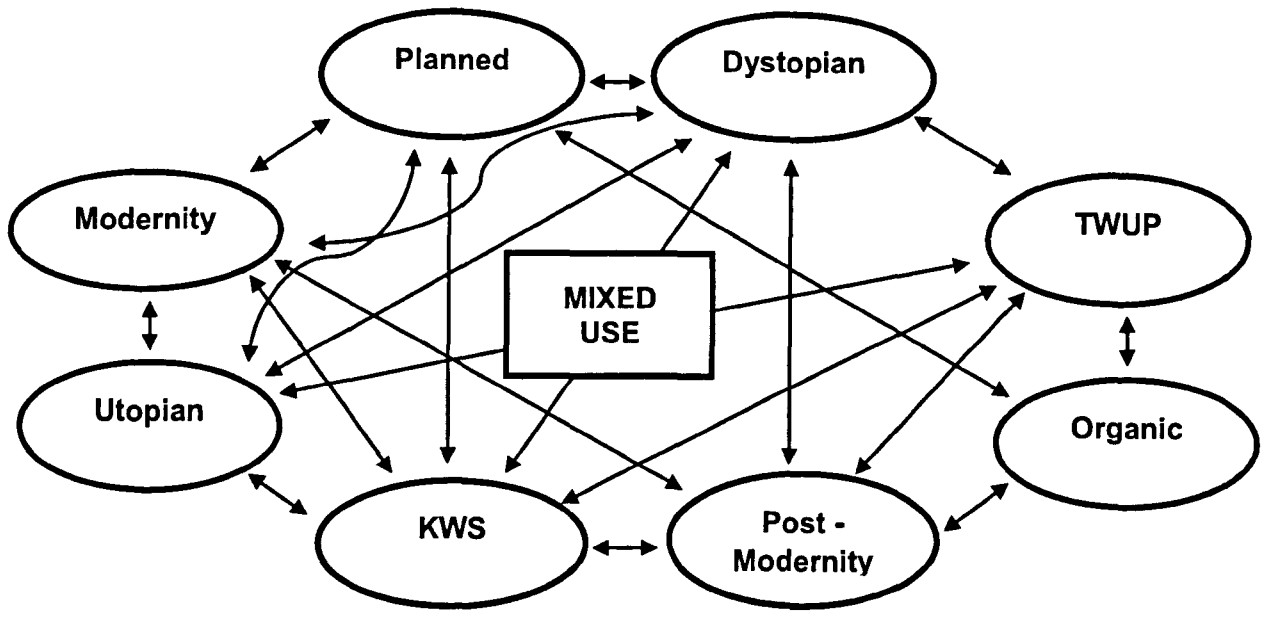
Fig.17 Mixed Use the product of four key, overlapping, fluid discourses

## Chapter 3 – Policy and Planning

### Introduction

The previous chapters have argued that the conceptual foundations of Mixed Use can be understood by the convergence and inter-play of a number of key inter-connected discourses that have been accentuated by a particular political project and that these forces have combined to leave a distinctive imprint on the urban landscape of which Mixed Use is a significant part. This chapter examines the more specific policy drivers, instruments and institutional mechanisms that have mobilised the Mixed Use revival and led to its widespread incorporation into urban policy. The first part focuses on the evolution of a collection of initiatives that sought to inculcate Mixed Use within a wider set of policy interventions aimed at reshaping the city and in particular, addressing the myriad challenges of achieving sustainable urbanism. The second part looks at the role of the planning system in implementing these policies, against the background of a discipline that has undergone successive reinterpretations of its character and function, but which has been seen as having discovered a renewed purpose in guiding sustainable urbanism. It is argued that both the evolution of the Mixed Use policy framework and the responsibility of planning to deliver it are consistent with the four key discourses and strongly reflect the significant role of Third Way urban policy in promoting Mixed Use as a feature of redesigned and reordered 21$^{st}$ century cities.

### Evolution of Mixed Use policy

The over-arching policy driver for Mixed Use has been the widely perceived need to find ways of living in cities that do not exacerbate and if possible reduce environmental pollution, so that by the 1990s the search for the 'sustainable city' had become the dominant paradigm of international urban policy (Whitehead 2003). In the words of Tony Blair, sustainable urban development was no longer an option, but a necessity and was defined by New Labour as the need to live within environmental limits, while simultaneously maintaining economic growth, good governance and social justice (DEFRA 2005). As Bulkeley (2009) points out, land use policy was identified as a pivotal policy instrument for enacting these principles. However, the growing importance of environmentalism needs to be set in the context of a wider series of urban policy concerns. The deindustrialisation and economic globalisation

that provided the theoretical justification for the Third Way had transformational consequences for cities where the loss of manufacturing jobs had left abandoned industrial areas, high unemployment and multiple deprivation (Cochrane 2007). In the 1980s, the need to address these issues was symbolised by the image of Margaret Thatcher's 'walk in the wilderness' across an abandoned factory site and translated into policy interventions that sought comprehensive urban regeneration such as Urban Development Corporations that generated profound socio-economic, political and spatial changes, most notably in east London (Butler 2007), but also in thirteen other deindustrialised urban areas (Imrie and Thomas 1999). The election of New Labour brought a renewed search for 'holistic' models of urban regeneration exemplified in policy terms by the New Deal for Communities, in conceptual terms by the Urban Renaissance and by the promotion of pro-growth and entrepreneurial strategies that were bolstered by a buoyant economy, particularly in the property and housing markets, which for Turner (2008, 2009) were deliberately encouraged to generate a 'boom' that would reflate previously deflated urban areas. These macro-economic and political factors were accompanied by the emergence of new cultural and aesthetic qualities linked to urban lifestyles which also, it was suggested, possessed the capacity to revive cities, but in ways that were more sensitive to their social and environmental integrity (Montgomery 2003).

Although definitions of 'sustainable development' remain highly problematic and contested (Giddings et al 2002, Cochrane 2010) a plethora of policies have been introduced, ranging from multi-national to local levels aimed at addressing an 'albeit selective' interpretation of sustainability (Raco 2007), with the New Labour government having a particular 'zest' for reforming the planning system (Ratcliffe et al 2009). However, the impetus for such policies came from a series of multi-governmental directives, which were in turn motivated by several seminal works that raised awareness of impending environmental disaster and the need for legislative action to avoid it. An early example is Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring' (1962) which has been credited with starting the modern environmental movement by drawing attention to the damage caused to bio-diversity by pesticides (Flint 2009). For Ratcliffe et al (2009) the roots of interventions aimed at controlling economic and physical development can be traced to the early 1970s and the publication of 'The Limits to Growth' (Meadows et al 1972), a report arguing that unrestrained development and consumption would place an unbearable strain on the earth's finite resources. Responding to this predicament, in 1983 the United Nations convened the World Commission on the Environment and Development

(WCED), which produced the Brundtland Report, 'Our Common Future' (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). Brundtland placed environmentalism on the global political agenda and laid the groundwork for subsequent policies, particularly by focussing on the prospect that, by the start of the 21$^{st}$ century, half of the world's population would be living in cities (Jenks et al 1996). Brundtland also provided what has become the most widely quoted and used definition of sustainable development:

> 'Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.' (WCED 1987)

Giddings et al (2002) interpret the recommendations of Brundtland as a 'fudge' that created a legacy of ambiguity that percolated through subsequent policies, including those for Mixed Use (Rowley 1996). For Breheny (1992, 1996) Brundtland implied the importance of a fundamental reassessment of types of urban form, but he notes that the political urgency of the question had led to policy measures that had not necessarily been exposed to rigorous research. Breheny suggests the key dividing line between different models of urban development remained that which had polarised the pioneers of town planning, namely the relative merits of centralised or decentralised urban patterns. At the end of the 20$^{th}$ century, Breheny notes that the sustainability debate had shifted most opinion decisively in favour of urban compaction, but that significant bodies of thought remained in favour of suburban dispersal on the grounds that this reflected the lifestyle preferences and consumer choices of those who sought to escape the metropolis (Bruegmann 2005). However, Breheny also questions the extent to which 'sprawl' had, in fact, been the decisive pattern of settlement, particularly in the UK, where the discontinuous growth of other countries had been restricted by planning controls. Nonetheless, the deindustrialisation of cities and consequent loss of jobs provided a clear challenge to those advocating centrism on environmental grounds to find models of urban form that were also sustainable in economic and social terms. Breheny argues that policy discourses should move beyond dualism to identify a spatial compromise between centrism and decentrism, a proposition that chimes with an interpretation of Mixed Use policy as reflecting a process of negotiation, conditionality and compromise within the development process.

This theme of compromise is evident in the emergence of a UK policy framework for urban sustainability that specifically encouraged Mixed Use and can be traced to the influential

1990 Green Paper on the Urban Environment by the Commission of the European Communities (CEC), which advanced a further multi-national government response to the perceived threat of over-development (Welbank 1996, Pratt and Larkham 1996). The CEC report presents an essentially positive outlook for European cities (CEC 1990, p8) with the challenges being to maintain economic growth, while mitigating environmental damage and preserving 'social cohesion'. To this end, the paper advocates the reclamation of abandoned industrial land, with redevelopment to be based not on rigid planning directives, but more fluid spatial plans that supported higher density, Mixed Use development that would 'result in people living close to workplaces and the services they require for everyday life' (CEC 1990, p40). Thus a clear link is proposed between compactness, sustainability and Mixed Use, but the CEC report also links this policy narrative to a more philosophical and arguably idealised rediscovery of the benefits of metropolitan lifestyles that prefigures some of the arguments associated with Third Way urbanism and the Urban Renaissance:

> '...the past decades have seen a rediscovery of the value of urban living...In part this reflects the failure of the periphery: the absence of public life, the paucity of culture, the visual monotony, the time wasted in commuting. By contrast the city offers density and variety...the chance to restore the rich architecture inherited from the past.' (CEC 1990, p19)

The Green Paper led to the formation of an 'Expert Group' on the Urban Environment which sought to develop coherent polices for creating the compact city through planning strategies (CEC 1993, 1996), including a specific recommendation in support of Mixed Use:

> 'Local authorities should develop policies promoting flexibility of use in areas and buildings throughout the city, and should promote the concept of green building in order to ensure the design of buildings for durability, adaptability and multiple use.' (CEC 1993, p17)

Another important landmark in the emerging international policy consensus around sustainable urbanism came with the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (UN General Assembly, June 1992). What became known as 'The Earth Summit' brought together 30,000 participants from 148 countries and produced a declaration with 27 Principles for balancing the need for global economic development alongside the

environmental damage resulting from resource intensive industrialisation. Responding to the need for policy, as opposed to rhetorical, outcomes, the Declaration led to the formulation of Agenda 21, a series of practical measures to be implemented by countries and local authorities around the world. Following Rio, the UK became one of the first countries to publish a sustainable development strategy (DoE 1994) representing:

> '... (a) move in the direction of this 'greening' of the planning system, whereby environmental considerations are given considerably more weight in the decision making process than would have been the case in the 1980s.' (Ratcliffe et al 2009, p266)

The strategy particularly focussed on transport issues and using Agenda 21 as a policy mechanism, aimed at reducing motor vehicle journeys. This was buttressed by Planning Policy Guidance 13 (PPG13) which provided local authorities with guidance for how to use the planning system in order to integrate transport and land use needs, with the aim of reducing emissions (DETR 1994). Another significant element of PPG13 is its statement in favour of maintaining and 'where appropriate' increasing residential densities (PPG13 para. 3.3). Although no specific density targets are given, the policy guidance indicates the strengthening policy link between sustainable development, the built environment and compactness. It is in this context that Mixed Use begins to emerge as a potential design solution to these various policy concerns. Referring to previous planning practices, the Minister for the Environment comments:

> 'Too much emphasis has been placed on zoning and segregation of land use. It derives from the determined neatness of planners and has nothing to do with the proper growth of the community.' (John Gummer, RTPI 1995)

Emerging governmental strategies aimed at combating environmental damage attracted a range of criticisms. Pratt and Larkham (1997) suggest the possible benefits of such initiatives were likely to be long-term and thus beyond the short-term horizons and interests of politicians. Walker suggests that conversion to green issues may have been more superficial than substantive, informed by efforts 'to be seen aboard, if not actually driving, the sustainability bandwagon' (Walker 1997, p76). Other writers note that early strategies contained few specific measures over and above a general statement in favour of

'sustainability' and the 'triple bottom line' concept of environmental, economic and social policy aspirations that has been strongly associated with Mixed Use (Walker 1997, Ratcliffe et al 2009).

Notwithstanding these critiques, increasing policy attention to the relationship between urban form and the environment was marked by Planning Policy Guidance 6 (PPG6) on the design of town centres and retail developments (DoE 1996). PPG6 advocates a plan-led approach to preserve the focus of local retail activity. This 'town centre first' strategy envisages a diversity of shops served by a choice of transport options, other than the private car, with new developments required to demonstrate 'vitality and viability' (URBED 1994). These objectives are reinforced by a sequential, hierarchical approach to land-use decisions, with new-build, out of town shopping centres seen as a last resort.

In 2005, PPG6 was updated and replaced by Planning Policy Statement 6 (PPS6) which states that 'sustainable development' is the government's 'core principle' and identifies Mixed Use as a key element of this strategy:

> 'The Government is concerned to ensure that efficient use should be made of land within centres and elsewhere. Local planning authorities should formulate planning policies which encourage well-designed and where appropriate, higher density, multi-storey development...including the promotion of mixed-use development and mixed use areas.' (PPS6, ODPM 2005b para. 2.20 p12)

PPS6 encourages the development of the evening and night-time economy (ODPM 2005b, para 2.23 – 2.26), another important element in the policy justification for Mixed Use and provides twelve criteria for measuring urban vitality and viability (ODPM 2005b, pp 28 – 29). These 'health checks' for town centre development confirm the importance attached by New Labour to 'evidence based policy' (Davies et al 2000, Wilks-Heeg 2003) and were to be carried out by local authorities 'in co-operation with the private sector'. These indicators included diversity of town centre uses in comparison with edge-of-centre and out-of-centre locations, the volume and patterns of pedestrian footfall, rental-yields from commercial property, transport accessibility and empty street-level commercial space, a particular problem associated with Mixed Use (Giddings and Craine 2006). PPS6 also illustrates the transference of the sustainability policy agenda from Conservative to Labour administrations,

but with the addition of some of the distinctive elements of TWUP. For example, PPS6 links explicitly to the New Labour government's Sustainable Communities plan (ODPM 2003b) by seeking to promote models of urban development 'accessible to all...particularly socially-excluded groups' (PPS6, ODPM 2005b, p5).

A similar policy refinement is discernable in the transition from Planning Policy Guidance 1 (PPG1) to Planning Policy Statement 1 (PPS1). PPG1 (DoE 1997) integrates the broad principles of sustainable development into the planning system for the first time, accompanied by a growing concern for urban design and its potential to meet wider social objectives (DETR/CABE 2000, p8). PPS 1 goes further. Using the Brundtland Report's definition (see above), it restates sustainability as the core aim of new development. Echoing the wider policy aspirations associated with TWUP, PPS1 seeks to use planning to achieve:

> '...a just society that promotes social inclusion, sustainable communities and personal well-being in ways that protect and enhance the physical environment and optimize resource and energy use.' (PPS1, ODPM 2005 p2, para. 4)

PPS1 emphasises the importance of 'inclusive' patterns of urban design, with an explicit directive towards high density, Mixed Use development (PPS1, para.27 viii, p12). As Ratcliffe et al point out, PPS1 provides an important distinction between aesthetics and the broader question of 'good design', where the latter:

> '...covers issues of connections to services and employment, integration with urban form, the creation of safe and inclusive places, inclusion of access for all society and careful regard for the impact on the natural environment.' (Ratcliffe et al 2009, p210)

The importance of design was further enshrined within the planning process with the requirement, after 2006, that planning applications be accompanied by a design and access statement. Underpinning this change was an increased role for the Commission for Architecture and Built Environment (CABE) which issued a series of guidance documents, including explicit encouragement of Mixed Use as 'a vital part of creating sustainable places' (CABE 2006 p13).

PPS1 does not restrict itself to physical or environmental sustainability, but seeks to link

these issues to wider social and planning policy concerns:

> 'Regeneration of the built environment alone cannot deal with poverty, inequality and social exclusion. These issues can only be addressed through the better integration of all strategies and programmes, partnership working and effective community involvement.' (PPS1, p7, para. 15)

Rydin (2004) argues that the scope of PPS1 exceeds the capacity of the planning system to meet such ambitious objectives, particularly given the implicit contradiction between the notion of sustainability and the constant desire for economic growth.

> 'One can't help feeling that integration of different policies and strategies is only necessary in order to promote development – preferably sustainable development, but development above all...The planning system envisaged by PPS1 is just too small a vessel in which to contain the ambitious goals of spatial planning.' (Rydin 2004)

A supplement to be 'read alongside' PPS1, 'Planning and Climate Change', was issued in 2007 encouraging developments that reduce carbon emissions and requiring local planning authorities to prepare Regional Spatial Strategies that 'fully reflected' this goal (DCLG 2007c). Included in the criteria for suitable developments are proximity to public transport, a 'mix of uses' and 'the ability to build and sustain socially cohesive communities' (DCLG 2007c, para. 24). This guidance contributed to the over-arching government objective of reducing carbon emissions by 60% between 1990 and 2050 contained in the Climate Change Act of 2008.

Despite doubts about the ability of the planning system to deliver a panoply of policy objectives (Rydin 2004), New Labour presented its most ambitious urban vision at the turn of the new millennium in 'Our Towns and Cities – the future: Delivering an Urban Renaissance' which set out:

> '...(a) new vision of urban living...an urban renaissance which will benefit everyone, making towns and cities vibrant and successful places where people will choose to live, and helping protect the countryside from development pressure.' (Urban White Paper, DETR 2000)

The Urban White Paper calls for radical change from past practices in order to achieve a revival based on higher residential density to reduce energy consumption and the creation of more attractive and economically successful places to act as a magnet for the repopulation of towns and cities, within the context of providing 3.8 million new homes, delivered through emerging planning guidance for housing and with the prioritisation of good design and spatial masterplanning (Punter 2010).

The White Paper forms what Ratcliffe et al describe as 'a vast amalgamation' of existing and anticipated measures, creating a 'sometimes confusing stream of initiatives and policies' (Ratcliffe et al 2009, p286). Alongside the planning system, a variety of partnerships are established as agencies for delivering sustainable urbanism, including Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs), a forum for community consultation and participation formed of local councils, service providers, voluntary groups and business leaders. The rationale for increased community involvement is partly posited on an assumption of 'self-help' whereby local residents are expected to take more responsibility for their neighbourhoods, as part of the realignment of expectations of the State under New Labour discussed above.

In 2005 members of the Urban Task Force produced a review of progress towards achieving a 'strong' Urban Renaissance (UTF 2005). In his introduction, Richard Rogers acknowledges that some progress had been made in the preceding six years, but identified a series of persisting concerns where more effective intervention was needed. In particular, Rogers argues that the prevailing settlement trend, particularly for middle-class families, remained towards the suburbs where it was perceived there were better schools, less traffic congestion and a better environment. Partly as a consequence, Rogers suggests that social inequalities had become 'massive' and for many the experience of living in cities continued to be blighted by an under-supply of affordable housing, inadequate transport services and poor design, all of which were related to an excessive policy focus on economic growth.

A more specific, but related aspect of the layering of Mixed Use policy is reflected in the development of housing policy that forms a crucial adjunct to the policies discussed above because of the fundamental relationship between housing and the everyday experience of those who live in places designated as 'Mixed Use'. Planning Policy Guidance 3 (DETR 2000d) confirms the elevation of planning policy aimed at encouraging compact, well

planned development, with a clear preference in favour of building within existing urban areas at high densities in order to avoid sprawl and protect the greenbelt (Ratcliff et al 2009, p255). The subsequent Planning Policy Statement 3 (DCLG 2006b) defines this approach in more detail, with particular reference to design and layout issues and relates directly to PPS1 and its supplement on climate change. PPS3 is also the government's response to the Barker Review of housing supply (HM Treasury 2004), which predicts the need for 240,000 new homes a year in order to meet demand and aims to achieve this through a 'more responsive approach to land supply at local level'. Ratcliffe et al (2009) point out the apparent policy tension between meeting increased demand for new homes while protecting the environment, but PPS3 proposes a 'cross cutting' approach by using the planning system to both release more land for development, while simultaneously imposing stricter standards for the design of new dwellings through the Code for Sustainable Homes (DCLG 2006c) which sets energy efficiency targets for all new units built after 2008, with the ultimate objective that by 2016 all new homes will be 'zero carbon'.

Reaffirming the wider social objectives of TWUP, PPS3 states that the New Labour government's key housing policy is:

> '...to ensure that everyone has the opportunity of living in a decent home, which they can afford, in a community where they want to live.' (PPS3, DCLG 2006b, para. 9)

The policy directs the need for 'mixed communities' through mixed tenure housing, with at least 60% of new developments on previously developed (brownfield) land, based on a 'visionary and strategic approach' and joining up planning, housing, economic, environmental and community strategies. Local Planning Authorities (LPAs) are encouraged to adopt density levels that vary across a given site, but with thirty dwellings per hectare as an indicative minimum in order to ensure efficient use of land and provide sufficient 'critical mass' to support local shops and services, a specific recommendation of the UTF. While PPS3 does not include an explicit directive in favour of Mixed Use, it is implied by the aim of achieving high quality housing that is:

> '...easily accessible and well-connected to public transport and community facilities and services.' (PPS3, DCLG 2006b, para. 16)

The use of the planning system and housing policies to create 'mixed communities' (ODPM 2005a) has been described as the 'primary policy vehicle' for New Labour urbanism (Raco 2007, p117), justified by the following multi-faceted rationale:

> 'There are a number of reasons why mixed communities might be attractive; to promote a more egalitarian or socially cohesive society; to encourage racial or religious integration; and to create more 'workable' or 'sustainable' communities...the rationale for mixed communities is that substantial diversification of housing type and tenure, combined with improvements to facilities, services and opportunities will both improve life chances for disadvantaged residents and attract new wealthier residents. This will lead to a new dynamic including increased land values and a better-functioning housing market, reducing overall concentrations of deprivation. Lower income residents will benefit from increased resources and social interaction with better-off residents. Neighbourhoods will thus be less reliant on repeated 'regeneration'. (DCLGa 2010, p3)

Mixed Use developments are frequently linked with these wider socio-spatial objectives, to the point where the different policy suffixes of 'mixed' (use, tenure and communities) become almost interchangeable. The key mechanism for generating mixed communities is 'mixed tenure' housing, whereby planning authorities seek a balanced combination of rented, shared equity/intermediate and owner-occupied homes in a given development, based on local assessments of need (ODPMa 2005, p10). Planning bodies are therefore charged to:

> '...achieve a mix of housing which will create sustainable communities by securing a wide range of housing which promotes social inclusion.' (ODPM 2005a, p10)

Mixed tenure housing is also strongly associated with Mixed Use developments where LPAs employ 'section 106' or 'planning gain' powers as a mechanism to generate a given quota of 'affordable' homes as a condition of planning consent, often alongside requirements to provide a mixture of uses (DCLG 2006e, Bailey et al 2006).

Reviewing New Labour's housing policy, Malpass (2005) notes that it is consistent with the overarching Third Way policy of 'moving the frontiers' of the Welfare State towards deregulated and privatised public services and thus represents a significant continuity with the previous Conservative government. However, while TWUP maintained a strong

ideological and rhetorical commitment to home ownership, there was also an acknowledged need for a variety of different policy mechanisms that reflected local circumstances, in particular the promotion of new models of housing provision and management that responded to a more complex urban context that had shifted away from the alleged monolithic dominance of council housing. The promotion of Registered Social Landlords[9] (RSLs) as the principal providers of new social housing opened up a more entrepreneurial culture that increasingly relied on private sector finance and a commercial outlook that extended beyond the provision of non-market rented housing, towards 'mixed tenure' and Mixed Use developments

The use of section 106 illustrates the pivotal role of LPAs in implementing a range of strategies for shaping the urban environment, including specific measures for Mixed Use. The layering of policies designed to promote sustainable development produces a filtration process whereby global and national policy trickles down to regional, sub-regional and local authority levels. Under the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act of 2004, the New Labour government sought to re-emphasise this link through the creation of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) charged with drawing up Regional Spatial Strategies (RSSs). Thus, in tune with the TWUP ethos, a more coherent, 'plan-led' and 'joined-up' strategy was promoted within the planning system in contrast, it was argued, with the market-led approach of the previous Conservative government (Jones and Ward 2002). The earliest example of this new mechanism for policy implementation was the creation, in 2000, of the Greater London Authority (GLA) overseen by an elected Mayor with statutory and strategic planning powers. London had been without a pan-city administration since the abolition of the GLC in 1986. The Mayor's planning policy is contained in a Strategic Development Strategy – The London Plan - with which London local authority planning decisions have to comply. The 2004 London Plan imposes sustainability as a statutory planning responsibility (Holman 2010) and provides a specific policy in support of Mixed Use (Mayor of London 2004, policy 3B.3) that in turn becomes part of the planning framework at local authority level. The London Plan states:

'National planning policy strongly supports measures to extend mixed-use developments. London's economic growth depends heavily on an efficient labour

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[9]Formerly known as Housing Associations and since 2008 as 'Registered Providers of Social Housing'(RP's), which can include private profit-making companies.

market and this in turn requires adequate housing provision to sustain it. Lack of housing, especially affordable housing is already one of the key issues facing London employers.' (Mayor of London 2004, p111)

Significantly, the policy explicitly links national directives in favour of Mixed Use to London's economic development and the importance of providing adequate affordable housing for London's workforce. The policy goes on to differentiate between the role and potential of Mixed Use in different locations, specifying the importance of housing alongside offices in commercial growth areas, but also encouraging Mixed Use as a mechanism for regeneration in the suburbs. In addition to this specific policy recommendation, Mixed Use is encouraged in a number of other clauses of the London Plan: in relation to sustainability (policy 2A.1), affordable housing (policies 3A.9 and 10) and design principles for a compact city (policy 4B.1).

The London Plan further illustrates the latent tensions between the simultaneous goals of 'sustainability' and 'development'. The Plan envisages a 30% increase in office space in the capital by 2016, with significant growth to the east of the city, facilitated by large-scale additional public transport infrastructure as part of wider regeneration objectives, particularly the Thames Gateway project (Cohen and Rustin 2008). Critics of the policy, such as Friends of the Earth, point to the 2004 London Plan's excessive emphasis on economic growth without taking adequate account of its unevenly distributed benefits, arguing that this contradicts over-arching national policy objectives for 'sustainable' and 'just' economic development, while also watering down targets for reducing carbon emissions (FoE 2006).

The London Plan also exemplifies the sensitivity of planning policies, including Mixed Use, to political change. Holman (2010) analyses the different approaches to sustainability adopted by two London Mayors. From 2000 to 2008 Ken Livingstone maintained the importance of sustainable development through the balancing of social, economic and environmental interests. Holman argues that however vague this aspiration may have been, since the election of Boris Johnson (in 2008) there has been a change from the policy goal of sustainable development to one of 'quality of life', representing:

> '...a real shift in gear from a very specific aim that requires planning authorities to consider the suitability of sites for mixed use developments to what is arguably a mere

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aspiration for London to become 'a city that delights the senses.' (Holman 2010, p31)

The suggestion here is that specific policies in favour of Mixed Use promoted in the New Labour era may be diluted and perhaps that this marks a return to the more laissez faire, market-led planning strategy associated with the previous Conservative government. A judgement of this proposition needs to await an evaluation of the planning policies of the post-2010 Con/Dem government. However, in the New Labour period, layers of trans-national and national policy filtered down to the implementation of local policies which formed the basis of planning decisions at the level of Local Planning Authorities (LPAs) who also incorporate EU policies into Local Development Frameworks (LDFs) which replaced Unitary Development Plans (UDPs) in 2004. Accordingly, all LDFs include specific policies in favour of Mixed Use.

Wilson and Piper (2010) consider the overall impact of spatial planning policy in response to climate change by UK governments in the first decade of the 21$^{st}$ century and argue that under New Labour, the relationship between development plans and environmental concerns was given significantly greater prominence, particularly in London. However, there remained tension between the objective of using the planning system as a strategic fulcrum for promoting sustainability while balancing the complex inter-relationships within the development industry and the competing aim of economic growth, notably through the promotion of London as a global financial centre which in turn required the liberalisation of market controls, including planning restrictions. Despite this, Wilson and Piper suggest that a lobbying campaign led by the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA) and Friends of the Earth (FoE) successfully influenced policy in the direction of sustainable development, as reflected in the 'Eco Towns' initiative launched in 2007 as innovative settlements that experimented with new urban forms and design to produce a closer integration of land uses along similar lines to those promoted by advocates of New Urbanism and Urban Villages (Smith-Morris 2011). The mixed fortunes of Eco Towns (The Architects Journal 25.6.09) illustrate, for Wilson and Piper, the complexity of attempting to reconcile competing policy forces such as those between Mixed Use and prevailing car-oriented transport policies, an issue which, for Manns (2008) goes to the heart of the limitations of the planning discipline's ability to successfully mediate space in favour of sustainability, instead being reduced to the role of 'wishful spectator' as policy objectives are compromised by commercial interests and the complexities of the development process.

The Sustainable Communities Plan (ODPM 2003b) represents the synthesis of the various policy goals described above, but also repeats the potential tension within the policy objectives of which Mixed Use is part (Cochrane 2012a, 2012b). The Plan identifies five 'growth areas' in South East England (Ashford, Milton Keynes-Aylesbury, Stansted-Cambridge, Portsmouth-Southampton and the Thames Gateway) where Regional Spatial Strategies would be used to plan one million new homes by 2026. The policy also seeks to address 'market failure' in areas of the Midlands and North where public finance would be used to demolish homes in 'Pathfinder' areas where it was perceived that house values were depressed and it was hoped could be increased by substantial rebuilding and redesign. The Plan was supported by a budget of £22 billion, including £5 billion for local regeneration projects, £2.8 billion to bring all 'social' housing up to a 'decent' standard and £350 million to speed up the planning system. New approaches to urban development, including Urban Villages, were encouraged in order to both mitigate environmental impact and promote sustainable communities. Ratcliffe et al again refer to the implicit contradiction within the policy.

> 'The 2003 Sustainable Communities Plan would present an immense challenge to government in its attempt to regenerate on one hand and plan for major growth with limited environmental impact on the other.' (Ratcliffe et al 2009, p639)

Reviewing progress in 2007, the government's sustainability 'watchdog' reports criticisms of the Sustainable Communities Plan for being:

> '...focussed very heavily on housing growth without due consideration for the environment, for what is sometimes called 'liveability' or for social needs...(it) is in effect a housing delivery programme under the heading of a regeneration programme....' (Sustainable Development Commission 2007, pp 3 - 6)

The same report found evidence of 'business as usual' in some planning departments, with continuing support for dormitory, out of town housing developments lacking the critical mass to support a diversity of uses (Sustainable Development Commission 2007, pp 7 – 10)

Raco (2005, 2007) refers to the Plan as a 'hybrid', combining a pro-growth agenda with the aim of building sustainable communities, within a plan-led, regional spatial context:

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'...an inherently spatial or geographical construct...(it involves) a particular type of built environment....underpinned by assumptions about how social and economic centres should be ordered in space.' (Raco 2007, p172)

The particularity of this built environment is illustrated for Raco by holistic regeneration of the urban infrastructure aimed at enhancing 'quality of life' while boosting local economies, but he concludes that interpretations of such policies cannot be reduced to a duality of, on the one hand, neoliberalism, on the other, a 'meta narrative' of sustainable development. On the contrary, Raco argues that 'there is a greater hybridity of approaches and rationalities' implicit in Third Way urbanism than is commonly acknowledged, particularly by those theories of State regulation associated with Jessop or Peck and Tickell. In particular, Raco draws attention to the dynamic of the urban development process that entails a variety of competing rationales, operating at different scales and within specific urban and regulatory contexts. However, such specificity is in turn cut-across and potentially contradicted by the use of policy instruments such as the Sustainable Communities Plan as a 'technology of governance' (Cochrane 2010) for imposing external expectations of urban form and content on local areas where complex and sometimes antagonistic social forces are in play that mitigate against uniform solutions.

Godschalk (2004) considers the relationship between the aim of sustainable communities and land use and identifies the 'value conflicts' inherent in attempts to reconcile the two and therefore, the difficulties implicit in translating the principles of sustainability proposed by government into practical policies. The efforts of New Urbanism and other 'smart growth' movements to combine 'liveability' with sustainability are, Godschalk notes, being tested in practice by planners, but without the 'safety net' of robust research or consensus about the key issues. These complexities are addressed by Campbell (1996) who uses a triangular model (fig. 18) to illustrate the obstacles that militate against the use of land use planning to successfully achieve sustainable outcomes.
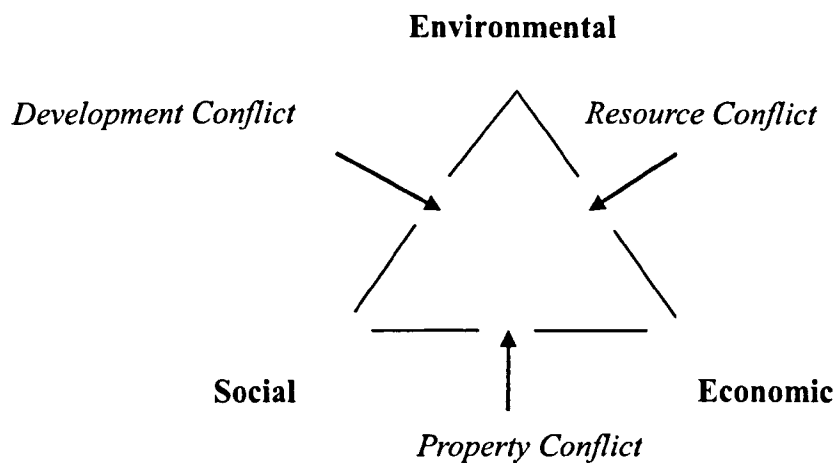
Fig.18 Conflicts in planning for sustainable development, adapted from Campbell (1996)

Campbell's diagram illustrates how the continuities between the 'triple bottom line' of sustainable development are punctured by conflicts arising from the dynamics of the development process. For Campbell, the 'property conflict' interrupts the connection, as proposed by TWUP, between social equity and economic growth due to the competing interests of different groups over the control and use of land and property, for example that between developers wishing to sell private housing to high-income buyers and low-income communities needing affordable rented housing. These conflicts of interest are compounded by the mutual dependence of public and private sectors, as demonstrated by the need for new private developments to receive planning permission from public planning authorities. The 'resource conflict' intersects the link between economic growth and environmental sustainability because, Campbell argues, while developers and governments have an innate interest in continual growth, they also have an interest in preserving ecological resources, if for no other reason than to ensure the supply of future materials, a conflict that is defined and symbolised by the 'city limits' and the boundary between developed and undeveloped land. The 'development conflict' arises from the challenge of promoting social equity while protecting the environment, particularly when the latter implies some restriction on economic growth. This is exemplified at a global level by proposals to restrict industrial output that will unequally affect poor nations in order to reduce climate change for all nations, including those rich ones who hold disproportionate responsibility for creating environmental damage. At a local level, the development conflict can arise from measures that have the effect of

making environmentalism a 'luxury of the wealthy' such as prohibition on polluting factories or with Mixed Use in mind, the provision of services that may meet environmental standards, but do not meet the economic needs or reflect the lifestyles of working class communities, for example policies for commercial or retail use in areas of scarce affordable housing. The task of attempting to mediate and resolve these complexities has frequently been remitted to the planning system, the role of which in relation to Mixed Use is discussed in the next section.

## Mixed Use and the Planning System

The capacity to reconcile the type of urban complexity identified by Campbell above forms one of the key issues in attempts to theorise the planning system, but these questions are themselves loaded with complexity. Hillier (2010) urges the need to continually interrogate the underlying values of the planning discipline and avoid both the social preconceptions associated with Modernism and the assumption that the act of planning is intrinsically 'a good thing'. At the turn of the 21st century, the 'planning idea' has moved beyond the relatively limited and practical concern with 'town planning' of a century earlier, but enduring socio-spatial segregation continues to question the capacity of planning to successfully influence or interrupt the logic of capitalism in favour of spatial equity. In order to move beyond the restrictions of traditional and arguably failed methods, planning has had to embrace a panoply of concerns and influences focussed on the relationship between theory and practice, but with a global perspective that embraces other academic disciplines and with a particular recognition of the influence of politics and power over planning, challenges compounded by increasing uncertainty resulting from ecological and environmental crises. For Hillier, planning remains defined by the task of 'imagining the future', but she describes its fundamental 'paradox' as the attempt to reconcile future plans with current social reality and concludes that the everyday practice of planning may have less reference to theory than to intuition.

Hillier's is part of a body of planning theory which, as Yiftachel and Huxley (2001) note, has tended to feature fundamental divergence around key concepts. As Hillier demonstrates, one element of recent discourses is a shift towards a more heterodox understanding, in contrast to earlier interpretations such as that of Faludi (1973) that emphasised the possibility of identifying unified theories and practice based on rational, procedural decision-making. Yiftachel and Huxley argue that contemporary theories recognise the relationship between planning and the political process and moreover, the potential for decisions about the built environment to embrace a variety of views and not merely reflect the interests of dominant ideological or material forces, as typified by Modernism. The potential to liberate planning from such a narrow range of influences opens the possibility for new types of planning practices and as a result, different urban morphologies. This 'communicative turn', associated with the work of, among others Forester (1989, 1993) and Healey (1997) has proved influential and can be seen as having shaped the policies of planning authorities that

now include community consultation, participation and 'stakeholder' involvement - key themes of Third Way urbanism - as a mandatory requirement in the process of obtaining planning permission (Baker et al 2007). This more collaborative, community-oriented planning philosophy is referred to by Healey as part of a 'post-modern turn' towards a greater appreciation of cultural diversity which she contrasts with earlier planning practices that adopted an 'undifferentiated conception of people' (Healey 1997, p40). Yiftachel and Huxley (2001) argue however, that such approaches run the danger of abstracting planning decisions from socio-economic reality and in particular of under-estimating the active role of the planning system as 'a state-sanctioned strategy for the creation and regulation of space, populations and development'.

The enigmatic character of the planning tradition and its development from being a 'single unity' based on allocating land use (Hall 1988) to a more diffuse, contested activity has been understood by some theorists as an evolution through paradigm shifts (Healey 1997) and for others as contributing to a 'crisis of identity' (Galloway and Mahayni 1977, Thornley 1991) as planners wrestled to reconcile the increasing sophistication of the urban process by adopting a more interpretative role, mediating the complexity of competing forces and the 'diverse values of different communities' (Taylor 1999, p29). Sandercock (1999) has argued that this reorientation has been necessary for planning to remain relevant in the context of a 'cosmopolis' where the planning system needs to rely less on comprehensive, formulaic plans and more on 'practical wisdom'. This argument chimes with the 'post-positivist' planning advocated by Allmendinger (2002) in contrast to the model of avowed scientific method that dominated post-war planning practice.

Fainstein (2000) provides a useful summary of the characteristics of frameworks for theorising urban planning that have emerged in the last four decades and specifically relates them to their consequences for the built environment and in turn, the relationship between physical design and social outcomes that has been closely associated with the popularity of models for designing compact, diverse urban landscapes, such as Mixed Use. Fainstein offers three broad headings for conceptualising these renewed planning theories – the Communicative Model, the New Urbanism and the Just City – but adds that this typology is neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. For Fainstein, these models stand in direct contrast to the 'atheoretical, physical outcome-oriented' practices that led to rigid land use master-planning for spatial and functional segregation for which Mixed Use is proposed as an

antidote. Fainstein locates the theoretical roots of Communicative Planning with the philosophies of Rorty and Habermas and attempts to identify pragmatic examples of 'best practice' for shaping policy within a more open-ended planning context that replaces the authority of a single agency with an attempt to find mutual understanding amongst a diversity of actors in the urban process wherein the role of the planner becomes as much to listen to others and seek consensus as to hand down autocratic plans. The telescoped spatial vision of Communicative Planning is shared by New Urbanism which Fainstein describes as a direct descendent of the Garden City movement and attempts to use 'spatial relations to create a close-knit social community' based on a critique of the anonymity, alienation and aesthetic degradation of suburbia. Fainstein notes that, despite a lack of theoretical rigour, New Urbanism has achieved a significant degree of popular and political support - albeit based on a similar degree of dogmatism and environmental determinism as associated with authoritarian planning - and its methods have been widely incorporated into urban policy. The theoretical formulation of the Just City represents a direct rebuttal of the political analysis of classical Marxism because it proposes an urban alternative that is not reliant upon the alignment of class, historic and economic forces capable of overthrowing the capitalist mode of production and the social divisions that are its inevitable consequence. Instead theorists, planners and activists can advance a manifesto for an alternative urban future that is not dependent on revolution, but does raise demands for radical social change that entails a redistribution of power within the urban process. This alternative model relies not on reforming the existing bureaucracy, as proposed by Communicative Planning, or on the design focussed strategies of New Urbanism, but on mobilising public opinion through campaigns and new social movements that question and expose the vested interests implicit in the 'property machine' described by Ambrose and Colenutt (1975). The Just City therefore suggests the possibility of improving the planning process and its outcomes, but within the context of global capitalism, by offering alternatives based on exemplars that are socially, spatially and functionally mixed. In conclusion, Fainstein argues that the dominant themes in planning in the early 21$^{st}$ century represent a reprise of the concerns of a hundred years earlier with communicative theorists reasserting the moralism of Victorian radicals, New Urbanists promoting the social benefits of improved design and advocates of the Just City rediscovering the value of Utopian visions – all epithets that have been associated with the multiple conceptual motivations for Mixed Use.

As Healey (1992) has discussed, complexity in the planning system is exacerbated by the

specific qualities of the property development process within which she identifies four key levels of analysis. First, the wide range of different but inter-related events, agencies and actors that are involved, second, the roles played by and distribution of power between these participants, third, the external strategies and influences exerted upon the process and fourth the relationship of property development to wider society. For Healey, planning is a key stage in the development sequence and illustrates all four levels of her analysis, with the additional point that players within the development process can play multiple roles. Thus a local Council may have an interest as a land owner, municipal landlord, or promoter of local economic growth, as well as being the planning authority. These diverse functions are frequently over-laid by a requirement to comply with national and trans-national policy frameworks, such as those for Mixed Use. However, alongside these institutional, economic and bureaucratic dynamics, Healey emphasises the importance of ideas in shaping the built environment and it is the inter-play of all of these forces that determines 'what is built, how and for whom'.

These varied theoretical interpretations are mirrored by the diverse range of tasks with which the discipline is charged (Tewdwr-Jones 2008), as indicated by the Royal Town Planning Institute's description of 'what planning does':

'It considers the things that we value and supports our on-going use of the environment to maintain or enhance these, from the integrity of the atmosphere to limit climate change, to the provision of habitat for individual species; from the identification of global cultural heritage to locally valued townscapes. It maintains the best of the past, whilst encouraging innovation in the design and development of future buildings and neighbourhoods to meet our future needs.' www.rtpi.org.uk

As the RTPI specifies, the planning system has increasingly assumed responsibility for environmental protection and as Devoudi et al (2009) note, this raises fresh challenges as the discipline attempts to balance the 'emerging tension' between mitigating and adaptive measures in approaches to spatial planning and urban form, as addressed by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 2007). Mitigation refers to attempts to prevent future climate change by reducing polluting emissions, usually conceived at international governmental level: adaptation refers to policies designed to reduce the impact of existing environmental damage, usually implemented at a local level. This dichotomy

recalls the debate around sustainable patterns of urban settlement addressed by Breheny (1996), taken up by Green and Handley (2009) and raises some interesting issues for understanding Mixed Use. Biesbroek et al (2009) refer to the growing awareness that planning can act as a 'switchboard' for sustainable development, but add that policies that aspire to be holistic in concept tend to be one-dimensional in practice and that in order to avoid disconnection and the suggestion that adaptation to climate change amounts to 'doing nothing', spatial planning needs to include both adaptation and mitigation measures in strategies for sustainability. Mixed Use, as part of more integrated urban patterns, has been identified by some researchers as addressing precisely the need for initiatives that can successfully mitigate *and* adapt to the threat of climate change (Kress 2007).

For some writers, the growing importance of environmentalism has provided an opportunity for planning and planners to redefine themselves (Welbank 1996) and renew a relevance that was, arguably, threatened by perceived failures (Hakanssan and Asplund 2002). Alluding to one of the historic fissures in the discipline, Berke (2002) argues that the demand for sustainable development requires the planning system to resolve the tension between design and process in order to achieve the necessary synergies between social, economic and environmental objectives. The suggestion of a need to bridge the gap between theory and practice is a recurring theme in planning theory (Innes de Neufville 1983, Allmendinger 2002). Abukhater (2009) argues that the need for this integration assumes greater significance in the context of increasingly complex urban realities where 'tension, overlap and confusion' continue to frustrate attempts to arrive at a unified body of planning theory capable of reconciling the variety of spatial scales and contexts for which solutions are proposed. However, Moroni (2010) disputes the existence of a theory/practice gap and instead posits the applicability of types of theory to particular forms of practice based on an understanding of policy interventions and specifically, the regulation of land use. Moroni contrasts the traditional, 'control-centred', top-down model of planning aimed at maintaining order in the urban realm that has been the dominant and enduring theme in planning theory with the more fluid, collaborative approaches discussed above. This comparison is linked, for Moroni, to wider philosophical questions about the efficacy of plan-led spatial planning to design 'the good city' and this argument in turn is related to neoliberal advocacy of 'the market' as the most effective mechanism for determining human activity, including the allocation of land uses. Moroni concludes that in order to resolve increasing urban complexity, the planning system needs to reject specific spatial plans and replace them with

generic 'urban codes' which provide the rules by which 'many different notions of the good life can flourish'. Implicit within this argument is a planning theory that can justify, if not explicitly encourage, Mixed Use. Moreover, the suggestion of a middle path between laissez-faire neoliberalism and autocratic State control is precisely that proposed by the Third Way. Moroni invokes Hayek's conception of the 'ordering of the unknown' as the rationale for a spatial planning system based on the type of flexibility, spontaneity and market-focussed approach that Mixed Use embraces. Thus, advocacy for Mixed Use suggests that it can straddle the theoretical difficulties between the naked free market and excessive regulation and moreover, that this contributes to urban sustainability, for example:

> 'Mixed use development has emerged both as a philosophy and as one acceptable element of the solution to the problem of delivery of sustainable development replacing its earlier position as an inevitable consequence of laissez faire development. (However) there is a danger of the new ideology becoming as rigid it its application as that which it has replaced...inflexible doctrine will fail to take account of the altered expectations and aspirations of those who actually inhabit the spaces that planners seek to allocate them. Sustainable development is a process that requires that planners are pragmatic in applying solutions and it is within this perspective that mixed use development is emerging as an appropriate tool.' (Walker 1997, p78)

Walker presents Mixed Use as a method for resolving the tensions and contradictions of both urban development and the practice of planning, based on a role for the planner as pragmatist. As Buckingham-Hatfield and Evans (1996) note, planning theory often treats the function of individual planners in a 'general and undifferentiated way', but as Sehested (2009) argues, changing demands on the discipline are requiring planners to adopt a more flexible spectrum of roles, one dimension of which has been the need to accommodate the views of the plurality of actors in the development process (as identified by Healey above) and the supplementation and sometimes replacement of democratic accountability with the adoption of 'market principals'. Changes in governance structures and the increasing fragmentation of the planning system have, Sehested argues, led to the incarnation of the 'hybrid planner' who may combine the roles of strategist, manager, financial risk appraiser and mediator. The increasingly managerial and commercialised concerns of contemporary planning described by Sehested are echoed by Sager (2010) who identifies a set of attitudinal characteristics on

the part of planners that are antipathetic to profit-fixated developers and suggest the need for greater protection for local communities from them. However, Sager argues that planners are increasingly caught between communicative planning models and the pressure of neoliberal management strategies that privilege the achievement of targets and outputs, with the planners' role increasingly characterised by the aim of achieving and articulating balance between competing socio-economic and political forces.

Sager's suggestion of the role of arbiter conforms with some of the more traditional theoretical interpretations of the discipline as an objective, neutral referee for the public good, as expressed by the UK professional body that sees the responsibility of planners as being:

> '...to advance the science and art of town planning for the benefit of the public (and)...fearlessly and impartially exercise their independent professional judgement..." (RTPI Code of Conduct 2007)

Thus the planner is portrayed as rising above the political fray in order to apply the rules of urban development while balancing competing forces (Thornley 1991) and acting as the 'master (sic) allocator' (Eversley 1973 p 342). This view is contested by those who see planning as an essentially politicised activity. There is a substantial and long-rooted literature that critiques the planning system from the perspective of its place within the power structure of capitalist society. Davidoff (1965) can be seen as providing some of the theoretical inspiration for the 'communicative turn' by recognising the competing political forces inherent within the planning system and arguing that planners, akin to a lawyer in a court of law, should act as advocates for social justice within this plurality of views, a perspective endorsed by Healey who suggests that material interests can be transcended in order to achieve 'the creation and active construction of the collective life of urbanised societies' (Healey 2010, p241). Greed (2000) presents a less benign view, arguing that the role of the planner is circumscribed by the political process for three reasons, first because the planning system is intrinsically linked to systems of power, second, because planning has become a high-profile issue for politicians and third, because at a local level, the implementation of planning decisions can be extremely controversial. Goodman (1971) is more acerbic, arguing that the potential of advocacy or collaborative planning is incompatible with the role of planners as the 'soft cops' of a repressive social structure who are motivated by the development imperative resulting in artefacts of 'architectural propaganda' that fail to relate

to social reality. A more recent articulation of Goodman's argument is suggested by Swyngedouw et al (2002) in connecting the increasingly entrepreneurial role of the planner with new models of neoliberalised urban and State governance reflected in large-scale development projects where one of the key policy goals is to increase land values and as Brenner and Theodore (2002) note, relate to a broader set of objectives aimed at reconciling a series of tensions in the post-industrial city such as those between global/local, enterprise/community, efficiency/welfare: very similar issues that are identified by Barrientos and Powell (2004) in relation to the theoretical ambiguity of the Third Way.

For Batty (2006) increasing urban complexity requires more complex planning decisions, particularly in relation to the multi-faceted pursuit of sustainability, a theme addressed by Krizek et al (2009) who compare the methods of Evidence Based Policy – a concept strongly associated with New Labour (Wells 2007) - with Evidence Based Practice. While this may appear a semantic distinction, Krizek et al argue that Evidence Based Practice does not imply a fixation with centrally defined targets, or a return to a positivist-rationalist planning framework, but rather has the potential to improve how planners do their work by synthesising knowledge acquired via the variety of sources advocated by communicative planning, with research evidence to inform a particular planning strategy. This argument is illustrated with reference to what Krizek et al propose as a new (or perhaps more accurately, revived) paradigm for urban planning, the promotion of public health. This variant on the 'just city' narrative described by Fainstein is developed by Corburn (2009) who focuses on the unequal distribution of indices of poor health in urban areas and relates this to a range of spatial planning concerns including transport, housing, employment and 'particularly those processes governing land use'. Corburn argues that planning in the 21$^{st}$ century has lost its way as the result of the dilution of direct democratic control and needs to reconnect with its nineteenth century origins as 'a reform movement' (Gans 1968) concerned with reducing socio-spatial inequality and thus rediscover the radicalism that Benevolo (1963) laments having been lost to the discipline as it became hostage to economic interests. Ironically, while the formative motivations and objectives of the planning system led to the dominance of policies for land use separation (Hall and Ward 1998, Greed 2000, Hirt 2007a, 2007b), Corburn implies that in order to revive its role as a promoter of healthy and therefore sustainable cities, planning needs to embrace the integration of land uses. While Corburn's is not an explicit argument in favour of Mixed Use as an individual policy tool, it is one that suggests the importance of greater social, economic and functional integration based not on a

facile appeal to an urban aesthetic, but a reconception of the capacity of planning to produce urban environments where citizens have access to a range of local services that contribute to places that are sustainable in the broadest sense.

While Corburn's analysis may corroborate Fainstein's suggestion of rediscovered Utopianism, such radical proposals for the revitalising of urban planning as a catalyst for social cohesion and justice also formed part of the rhetoric for New Labour's welter of policy initiatives, but as Allmendinger concludes 'the opportunity to reinvent planning was lost' (Allmendinger 2011 pXI). While this 'disappointment' in part reflects the system's institutional resistance to change, for Allmendinger, as for Cammock (2004) and Jessop (2007), it also suggests that the Third Way largely represented a continuation of previous market-oriented policy, a conclusion that is specifically reflected in the application of Mixed Use:

> '...place making and distinctiveness in regeneration have, in reality, focussed more upon consumerism. Mixed use redevelopments are typically retail-led and anchor major brands...' (Allmendinger 2011, p67)

**Conclusion**

It is within the web of policies for sustainable urbanism and the contested theoretical context of the planning system that the Mixed Use revival needs to be located and understood. As Batty (2006) notes 'planning does not have the luxury of a single conceptual framework' and the same can be said of the policy context for Mixed Use. The wide-spread adoption of Mixed Use marks a fundamental departure from the practice that characterised planning during most of the 20th century, namely the attempt to sift and separate different land uses in order to achieve a more ordered and healthy urban environment, in response to what were perceived as the dangers and inefficiencies of modern industrial cities. However, as Rydin argues, by the end of the 20th century, this practice had itself become identified with adverse consequences, particularly environmental damage, leading to the search for alternative, more sustainable urban forms:

> '...almost a century of experience with the planned ordering of land uses has suggested significant problems...Thus current thinking favours a more mixed pattern

of land use.  By putting different land uses close to each other in a more finely grained urban pattern, the hope is that this will reduce the need to travel (and) the city would be more vibrant.'  (Rydin 2011, pp 24 - 25)

If, as Rydin argues, society retains a 'vital, even visceral relationship to what planning is all about' (Rydin 2011, p2), then Healey's question 'what is built, how and for whom?' and the ideas that inform the outcomes remains pertinent.  For Logan and Molotch (1987, 2007) the key dynamic in answering Healey's question remains the system for allocating and controlling land use, which in turn is the key determinant in the creation of urban place and as Waters (2007) has argued, Mixed Use can, at its minimum, be understood as just another form of land use.  Logan and Molotch argue that it is the dialectic between exchange value and use value that provides the locomotive of urbanism whereby the tension between those forces seeking to maximise profit from the development process conflict with those seeking a range of qualities from the city that may, or may not, be expressed in commercial terms.  Within this context, planners become part of the regulatory regime for allocating land use and as such, part of a 'game' in which property entrepreneurs engage with political and bureaucratic processes that form 'a tool for safeguarding and increasing rents' (Logan and Molotch 2007, p157), an interpretation given some credence by the following description of the development industry's motivations for investing in Mixed Use:

'We're not talking about altruistic motives here.  Developers see an opportunity to double or treble the value of their land by allocating some of it to residential, particularly in a market where office demand is pretty low.'  (Mike Ayton, CBRE in 'Estates Gazette 14.5.05)

This statement was made, however, before the on-set of the financial crisis in 2007 which, as Dierwechter and Thornley (2012) suggest, has precipitated another re-examination of the role of the planning system and the possibility that the 'new frontier' will be the reform of institutional mechanisms capable of mitigating the risks inherent in the volatility of the property market.  The few entries in the index of the voluminous 'Oxford Handbook of Urban Planning' (Weber and Crane 2012) suggests that the influence of the Third Way and neoliberalism may be receding from the field of planning theory, but Dierwechter and Thornley argue that future policy concerns may take the form of a greater level of intervention in order to transcend the State/market dichotomy, precisely the objective set by

Anthony Giddens in 1998. The suggestion that the history of planning theory and urban policy more generally might be repeating itself is further suggested by emerging policy themes of the post-2010 Con/Dem Coalition government, most clearly expressed by the 2011 Localism Act (Hodkinson and Robbins 2013). The Act's multifarious ambitions include familiar proposals to deregulate the planning system in order to boost housing supply, but it also enlists an ideological concept of localism that was associated by Brenner and Theodore (2002) with a neoliberal strategy, deployed by New Labour, for regulating global capitalism by reviving, at least at a rhetorical level, concepts of place, locality and 'empowerment' of local communities. Moreover, the Coalition government appears to be maintaining the New Labour commitment to addressing climate change through the planning system, by introducing a presumption in favour of 'sustainable development' (DCLG 2012), albeit that definitions of sustainability remain oblique and as yet, there is no clear indication as to the future direction of Mixed Use policy. At a broader theoretical level, Fisher has argued that the dominant theme of contemporary global politics remains that of neoliberal capitalism and that 'the future harbours only reiteration and re-permutation' (Fisher 2009, p3), a prophecy that could have significance for urban policy in general and Mixed Use in particular. Perhaps lending weight to Fisher's argument Florida, one of the key theorists of the pre-crash 21st century metropolis, has argued that Mixed Use can play a key part in 'the next economic landscape' and that the recovery from crisis opens the possibility of more creative and innovative urban interventions that favour compactness, high density and improved public transport to connect suburbs to centres (Florida 2009). For Edwards (2009) however, the continuing invocation of planning policy in support of Mixed Use, alongside Mixed Communities and Mixed Tenure, represents a politically and commercially motivated privileging of design and urban form over social substance that presents the prospect of places that will become 'much less socially mixed'.

# Chapter 4
## Methodology

## Introduction

This chapter elucidates and justifies the methodology used to address the research questions. Understanding Mixed Use requires engaging with a wide selection of theoretical and policy issues and this is reflected in the nature of the research questions which emphasise the need to approach the subject from more than one point of view and avoid reducing analysis to a limited field of enquiry that may produce one-dimensional results. Other studies have tended to focus on particular aspects of Mixed Use, such as its place in policy and typology (Rowley 1996, 1998), morphology (Hoppenbrouwer and Louw 2005), economic drivers (Dixon and Marston 2003), place in development practice (BCO 2005) or its theoretical justification (Grant and Perrott 2011). While Coupland (1997) offers a collection of different academic perspectives, it is interesting to note that such a varied approach has not been repeated since. A different research approach is suggested by Comunian (2011) who argues that the increasing complexity of the urban realm requires researchers to avoid the normative assumptions of 'standardised development formulas' and consider the interactions between different elements in the production, promotion, consumption and experience of urban space, an approach in the eclectic tradition of Benjamin's 'Arcades Project'.

With this complexity in mind, the methodology selected for this thesis comprises a combination of archival study, interviews and observation, some of it incorporated into detailed case studies. This Mixed Methods Research (MMR) approach is outlined by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010), who describe MMR as an exercise in 'methodological eclecticism', based on synergising and integrating the findings of a number of research techniques, based on the researcher's judgment of the most appropriate way of addressing the research questions. The use of MMR allows a level of analytical flexibility that reflects the inherent conceptual and practical diversity of Mixed Use itself. Ridenour and Newman (2008) describe MMR as an 'interactive continuum' that negates the 'false dichotomy' between quantitative and qualitative paradigms, using instead a process of data and information gathering that constantly feeds back to test the original research questions which are themselves driven by the purpose of the research.

This thesis proceeded from a desire to explore the nature of Mixed Use developments in a holistic fashion and avoid any conclusions being overly reliant on any one research source. The choice of MMR has been made in an attempt to gain a more rounded and textured account of Mixed Use than any singular approach because, as Brannen (2005) suggests, obtaining data from a variety of sources more closely reflects the multifarious processes inherent in policy-making and moreover, as Sammons et al (2005) argue, 'complex and pluralistic social contexts demand analysis that is informed by multiple and diverse perspectives'. This understanding has informed the selection and design of specific elements of the research methodology, the issues around which are discussed in turn below.

**Archival Study**

Archival study is used as a corner-stone for tracing the evolution of Mixed Use development, both at the wider level of policy trends (see Chapter 3) and in the more detailed, location-specific analysis undertaken in case studies (see Chapter 6). The aim of the archival research has been to build a multi-layered understanding of how Mixed Use has become woven into the narrative of the development process and relate this to the research questions. This exercise operates at several inter-connected levels. The extensive analysis of policy documents, such as government planning statements, forms the background to the evolution of Mixed Use from being an aspirational concept to becoming part of the mainstream of UK urban policy. Attention is paid to how this policy shift has been transmitted from national to local level, as reflected in LPA spatial strategies and in turn, how these elements are combined in the narrative of the planning process. However, reflecting the MMR approach, the archival study is not restricted to 'official' documents, but is supported by other sources such as local media and community planning documents that assist in building a more rounded impression of the complex strands that combine to form an understanding of place. While some of these sources are inherently partial and could in some cases, for example developers' promotional material, be argued to verge on propaganda, what Goss (1996) refers to as 'hagiographical texts' nonetheless contribute to the 'phantasmagorias of space' described by Benjamin.

For each of the detailed case studies, background papers were collected in order to establish the planning history, design rationale, key policy drivers and decision making process for the Mixed Use development in question. This entailed examining the core documents for a

particular scheme, including the planning statement, design statement, planning committee report(s) and planning committee minutes, as well as site plans, maps and drawings. It should be noted that in some cases, this material is extensive, particularly where there are multiple planning applications for different phases and/or iterations of the scheme. The documents were obtained from a combination of sources including internet searches, local library services and by direct application to the local authority and/or developer. It should be noted that the volume of material varies for different case studies. While some Mixed Use developments have received significant attention from a variety of policy, academic and media sources, a similar level of documentation does not exist for other places. However, this disparity reflects another key element of the research methodology, namely to examine the application of Mixed Use in a range of different urban scales and contexts.

This archival or 'historic' approach has been adopted in order to provide the context for each case study both from a planning point of view, but also from a longer and wider social perspective. In so doing it is possible to gain a fuller understanding of how Mixed Use came to be adopted as a policy solution for addressing a range of problems, as opposed to some alternative or preceding development strategy. This point is illustrated, for example, in case studies where the final development has gone through several versions over a prolonged period of time before Mixed Use has become a feature of the project. However, in adopting archival research, some allowance is made for the limitations of information obtained from documents, particularly those that form an 'official' record. The content of archival papers such as planning files are necessarily selective and admit only certain types of information that fall within the legalistic and bureaucratic framework of the planning process which Throgmorton (2003) suggests constitutes a form of socially constructed narrative in the form of 'persuasive story telling'. As Ridenour and Newman (2008) point out, as with any other form of research methodology, the use of archive material must be attended by an effort to bolster validity. While it is accepted that the planning histories of the case study Mixed Use developments presented in this thesis are specific to their time and place, the sources of information used to establish them are broadly consistent and are supplemented by other materials such as sometimes critical local media coverage and community-led local plans that contrast with promotional publications and official reports.

Another variable utilised to describe and compare different Mixed Use developments is the designation of Use Class Orders (UCOs), part of the baseline information used by Local

Planning Authorities (LPAs) to determine planning applications, based on the different activities described in fifteen categories of use (see p46 above) and allocated in accordance with the local spatial plan (Ratcliffe et al 2009). Although the efficacy and flexibility of UCOs has been questioned, including the system's capacity to encourage Mixed Use (Waters 2007), for the purpose of this research the advantage of using UCOs as part of the archival study, taken from the original planning documentation, is that it provides a universal categorisation for defining the activities envisioned by the LPA for each case study.

**Interviews**

The research value of interviews lies in obtaining the accounts of those with first-hand experience of Mixed Use in practice, from a variety of perspectives (Gibbs 2010), including views and experiences that might not otherwise be recorded, such as those of local residents. While the use of interviews can assist in 'grounding' policy-oriented research, as Brannen (2005) points out, a danger lies in the researcher subjectively interpreting and reproducing such testimonies as research findings. However, the use of verbatim quotes and transcripts, as included in this research, has been identified as a method of bolstering the validity of evidence from interviews, although this leaves open the selection both of interviewees and quotations within the text, as well as the reliability of transcripts (Corden and Sainsbury 2006). Responding to these issues, in this research a deliberate effort has been made to select interviewees from a range of backgrounds in order to record perspectives from several points of view and particularly those that may not reinforce each other, but instead form 'competing narratives' suggestive of the fluid and varied interpretations of the urban realm and building on a long ethnographic tradition such as that employed by Gans (1968) in eliciting the differing opinions and identities of place expressed by residents and those of planners and other professionals. In this thesis, quotes from interviews are embedded in the main body of the text to reflect this diversity. Detailed transcripts are included as appendices. In conducting the interviews, attention has also been paid to adopting a systematic process that produces results that are broadly consistent and comparable, if not exactly identical and a deliberate effort was made to guide discussion along the path of Mixed Use specifically, rather than a more open-ended discourse about urban policy, although at times this was a difficult boundary to maintain (see further below). Different interview techniques have been used to take account of the different context of participants, as summarised below:

| Interview Type | Technique Used | Reason for use |
|---|---|---|
| One-to-one with individual planners. | Semi-structured interview with identical set questions. Answers annotated, but not recorded. | Set questions were used in order to standardise interviews across different geographic areas. Interviews were not recorded because preliminary discussions with participants suggested that this could lead to more open and forthcoming responses, particularly given that planners were acting in an 'official' capacity on behalf of their employer. |
| One-to-one with key participants in case studies, including planners, developers, local politicians, businesses and residents. | Semi-structured, recorded interviews combining generic and case-specific questions designed to take account of different types of participant within each case study. Different questions were used to interview, for example, a local resident or developer, but with uniformity of approach across case studies. | Given the character of Mixed Use developments, interviews were carried out with a range of participants, both within and across case studies. Some flexibility was adopted in conducting interviews to reflect the different roles of participants e.g. more formality in the case of professionals or politicians, more informality with residents. However, similar questions were asked of participants from the same category. |

| Group discussions with residents. | Semi-structured, recorded and/or annotated group discussions. | Several group discussions were undertaken with local residents. The principal reason for this was practicality. In some case studies it proved difficult to gain access to individual residents, but attending pre-existing groups enabled the researcher to meet a number of residents in a familiar and more relaxed setting where residents could share, as well as relate, experiences. |
|---|---|---|

Table 7: Summary of interview methodology

There are two components of the interviews for this research. First, a series of face-to-face interviews was conducted with senior planning officers from twenty-two UK LPAs between September 2009 and January 2010 with the aim of gaining a deeper understanding of how planning officers understand and seek to implement Mixed Use within the context of their overall development strategies. The majority of interviews (n15) were with planners in London LPAs, where a significant proportion of new development in the UK takes place (CLG 2011). Between 14th and 17th August 2009, emails were sent to the lead planning officers for all 32 London boroughs. Replies were prioritised and interviews arranged in order to provide a balance of inner (n8) and outer (n7) London boroughs and to achieve a reasonable balance of political administrations. An interview was also undertaken with a planner from the GLA in order to obtain a pan-London policy perspective. Interviews were also carried out with planners at five out-of-London city councils and one Scottish authority in order to compare policy and practice in London with other areas of the UK. A second set of interviews was included in the detailed case studies discussed below, with planners, developers, residents, politicians and commercial occupants asked about specific Mixed Use developments. All interviewees were provided with background information about the research project, asked to sign a consent form and guaranteed anonymity.

Analysis of the interviews took place by reading notes and/or listening to recordings in order to produce summaries and transcripts, as provided in Appendices 1 and 3. Close attention

was paid to the key themes arising from each interview and in particular to areas of convergence and divergence between them. Emerging themes were identified and provided with headings under which key issues were collated with quotes suitable for illustrating particular points highlighted for later possible inclusion in the thesis text. This process of theme identification and evidence building sought to relate the interview results to the research questions in order to explore the understandings of Mixed Use held by different participants in the urban process. As Ryan and Bernard (2003) note, 'theme discovery' draws on a wide variety of information, including the existing academic and policy literature addressed in the preceding chapters, but also 'common sense' constructs of interviewees who may not be familiar with theoretical or technical material, but are able to relate the Mixed Use concept to their everyday experiences. Thus, the interviews yielded some significant instances of repetition on the part of different respondents, for example residents of Mixed Use areas expressed correlating concerns around such issues as tenure stratification, residential transience and the suitability of local shops, while developers used similar - and sometimes identical - formulations to describe the 'life style' attributes of Mixed Use. By comparing and contrasting interview results, both within and across different case studies (Yin 2012), it is possible to draw out the connecting issues that transcend the specificity of a particular place so that, for example, interviews with planners from different LPAs suggested significant overlap in terms of some of the core policy drivers for Mixed Use such as the generation of new housing, but were also significant for some of the things omitted from discussion, as in the near absence of references to the relationship between Mixed Use and urban sustainability. Similarly, interviews with local politicians, of all parties, elicited a significant degree of consensus around the legitimacy of Mixed Use as part of urban regeneration strategies, but very little critical reflection on how such policies are applied. It is acknowledged that this method of theme identification also entails a degree of subjective selection on the part of the researcher, but the aim has been to closely relate the interviews to the terms of reference set out in the research questions so that, for example, they are used to illustrate how respondents understand the production of Mixed Use space, even where a clear recognition of the concept itself may be obscured by more normative or generalised understandings of urban change.

## Observation

A third element of the research methodology is the observation of public space within the

case study Mixed Use developments, with the results used to identify patterns and relationships of behaviour and suggest explanations that relate back to the research questions (Boeije 2010). For each case study a defined and bordered observation area was selected with particular attention paid to the use of the designated 'public realm' that is frequently a key conceptual and design component of and a planning requirement for Mixed Use development. Behavioural observations of public space and buildings have a long sociological history (Goffman 1959, Whyte 2000, Lofland 1998, Lawson 2001, Angrosino 2010) and has a particular relevance in the context of this research because it presents an opportunity to evaluate the dynamics of places invested with an expectation of increased social animation and therefore test the theory that Mixed Use contributes to the creation of distinctive city spaces with a discernable sense of urbanity.

Sennett, whose work provides an important theoretical under-pinning for Mixed Use, has addressed the significance of the public realm for our understanding and experience of city life (Sennett 2008). Sennett defines the public realm as 'the place where strangers meet', describes the wide range of different physical forms and functions it can take and links this directly to the configuration of urban space, adding that even the most careful design seeking to stimulate animation and diversity, including mixing uses, can fail to bring those spaces to life. Sennett concludes that the capacity of public spaces to 'work' is compromised by the expectations of the development process which tends to be based on fixed assumptions and an expectation of predictable outcomes, instead of accepting a degree of speculative enquiry that requires an evaluation of the public realm over time, rather than at the point of practical completion of a building project. The observation exercise in this research seeks to provide this type of enquiry.

As Angrosino (2010) points out, there is a variety of forms that observation-based research can take, ranging from the researcher as embedded participant to fully detached outsider. The character of this research is nearer to the latter and can be described as 'peripheral membership'. Observations have been overt with no effort, or need, to conceal identity, nor any attempt to actively participate in the social behaviour of the public realm. Whyte's detailed analysis of movement in and use of public spaces led him to question why some work and some do not, but also to warn against the methodological danger of 'seeing what we expect to see' (Whyte 2000, p249). This risk is mitigated by minimising the interpretative requirement for the data collection. Thus, the observations undertaken record volume and

patterns of movement, but do not seek to ascribe the reasons or motivations for this usage. Rather, the objective has been the observation and recording of people going about their daily lives without any potentially unethical and subjective intrusion into them. However, while seeking to maintain objectivity, complete detachment and invisibility has not been attempted. By virtue of the fact of being 'in' the public realm, the observer becomes part of it and this is confirmed when, as happened on several occasions, there were exchanges with other people, for example being approached by beggars, a security guard and local residents wanting to know the reason for the observations. Interestingly, such moments were the exception rather than the rule, perhaps suggesting the isolation and anonymity associated by some writers with cities (Hubbard 2006), but these limited exchanges have also contributed useful additional insights

The inclusion of observation within the research methodology is suggestive of the role of the 'flaneur' as performed by Benjamin in the Arcades Project. The figure and practice of the flaneur, derived from the work of Baudelaire, is elusive and to some extent problematic in terms of generating objective social research. As Tester (1994) suggests, it has been argued that the process of 'strolling and looking' is more suited to the poetic sensibility of mid-19th century Pairs than to describing global cities of the 21st and moreover, that the danger of the researcher internalising and even judging social dynamics in the public realm is further complicated by the gender bias implicit in the different social attitudes towards men and women 'street walking', something that needs to be taken into account in the current research, carried out by a man far less likely to be challenged or possibly harassed while carrying out prolonged observations in a public place. However, in the context of the MMR approach, the results of the observation exercise, based on a systematic method, contribute to building a picture of Mixed Use places that follows Benjamin's analysis of the arcades and as Tester concludes pertinently:

> '...the figure and the activity (of the flaneur) appear regularly in the attempts of social and cultural commentators to get some grip on the nature and implications of the conditions of modernity and post-modernity.' (Tester 1994, p1)

Mixed Use policy has tended to invest public space with a special significance in the aim of moving beyond a narrow expectation of property development, towards an aspiration of 'place making'. However, it has also been noted that the use of public space is something

that can be circumscribed by a variety of factors including design (CABE 2001), ownership patterns (Roberts and Lloyd-Jones 1997), the existence of rules, regulations and surveillance (Flusty 2001, Minton 2009) and signals of social exclusivity (MacLeod 2002). In seeking to explore these issues, this research exercise considers whether there is a 'virtuous triangle' (fig. 19) that connects Mixed Use with the public realm, via the crucial intermediary of pedestrian movements.
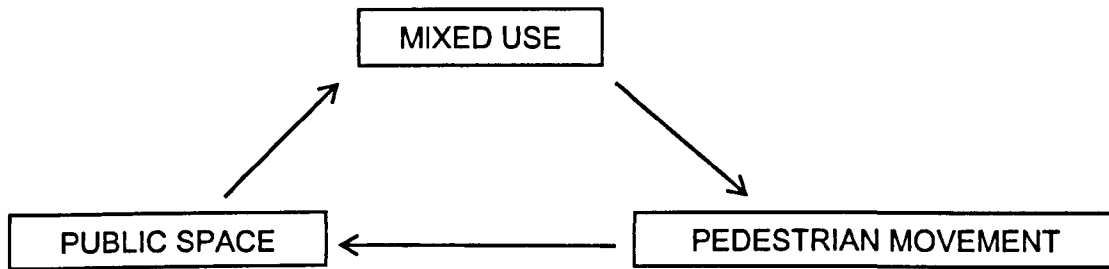


Fig.19 The Mixed Use 'virtuous triangle'

For each case study area, a designated area of public space was observed for a total period of eight hours, split across three days, as follows:

Saturday      12 pm – 2 pm and 6 pm – 8 pm
Sunday         1 pm – 2 pm
Monday        12 pm – 2 pm and 6 pm – 7 pm

Each period was then sub-divided into ten-minute intervals during which pedestrian movements were counted. At the end of each ten-minute period, the observation point was changed, to allow a range of perspectives on the area in question. The observation periods record levels of use of public space and in particular, evaluate the success of each case study area in generating activity and sustaining it beyond normal working hours, at weekends and into the evening, a key benefit associated with Mixed Use (Coupland 1997). The timeframes focus on a concentrated period and were selected in order to record potential 'peaks and troughs' so that the possible high volume of movements on a Saturday lunch time were balanced by possible low levels of use on Monday evening. The one-hour slot on Sunday was selected to observe movement on what may be anticipated as a quiet time, but one that is also associated with social activities such as Sunday lunch and visiting. The exercise was carried out across six successive weeks in summer so that each case study area was observed in broadly similar conditions in terms of weather and number of daylight hours.

An exact, defined area of observation was selected for each case study, corresponding with the designated public space identified in planning documentation. The extent of the public realm differed according to the size and type of each Mixed Use development, so that for some places the focus was upon a single, large area such as a piazza, while for others the defined public realm constituted a number of smaller areas and/or a network of car-free streets.

The data collected recorded six proxy variables (Lewis-Beck et al 2004) for evaluating the quality of the public realm:

- The total number of people using the public space as a 'snap shot' based on a head-count within the study area at the start and finish of each ten minute observation period to produce an average number of people in the observed public realm across the eight hour period.
- An 'extended snap shot' from the total number of pedestrian movements or 'footfall' through the study area during a ten minute period.
- The number of people sitting as an important indicator of the quality of public space (Gehl 2011), as reflected in its 'invitation to stay' which some researchers have suggested is the 'starting point for other uses' (Baker 2011).
- Whether pedestrians appeared to be single or in groups as an indicator of the level of sociability in the study area. There is no suggestion that the value of public space is restricted to collective activity, but some research has suggested the importance of the public realm for promoting social mixing, particularly across ethnic and class categories (Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2006). However, it should be noted that this observation exercise does not attempt to analyse pedestrian movement in terms of social class or ethnicity as this would not be methodologically robust given the passive observation approach.
- The number of children observed using the public space, with or without adults. A range of academic and policy research has examined the use of public space by young people and linked it to wider questions of growing anxieties about the place of children in society, including perceptions of danger, 'bad' behaviour and neglect (Valentine 2004, Demos 2007). Given the wider social objectives expressed by

Mixed Use policy, such as social inclusion and community cohesion, it is appropriate to examine the extent to which this is reflected in children's use of public space in the case study areas.

- The number of baby-buggies and wheelchair users as a further indicator of the wider community usage and accessibility of public space. As with children, access to and use of public space by people with disabilities has received significant research attention and has been regarded as a 'cornerstone of social inclusion' (Council of Europe 2007), raising, inter alia, important questions of design which could also impact on those with baby-buggies or using wheelchairs. As with the variables above, this data is collected in order to suggest a general picture of the quality of public space in Mixed Use developments, rather than to draw conclusions about particular issues relating to specific user groups.

The results of the observation exercise contribute to a wider understanding of each case study area and address the research questions in relation to how the outcomes of Mixed Use development compare with the conceptual and policy aspirations as reflected in use of public space.

## Case Studies

Following Yin (2012), the use of case studies in this research derives from the aim of obtaining an in-depth understanding of Mixed Use with particular attention paid to their 'real world contexts'. The case studies enabled a broad range of topics to be examined and compared between, as well as within, locations in a fashion more suitable for addressing the holistic, descriptive and explanatory nature of the research questions. Yin also argues that case study fieldwork is particularly applicable to policy evaluation of the type undertaken in this thesis.

As Flyubjerg (2011) notes, two potential criticisms of case studies are that they can serve to confirm the researcher's preconceptions and that their specificity precludes generalisation. For this research the selected case studies focus on locations with which the researcher had no detailed prior knowledge and generalised extrapolations are avoided. It is accepted that universal assumptions about the nature of urban space in general and Mixed Use in particular are impossible, but this does not invalidate the presentation of common themes and general

conclusions informed by, but not solely reliant upon, the case studies.

During the initial phase of the research, a broad range of developments (n15) was visited, photographed and subjected to preliminary research in order to gain a broad overview of different types of Mixed Use place. The aim was to identify the key characteristics of Mixed Use in a variety of spatial contexts and to use this information to contribute to a typology (discussed in Chapter 1) that would be used for the selection of detailed case studies. Any exercise of this kind necessarily involves a process of selection and exclusion in order to define the study area (Burgess 1984). From the initial sample of fifteen, six sites were selected for detailed analysis. Five of the six locations are in London with one out of London development included because of its specific characteristics. The final sample was based upon selecting a range of development types and locations, taking into account the urban setting, scale, mix of uses and policy drivers for each scheme (Rowley 1998). The six detailed case studies are:

| Site (Construction period) | Location | Type | Description and policy drivers |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brindleyplace (1993 – 2005) | Birmingham | Piece of the City (2) | Large, commercial-led, private sector redevelopment of central city former industrial site, as part of comprehensive inner city renewal strategy. |
| British Street Estate (2007 – 2009) | LB Tower Hamlets | Urban Infill | Retail/residential-led, public/private, as part of council estate regeneration. |
| Charter Quay (1998 – 2003) | LB Kingston upon Thames | Urban Infill | Residential-led, private new build riverfront site as part of town centre renewal strategy. |
| Greenwich Millennium Village (1998 – date) | LB Greenwich | New Neighbourhood | Public/private residential-led new-build 'sustainable Urban Village' on brownfield site. |
| Royal Arsenal Riverside (2000 – date) | LB Greenwich | Piece of the City (1) | Residential-led, public/private new build and conversion of riverside heritage site aiming to 'reconnect' town centre within the Thames Gateway. |
| Watney Street (2005 – 2008) | LB Tower Hamlets | Urban Infill | Residential-led, public/private urban improvement/infill site, partly resulting from demolition of council housing. |

Table 8:  Six detailed case studies

## Methodological Issues

Yin (2012) argues that there is no 'cookbook' for analysing the type of eclectic data presented in this thesis, with its mix of research methods producing narrative evidence that is essentially descriptive. It is therefore necessary to develop 'explanation building techniques' that draw on and refer back to the research questions in order to establish a coherent analytic framework capable of supporting synthesised conclusions. Furthermore, as Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010) suggest, the use of MMR entails a non-linear engagement with the subject matter in order to arrive at the 'best tools' of analysis. As argued above, this more fluid approach is particularly suited to the question of Mixed Use because, by definition, it is neither one thing nor the other, but rather presents a similar complexity and ambiguity to the 'real and imagined thirdspace' captured by Soja which requires what Benjamin described as 'blasting' established narratives out of their established matrix (Soja 1996).

It will be noted that the chosen methodology is predominantly qualitative and that quantitative data is restricted to the observation phase, where numeric values are used to measure levels of activity and animation in the public realm. In part, the bias in favour of qualitative data reflects the researcher's strengths, weaknesses and 'worldview' (Creswell 2009), but also seeks to yield a textured understanding through an appreciation of 'language, representation and social organisation' (Silverman 2011) achieved by gathering and interpreting the ways in which people present, share, reflect on and understand their experiences of Mixed Use places. To illustrate this point, in the early phases of the research detailed questionnaires to planners were used in order to generate quantitative data in response to a series of pre-set questions such as 'What does your authority understand by the term 'Mixed Use?' with scaled and 'tick box' answers such as 'A policy targeted at particular regeneration zones', 'Part of a borough-wide spatial policy' or 'Don't know'. A similar approach was adopted with residents, asking questions about travel time to work and mode of transport, with the aim of establishing the types of living patterns anticipated by Mixed Use policy. A number of practical and theoretical problems emerged with this method. At a practical level, response rates proved inadequate to produce meaningful data. Various attempts were made to overcome this, including personal door-to-door calls, telephone surveys and random interviews in the street. In each case, a significant reluctance to participate was encountered and this compounded doubts that the questionnaire data would

produce the type of insights sought in order to adequately answer the research questions (Adams and Cox 2008). Not only was it concluded that a substantial volume of data would be needed to be statistically robust, but that even if such a response rate could be garnered, it would still fail to elicit the kind of nuanced results necessary to address the complexity implicit in the subject matter. For example, knowing the proportion of people who walk or cycle to work from their home in a new Mixed Use development may say something about sustainable transport, but it would not reflect deeper understandings of how the creation of Mixed Use space fits with wider debates about the 21$^{st}$ century city. Similarly – and as discussed in Chapter 1 (see p46) - collecting quantitative data about the physical properties of Mixed Use developments would give only a limited perspective on how that space works in relation to its conceptual foundations. An initial, desk-top measurement of Mixed Use developments was undertaken (and is presented in a limited form in Appendix 2). However, three significant methodological issues arose from this exercise. First, as alluded to by Giddings and Craine (2006) and referred to elsewhere in this thesis, there are considerable difficulties involved in gathering accurate and reliable data about the composition of Mixed Use projects, particularly those that are still under development, as was the case for half of the case studies (British Street, GMV and Royal Arsenal Riverside). Even when a project has reached 'completion' (as at Brindleyplace, Charter Quay and Watney Street) the composition of uses can change constantly so that, for example, the quantum of occupied commercial office space at Brindleyplace shifted significantly during the study, while on a smaller scale, small shops at Watney Street went into and out of business throughout the research period. This is an interesting reflection on the volatility and potential viability of Mixed Use and is worthy of further enquiry, but makes systematic data collection difficult. Secondly, it became apparent early in the research that even the available information about the make-up of Mixed Use can be unreliable, with LPA's sometimes unaware of exactly what had been built and instances of disparities between completed projects and granted planning permissions . Thirdly therefore, it was concluded that a pre-occupation with such quantitative data would have obscured the socio-political significance of such space. It is this conflict between expectations and outcomes that this empirical research sought to capture, albeit in snapshots of time and space.

Inevitably, the chosen methodology encountered a number of issues and problems in each of its phases. The most significant of these was securing the agreement of a sufficient and representative sample of interviewees to participate in the research. While most people approached were willing to take part, helpful and generous with their time, some interviews

were difficult to arrange and required repeated emails and phone calls. A variety of reasons can be suggested for this. Most obviously, participation entailed giving up time and could be seen as an intrusion and inconvenience without any incentive or reward. However, a more specific reluctance was expressed by some participants. Despite assurances of anonymity and confidentiality, some people were wary about providing information that could identify them and/or their locality. For one case study, residents had been involved in a protracted dispute with the management agency for their development and were concerned that the sharing of information could undermine an on-going legal case, although eventually, sufficient reassurances were provided to secure consent. In another case, participants expressed a degree of 'research weariness' because they lived in a place that had been subject to a high-level of scrutiny and publicity. Residents had sometimes felt that their views and representations of their neighbourhood had not always been accurate, requiring the researcher to provide a level of personal contact to build trust and overcome such suspicions. In another case, the person approached for an interview initially refused unless assurances were made that there would be no criticisms made of the organisation with which he was associated. While it was not possible to provide this guarantee, it was stressed that the purpose of the research was to draw conclusions about Mixed Use policy and places in general, rather than make criticisms of any particular entity.

Practical difficulties in arranging interviews with residents of another case study area were indicative of wider theoretical issues. Initial observation of the predominantly gated, private development in question suggested a lack of social animation or facilities likely to engender a sense of community. An effort was made to contact residents via the estate management company which, while unable to reveal personal contacts for reasons of confidentiality, referred to the existence of a residents' Facebook group. Having created a personal Facebook page for this specific purpose, the researcher was quickly able to communicate with a lively and active residents' organisation which led to a face-to-face group discussion with half a dozen participants. The existence of such an online community can be linked to the wider changes that some theorists have argued are reflective of a new type of urbanite who inhabit 'virtual places' with which they do not have a strong sense of personal identification (Mitchell 1995), but it can also be seen as demonstrating the types of social networking opportunities that Florida (2008) suggests reflect the innovative creativity of contemporary cities.

Some difference can be suggested between the responses of 'lay people' and 'professionals' to requests for interviews, with the latter perhaps more likely to be sensitive to how their views may be represented and the potential consequences of this. In general, this issue was overcome by the researcher emphasising that employees of public authorities, such as planners, were being asked to explain the development strategies of their organisations, rather than express their own opinions. However, in two of the case studies there was a sense that reluctance to participate in the research reflected a deeper level of organisational anxiety around sharing information. In both cases, public bodies covered by the 2000 Freedom of Information Act (FoI) were involved. After repeated unsuccessful attempts to arrange interviews, an enquiry was made citing FoI and this produced an almost immediate agreement to participate. As Lee (2005) discusses, the use of FoI enquiries presents several possibilities for social researchers, some of which may reinforce the selective dissemination of data by public authorities, but it is important to note that in this research, FoI was used as the prompt for securing agreement to participate in an interview, rather than the direct source of research data.

Another, but more limited, problem with arranging interviews resulted from changes of personnel. In two case studies the planner responsible for steering the project through the planning process had left the local authority in question and efforts to contact them proved unsuccessful. In both cases this difficulty was mitigated by arranging interviews with another member of staff who was able to talk about the LPA's Mixed Use strategy in more general terms, but without first-hand experience of the developments in question. However, this example could be seen as validating the use of mixed research methods not reliant on single sources of data.

While logistical problems with arranging interviews were limited, some significant issues arose from the subject matter. In designing the methodology, there was a theoretical expectation that different interviewees would have different levels of understanding of Mixed Use and that this might result from their type of engagement with the concept. Thus, an experienced planner can be expected to have a detailed knowledge of Mixed Use policy, but a resident of a Mixed Use development may not do so. As discussed in Chapter 1, definitional ambiguity has been a recurring issue in previous research and as such, there was no anticipation that interviews would yield an immediate or consensual recognition of Mixed Use. The use of semi-structured interviews was designed to guide discussion towards and

focus attention on the specific issues around Mixed Use and if necessary, provide background information on the subject. However, a particular and recurring feature of the interviews was an apparent confusion on the part of participants between Mixed Use and other contemporary urban policies. This manifested itself in a number of different ways. In some instances a fundamental confusion or misunderstanding of Mixed Use at a policy level was evidenced by the interviewees' initial responses. This was addressed by the researcher providing a brief description which tended to align with respondents' experiences of their local area and enabled the discussion to proceed with greater clarity. On several occasions it became apparent that an interviewee, when asked a question about Mixed Use, interpreted this as a question about either Mixed Communities or Mixed Tenure and answered accordingly, for example in response to the question 'Was Mixed Use part of your reason for moving here?' one respondent (INT36) refers to his previous neighbourhood where social and tenure differences were less obvious than in the case study area designed as 'tenure blind'. In another interview, when asked about the extent to which Mixed Use had contributed to the successful regeneration of the case study area, the respondent (INT33) replied with reference to a wide range of issues which suggested that Mixed Use was perceived as synonymous or inter-changeable with other, related, policy initiatives. Interestingly, some of this confusion was exhibited by people who might have been expected to have some expertise in the field, including a councillor who had served on the planning committee and a senior executive of a Registered Social Landlord.

Some methodological difficulty was also experienced with the archival research. First, two of the case studies (Brindleyplace and Charter Quay) pre-date the comprehensive archiving of planning documents on the internet. This necessitated carrying out document searches at local libraries and requesting material directly from the LPA, although this generally yielded the required information. Second, during the period that the projects examined in the case studies were developed, the type and volume of materials required to support a planning application has changed significantly, particularly since the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act of 2004 (Ratcliffe et al 2009). As a result, schemes developed since 2004 have much more detailed documentation than do earlier projects. This, in itself, is an interesting issue in relation to the nature of the planning process which some critics argue is overly bureaucratic and cumbersome, to the point that it actively discourages new development (Balen 2006), something that has been elevated in policy concerns since the election of the Coalition government in 2010 (DCLG 2011a). The relevance for this research lies in the

different levels of policy detail needed to justify a Mixed Use development in order to obtain planning permission. A graphic example of this is provided by a comparison between the planning documentation for two of the case studies. The original Masterplan for Brindleyplace (Chatwin 1993) consists of ten pages, including six pages of diagrams. By contrast, the Masterplan for the latest phase of Royal Arsenal Riverside (Berkeley Homes 2008) contains sixty-seven pages and this is just a fraction of the supplementary planning documentation available from the planning pages of the LPA's website. Third, and related to the latter, some of the case study developments have been subject to several different planning applications, generating a vast quantity of documents, many of which show only marginal differences, but which do complicate the procedural narrative.

In general, the research methodology adopted and more specifically its subject matter did not raise significant ethical issues. The content sought from interviews was not of a personal nature and the anxieties of interviewees about revealing potentially incriminating or commercially sensitive information was mitigated by the assurance of anonymity. However, a significant exception to this was the expression by interviewees of racist opinions. This occurred on several occasions and raised the ethical question of the extent to which the researcher should inscribe his/her own moral, political or ethical views upon the research interview process by challenging discriminatory attitudes. As King and Horrocks (2010) note, social research in general and interviews in particular carry the potential to reinforce prejudices and reproduce them as 'knowledge'. While the primary purpose of this thesis is not to uncover racist attitudes in relation to urban space, the fact that a number of participants expressed their experiences of Mixed Use through racialised sentiments has been recorded and in general accepted as adding to an understanding of the subject as a whole, but without explicitly confronting the veracity of such opinions. An exception to this occurred while conducting a group discussion (25.02.10) when a person who was not directly a participant, but overheard the discussion (which was held in a public venue), repeatedly intervened to express views that were both factually inaccurate and racially offensive. While initially seeking to deflect this intervention, its persistence became disruptive to the point that the researcher both challenged the views expressed and requested the person expressing them to withdraw. While several overt and covert racist sentiments are included in the case study material, the opinions expressed on this occasion were felt to be both offensive and irrelevant and are therefore excluded, but it is acknowledged that this decision entails a subjective decision on the part of the researcher.

## Conclusion

Burke Johnson and Onwuebuzie (2004) describe the ascendancy of MMR as a paradigm shift from the polarity of quantitative and qualitative methods, towards an academic style that can admit a flexible research approach without sacrificing objectivity or lapsing into either dogmatism or relativism. This is the aim of the research approach for this thesis. The methodology is necessarily eclectic because the subject matter encapsulates such a plurality of issues, embracing the evolution of public policy, the bureaucratic mechanics of the planning process, the dynamics of property development, the aesthetics of urban design and the social complexity and flux of the city. Other work on Mixed Use has tended to fall into particular methodological camps, either focussing upon the morphological or social issues, but the methodology for this research seeks to integrate consideration of form and function. As in Benjamin's 'Arcades Project', the research presents a synopsis of the relationship between a particular architectural form and its myriad socio-spatial qualities, seen from a trans-disciplinary perspective.

# Chapter 5
## How local authorities interpret and implement Mixed Use

## Introduction

Between September 2009 and January 2010 semi-structured interviews were conducted with senior planning officers from twenty-two LPAs. There were three objectives for this research exercise. First, the interviews aimed to deconstruct the label 'Mixed Use' because the concept has become an almost ubiquitous, catch-all feature of current urban policy (Grant 2005) and even some of its advocates (Rowley 1996) concede that it lacks clear definition. The interviews, therefore, aimed to gain a deeper understanding of how planning officers interpret and seek to implement Mixed Use within the context of their overall development strategies. Secondly, the results and findings of the interviews were related to the wider theoretical issues surrounding the history and role of the planning process as a medium of local and national State intervention. Thirdly, by synthesising the first and second elements, an opportunity arises to rethink the forces and influences of Mixed Use policy.

## The Role of the Planner

Our understanding of the planning system has changed significantly in the past half century as the role and scope of the discipline has moved from the control of land use (Cullingworth 1999), to being 'charged with co-ordinating the spatial aspects of a range of policy' (Tewdwr-Jones 2008). The increasing complexity of and demands upon the planning system are further complicated by its peculiar origins, as noted by Healey:

> 'The planning tradition is a curious one, built up through a mixture of evangelism, formal institutional practice, scientific knowledge and, increasingly, academic development.' (Healey 1997 p7)

The perceived ambiguity of the philosophy underpinning urban planning (Galloway and Mahayni 1977, Thornley 1991) and its shifting paradigms (Healey 1997) have translated to various incarnations in the role of the planner.

'...in 1955 the typical newly graduated planner was at the drawing board, producing a diagram of desired land uses; in 1965, s/he was analysing computer output of traffic patterns; in 1975, the same person was talking late into the night with community groups, in the attempt to organise against hostile forces in the world outside.' (Hall 1988 p334)

Alongside changing and contested interpretations of the complex system in which they work (Yiftachel and Huxley 2001), the role of individual planners is often taken for granted (Buckingham-Hatfield and Evans 1996) and in terms of the specific application of Mixed Use, is under researched, despite the increasing expectation to be at the forefront of proposing solutions to sustainable urbanism (Welbank 1996, Kress 2007, Biesbroek et al 2009), a task which some writers argue represents a 'new role' and purpose for planners (Hakanssan and Asplund 2002).

Not only has the role of the planner changed over time, but also they are not mutually exclusive at any one time (Sehested 2009). In the interviews described below, for example, several respondents indicated some conflict between their function as neutral arbiters (Eversley 1973, Kitchen 2007) and the pressure exerted on them by both politicians and 'the market' (Sager 2010). Such competing expectations have been understood by some theorists in terms of the need for planners to acquire a degree of operational pragmatism in their practice, in response to the complexity of the organisational systems in which they operate (Forester 1993).

Another feature of the planning discipline, particularly within local authorities, is that it encompasses a wide spectrum of activities, ranging from considering small domestic extensions, to pan-regional spatial plans. The focus of this research exercise is on policy and decisions relating to major applications for Mixed Use developments, an area of the discipline that is often referred to as 'development control' (Kitchen 2007, p 35).

**Interview Results**

A face-to-face, semi-structured interview, lasting 45 – 60 minutes, was carried out with officers of LPAs comprising:

1. Eight inner London
2. Seven outer London
3. Five City Councils outside London
4. The Greater London Authority
5. One Scottish Authority

The political composition of the LPAs was as follows (although these may have changed in subsequent elections):

| | |
|---|---|
| Labour controlled | 6 |
| Conservative controlled | 4 |
| Lib Dem controlled | 4 |
| No overall control | 3 |
| Lib Dem/Con coalition | 2 |
| Lib Dem/Lab coalition | 1 |
| SNP/Lib Dem coalition | 1 |
| Apolitical[10] | 1 |

In order to gain a contextual overview of Mixed Use policy, a further interview was carried out with a planning academic with many years of planning policy experience.

As noted in Chapter 4, the interviews were annotated, rather than recorded because it was felt that this would produce more open responses: indeed one interviewee commented that the absence of a tape recorder would enable him to tell it 'how it really is'.

**General Orientation of Mixed Use Policy**

Mixed Use policies in different places are as different as the places themselves. An outer London borough has a very different set of planning priorities and considerations to an inner London one. For example, the Chief Planning and Regeneration Officer for one outer east London borough (Conservative controlled) stressed the importance of Mixed Use to the redevelopment of the principal town centre. However, he added that there was a collateral

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[10]The Corporation of London does not have explicit party-political control.

policy imperative to protect residential areas from commercial development, which was seen as a sensitive political issue in an area that could be described as predominantly 'suburban residential'. Within this context, the promotion of Mixed Use represents a balancing act. While there was awareness that new development outside the main town centre and its satellites could be controversial, there was also a desire to use Mixed Use as a mechanism not only for rejuvenating town centres, but also for rebalancing the overall character of the area:

'We don't want arid areas of single use. We have enough suburbs'. (PLA6)

A similar emphasis on using Mixed Use as a method of 'place making and shaping' town centres was expressed by the Planning Policy Manager of an outer west London borough (Lib Dem controlled). He referred to the aim of increasing residential use in what have formerly been predominantly commercial and retail areas and added that this was partly driven by an increase in the local student population.

By contrast, an inner London borough (Labour controlled) links Mixed Use to wider regeneration objectives. The emphasis is not so much on town centres, as on strategic, council-owned, development sites where there has been historic disinvestment and deindustrialisation, resulting in pockets of deprivation and worklessness. On these sites, most of which are on the riverfront and therefore attractive to developers, the objective is to create what the interviewee described as 'a broader and more balanced economy' by negotiating with private house builders land uses that integrate new homes with potential employment. Interestingly, he added that there was no expectation that any jobs created as a result would necessarily go to local people; if they did it would be 'a happy accident'. The planner acknowledged that this strategy had not been particularly successful in the past. Faced with the demand for non-residential uses, developers had provided convenience stores or what was referred to as 'useless' commercial space, much of which has remained empty, contributing to a 'learning curve' in relation to Mixed Use policy.

The strategic priorities for Mixed Use changes again for two central London LPAs (one Conservative controlled, one no overall control). Both regard Mixed Use as a means of preserving what one Senior Planning Officer referred to as:

'...the unique, mixed use character of a living city...' (PLA1)

For both LPAs, the objectives of Mixed Use strategy was to ensure that central areas did not become dominated by office, commercial and retail uses, but that new developments continued to provide housing, even in high-value commercial areas in the West End of London. To this end, both councils have a strict and clearly stated Mixed Use policy, requiring that for every 200 square metres of commercial floor space in a new development, an equivalent amount of space must be residential. As one interviewee put it:

'It's not tokenism, it's equal space.' (PLA7)

The clarity of the Mixed Use policy for these two authorities (and a third neighbouring LPA with similar characteristics) stands in contrast to most of the other LPAs visited, where there was no such explicit statement.

The relationship between Mixed Use strategies and 'affordable'[11] housing was mentioned by most of the planners interviewed, albeit with differing levels of priority. The Head of Development Management for an inner north London LPA (Lib Dem controlled) described affordable housing as 'the number one priority' and indicated that the composition of some new developments in the borough had been skewed away from Mixed Use because the developer had agreed to increase the volume of affordable housing. Similarly, the Director of Planning for an inner south London borough (Labour controlled) stated that 'housing targets trump all other potential uses' and that Mixed Use would not be prioritised if it jeopardised new housing.

The interviews also revealed a noticeable difference between London and non-London authorities in terms of the overall orientation of Mixed Use policy. The general narrative of planning strategies outside of London appears to be far more concerned with the identity of place. While London has a well-established reputation as a 'global city' (Massey 2007), maintaining this image may not necessarily permeate down in policy terms to individual London councils. However, interviews with senior planners at two big city councils (one Midlands and Conservative controlled, the other in the north and Lib Dem controlled)

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[11]This is a contested term, but is used here to describe homes provided by Registered Social Landlords for rent or shared ownership.

strongly indicated the importance of promoting their cities as 'World Class'. As one City Centre Development Manager put it:

'We want to be a European, world-wide destination. It's a global market.' (PLA10)

In both cases a great deal of redevelopment has taken place in the city centres during the past decade, including some high profile Mixed Use developments. The justification offered in the interviews for such developments was strongly couched in terms of 'lifestyle', 'city centre living' and improving urban design. As one interviewee explained:

'We're trying to create places, rather than buildings, where people can do all the things they need to do.' (PLA16)

Elsewhere, in two smaller northern cities (both Lib Dem controlled) the rhetoric for Mixed Use appeared less bullish. In one, the Development Team Manager admitted to having 'not much in the way of explicit (Mixed Use) policy', but added that there was concern not to deter potential developers by being too prescriptive. Perhaps for similar reason and unlike some of the London boroughs, the potential for Mixed Use developments to generate affordable housing was not seen as a priority, but Mixed Use was seen as a flexible mechanism for 'future proofing' changing demands. A similar sentiment was expressed by the Principal Planner of the second city, but he also indicated that his LPA is reconsidering its former policy of pre-allocating specified Mixed Use sites. Instead, (and again in contrast to some of the London boroughs) the LPA is aiming to use Mixed Use as part of its strategy for attracting more offices in its central area, on the basis that diversifying uses might increase commercial viability.

A different emphasis again was placed on Mixed Use policy by a south coast city council (Conservative controlled). Here, Mixed Use is seen as part of the strategy for establishing the city as the primary regional shopping area and 'clawing back' retail activity lost to a neighbouring city. The city already has a high-profile Mixed Use development that is considered a success and similar models are being planned in order to provide three 'complimentary' shopping areas in the central zone. The LPA also wants to encourage more residential use in the city centre, but the Senior Planning Officer interviewed felt that this might be limited by the existing high density rates and significant flood risk.

The geographic variability of Mixed Use policy was also reflected in an interview with the Principal Planning Officer of a Scottish city. As with some of the central London LPAs, Mixed Use was described as an intrinsic and long-established practice in a place that the interviewee referred to as 'historic, fine grain and compact'. Alongside preserving the character of the city, the benefits of Mixed Use appeared strongly related to 'sustainability', particularly reducing the need to travel by car, an issue that, perhaps surprisingly, was not emphasised by other LPAs in the study.

Some interesting comments were made by a senior planning officer at the GLA. He acknowledged that Mixed Use can be 'the right thing in the right place', but also referred to the concept being 'crammed into' every development proposal as a 'panacea'. This, he argued, has led to the plethora of empty ground floor commercial space (fig. 20) in Mixed Use developments around the capital (Giddings and Craine 2006), resulting from poorly planned and designed developments. Echoing a point made by a planner from a south London LPA, the GLA officer also highlighted the link between Mixed Use and change of land use, adding that such decisions can be a 'cop out' and the result of 'received wisdom' reflecting a loss of confidence within the planning system, a phenomenon noted in the theoretical discussion above. More fundamentally he also questioned the prioritisation of Mixed Use over residential development, not explicitly with reference to the under-supply of affordable housing, but more generally with the comment 'what's wrong with housing?' Given the pan-London influence of the GLA over LPA planning policy, these equivocal comments about recent Mixed Use practice may be significant.

Finally, in order to gain an overview of the general orientation of Mixed Use policy, an interview was carried out with a current spatial planning academic who had previously spent many years working on planning policy within local and regional public authorities and adopted a generally sceptical view of the widespread adoption of Mixed Use. In particular, this interviewee regarded Mixed Use as a 'negation of planning' that responded to developers' desire for 'flexibility', but in so doing replaced the role of LPAs in actively directing new development with a more passive 'it's better than nothing' perspective that became particularly pronounced during the post-2008 recession and amounted to:

'...basically leaving development to the market.' (PLA23)

For PLA23 the fundamental weakness of this position was compounded by the lack of any clear definition for the Mixed Use concept and by the failure of LPAs to monitor the results of developments for which they gave permission, which PLA23 suggested amounted to a 99% rate of non-compliance.



Fig. 20 A common image of empty ground floor commercial space in a Stand Alone Mixed Use block, London. Research by Giddings and Craine (2006) found vacancy rates of 30% (photo by author, 28th November 2008).

**Definitions of Mixed Use**

The interviews indicate that there is no consensus amongst planners about the definition of Mixed Use. Different boroughs use different formulations ranging from quite detailed and specific, to imprecise and vague and as with the implementation of Mixed Use policy these varied definitions appear to reflect the characteristics of the areas concerned. Several of the interviewees referred to their LPAs regarding Mixed Use as 'a good thing', in generalised terms, but one added 'we don't define it' and another said:

> 'Mixed Use is the answer, but it would not be appropriate to say that we've defined that'. (PLA6)

One Development Plan Team Leader of an inner east London LPA (Labour controlled) pointed to potential contradictions between stated policy and practical reality:

'Just because you say it's Mixed Use, doesn't mean it's going to work as Mixed Use.' (PLA11)

An interviewee from a large northern city was more caustic about definitions of Mixed Use, relating the concept not to theory, but to outcome:

'It's nonsense. I don't think people understand it. It's just a glib term. Our raison d'etre is regeneration. We don't talk about Mixed Use. We talk about what we need in an area.' (PLA19)

Based on these interviews it would appear, at least in relation to defining Mixed Use, that planners are exhibiting the type of intuitive, common sense, pragmatic judgments that have been referred to above as a feature of their occupation.

**Mixed Use, Sustainable Development and the Urban Revival**

The interviews aimed to explore the relationship between Mixed Use and some of its key conceptual and policy drivers, particularly urban sustainability and revival. Most of the respondents did not indicate that sustainability was the key policy imperative for their Mixed Use strategies. Two exceptions were an outer south-west London LPA and the one Scottish city visited, both of which were controlled by councils that have emphasised their environmental credentials. Elsewhere, reactions were more muted. Several planners referred to sustainable development being 'non-negotiable', but this appeared more an acknowledgment of the general policy context, rather than an explicit endorsement of Mixed Use as a means for achieving it, or as one respondent put it:

'Sustainable development is the driver, rather than Mixed Use per se.' (PLA9)

Several interviewees voiced doubts about the operational definition of sustainability, which one referred to as being 'nice in theory' and another to the competing policy aspiration for continuous urban growth and his city's 'love affair' with the car. This latter point was an

interesting feature of three interviews with out of London city councils, each of which suggested that encouraging easier access to the city centre by car had returned as an important policy objective (one northern city has started building car parks on vacant central sites).

The interviews indicate a similarly mixed reaction to the possible linkage between Mixed Use and the concept of Urban Renaissance, expressed by Rogers as:

> '...a vision of well designed, compact and connected cities supporting a diverse range of uses – where people live, work and enjoy leisure time at close quarters – in a sustainable urban environment...'
>
> (Lord Rogers' Urban Task Force, 2005)

One of the objectives of the interviews was to ask if planners shared such visions. They appear not to. Several questions were designed to open up potential discussion on how Mixed Use might contribute to the creation of dynamic, vibrant urban spaces. Very few of the respondents showed any interest in pursuing such a line of discussion. In general, the planners interviewed did not strongly identify Mixed Use with the promotion of 'active street frontages', 'fine grain', 'eyes on the street' or other concepts associated with the vision of city life favoured by Jacobs and other advocates of an urban revival, or as expressed in planning policy documents.

## Mixed Use, Planners, The Market and The State

Based on these interviews and notwithstanding the general orientation of public services towards commercial models, it does not appear that the planner as entrepreneur is the dominant paradigm within LPAs. However, some respondents did make striking comments to suggest an alignment of policy with the interests of private developers, for example:

> 'We're driven by the market.' (PLA8)

> 'It's not the place of planning to tell the market how to behave.' (PLA9)

> 'We respond to what the market needs.' (PLA11)

One interviewee explicitly celebrated his city's 'tradition of entrepreneurialism', although another, with a tone of regret, spoke of policy 'allowing the market to dictate'.

There were also several references to the importance of a good relationship between the LPA and the private sector:

'We have a true spirit of partnership.' (PLA19)

It was not apparent if these comments were specifically in relation to Mixed Use, or more generalised, but some planners were explicit that Mixed Use schemes are the product of a complex negotiation with developers. One planner from an inner south London LPA referred to this process as 'The Game'. He illustrated this in relation to development applications for a change of land zoning from employment/industrial to residential use, a key requirement for house builders, particularly during the development boom and in relation to lucrative riverfront sites which had previously been designated for employment. This respondent clearly stated that Mixed Use had been used as a bargaining counter in such negotiations, whereby planners insisted on retaining some potential employment uses on a particular site and developers responded to this by offering Mixed Use, but often in a 'half hearted' way. The planner acknowledged that this had led to his LPA being 'taken to the cleaners'.

However, these findings should be set against others that stressed the role of planning in balancing and in some cases restraining the ambitions of private developers, actions more in line with the arbitrator-umpire or community-champion paradigms. It should, however, be noted that the ability of LPAs to behave in this way again appeared to depend upon particular circumstances. For example, an officer from a central London council saw her role as protecting the borough's population from mono-use office developments and the inclination of developers to 'dump' affordable housing in low-value, peripheral areas. However, as she acknowledged, this insistence on balancing public and commercial interests is made easier when LPAs are in control of prime development sites. As noted above, providing affordable housing was the principle policy driver identified by several respondents for supporting Mixed Use, but this was reflective of a more general sense that planners see themselves as attempting to act in the best interests of their area and striving to achieve a rational, balanced

pattern of urban development.

**Problems with Mixed Use**

While most of the interviewees in the sample expressed general support for the Mixed Use concept, some practical and operational problems were also identified. Several planners talked about learning from previous mistakes and this was particularly associated with what one described as the 'typical Mixed Use scheme – a Tesco Express with 30 flats above', a model, she stated, that won't be encouraged in the future. A planner from an inner east London borough (Labour controlled) where there has been an enormous amount of development in the past decade admitted that the difference between Mixed Use buildings and Mixed Use locations had got 'lost in translation' and added:

'Sticking anything anywhere isn't going to work.' (PLA11)

Instead of ad hoc Mixed Use developments, apparently divorced from any awareness of spatial context, several interviewees referred to a shifting emphasis towards 'place making' and a move from vertical to horizontal Mixed Use schemes. This greater concern with the strategic implementation of Mixed Use has been partly driven by the problems of under-occupancy and vacancy rates in previous projects. This was particularly pronounced in some areas, for example a Midlands city where, according to the senior planner, there were thousands of square feet of unlet office space in Mixed Use developments, or in a northern city where a newly built Mixed Use scheme in a former industrial area near the city centre had never been occupied by either commercial or residential occupants (fig. 21).

Fig. 21  Unoccupied Urban Infill Mixed Use development (photo by author 4<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2009).

Such problems are likely to be exacerbated by the economic downturn and several planners referred to stalled sites and a virtual drying up of all new development.

Several interviewees referred to an issue well-rehearsed in the theoretical literature on Mixed Use, namely the problems associated with the compatibility of different uses (Coupland 1997, Dixon and Marston 2003, Bromely et al 2005), for example, complaints from residents about loud music from nearby bars in a Mixed Use development.  This problem dovetails with a degree of scepticism that was raised in some interviews about the efficacy of the '24 hour city', a concept that is often linked to Mixed Use.  While one senior manager of an outer north-east London LPA (Conservative controlled) was keen to use Mixed Use as a mechanism to stimulate evening uses and promote 'active frontages', others stated that there was little political support for the 24-hour city, particularly when it became associated with 'anti-social behaviour' in central areas.

A striking finding of this research is that not one of the twenty-two LPAs visited is currently keeping any specific monitoring data or carrying out any research or evaluation of completed

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Mixed Use schemes. In an era where Evidence Based Policy has been the guiding principle of a raft of interventions (Wilks-Heeg 2003), this is a strange anomaly. It has been a common criticism of the planning profession in general that it fails to monitor the results of its practices, with one commentator comparing this to a surgeon having no interest in the subsequent care of a patient (Barker 2000). One interviewee did indicate that her council may assess the environmental impact of buildings in the borough, but there was nothing to suggest that this would look in any detail at the wide range of issues that have been associated with Mixed Use developments. This finding suggests a deficit of objective, rigorous evaluation of Mixed Use in practice, something that has been observed elsewhere (Rowley 1996, Grant 2005, Dixon and Marston 2003), leading to the accusation that the benefits of Mixed Use are 'taken for granted' (Grant 2005).

## Conclusions

The variability of interpretations and practice suggested by these interviews re-enforces some of the theoretical arguments around the ambiguity of the Mixed Use concept and the contested nature of the planning system discussed in earlier chapters. On one hand, this conclusion is a predictable consequence of planning policy guidance that emphasises the importance of LPAs making decisions that relate to specific local circumstances. This, after all, is the purpose of the Local Development Frameworks (LDFs) that are the corner stone of local planning policy[12]. On the other hand, the fact that, based on this survey, Mixed Use policy is 'open to interpretation' raises questions about its theoretical integrity. In general, it appears from these interviews that Mixed Use is perceived by planners as a multi-tool for different purposes and a proxy for a range of other policy objectives, not a policy in and of itself.

Other research has challenged some of the taken for granted meanings that are attached to contemporary urban policies such as Mixed Use (Grant 2005). Individual planners may not have scope for such critical thinking, when their primary function is to implement planning policy that is ultimately set by local and national politicians, but some interesting and significant questions arise if local planners see themselves primarily as the ciphers of policies decided elsewhere and if an uncritical approach is taken in relation to policies that may then become received wisdom. However, despite the ambitious, even hyperbolic, rhetoric

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[12]Subject to any changes introduced by the post-May 2010 Con/Dem government.

sometimes associated with Mixed Use, it appears from these interviews that planners tend to locate themselves within a context that could be described as prosaic pragmatism. In relation to Mixed Use this may suggest an inclination to favour a particular interpretation of what is 'best' for the built environment of 21$^{st}$ century cities, which in turn leads to planners supporting the creation of particular types of urban space that are perceived as 'sustainable'.

The interviews took place in the shadow of the severe downturn in the property industry and economy at large. Most interviewees reported a significant reduction in the number of planning applications, particularly for smaller schemes and non-London authorities reported that development activity has virtually dried up. Several interviewees were clear that public spending would have to take the place of private investment in capital projects for the foreseeable future. However, notwithstanding these problems, there appears little evidence of any fundamental review of market-led development policies. Several interviewees remained confident about the future of their cities, predicting that, once the current recession is over there will be another period of continued economic and urban growth. This optimism often appeared strongly linked to the form of competitive, urban entrepreneurialism that is a characteristic of contemporary development strategies, with planners very keen to identify their cities as regional, national, international and world class 'destinations'.

Finally, a more provocative interpretation of the motivation of planners in relation to Mixed Use is offered by a practising architect interviewed for this study, who points to some of the apparent policy paradoxes and contradictions that are alluded to above.

> 'Have a look at the macro planning picture, not the micro site picture. Planners tell me to build a corner shop in my development to make it 'Mixed Use', when they've just given planning permission for a massive out of town Tesco! Such actions are a form of displacement activity. Planners say to themselves 'I'm feeling guilty about this big, dumb thing I've done, but I'm going to block out that ugly, out of town stuff and give this difficult, inner-city site the benefit of my planner's Mixed Use wisdom.' (MSC1)

The next chapter explores these issues through a more specific examination of how planning policy is applied to the creation of Mixed Use places.

# Chapter 6
## Mixed Use Case Studies

## Introduction

This chapter presents six case studies that capture the variegated application of the Mixed Use concept. The aims were first, to identify the key characteristics of the development in question and relate these to the typology in Chapter 1 and secondly, describe the background, planning rationale and development history in order to provide a contextualisation for interviews and observations. While presenting the specificities of each place, the case studies also draw out the commonalities that address the research aims of identifying how the production of Mixed Use space occurs and the reasons and justification for its policy incorporation. Each of the case studies presents a different aspect of the Mixed Use dynamic, embracing a large-scale city-centre intervention, a reconfigured council estate, a suburban town centre revival, an exemplar of sustainable urbanism, a remodelled riverside heritage site and a local area regeneration project.

Each case study is set out as follows:

1. Brief project summary.
2. Photo image of the site prior to and following redevelopment.
3. Location map.
4. Description of project background and planning rationale.
5. Description of project development history.
6. Summary of case study interviews.
7. Summary of case study observations.
8. Conclusions.

Full project details, notes/transcripts of interviews and observation results are included in the Appendices.

**Case Study 1**

**Brindleyplace – 'A place to work, play, eat and stay'**

**Project Summary** (Full details p358)

| Mixed Use Type | Piece of the City (2) |
|---|---|
| **Project Description** | Large-scale (7.2 hectare), inner-city, commercial-led new build on brownfield waterside site, with some conversion of historic buildings and landscaped public realm. Uses on site include offices, shops, bars, restaurants, gym, theatre, art gallery and aquarium. |

Fig. 22 Aerial photo of vacant Brindleyplace site in 1993 looking east towards Birmingham city centre, with the triangular site that became 'Symphony Court' at left, adjacent to the National Indoor Arena (photo source unknown).

Fig. 23  Brindleyplace after redevelopment (photo by author 15<sup>th</sup> August 2011)

## Background and Planning Rationale

Brindleyplace is one of the best known examples of Mixed Use development in the UK, often cited in the literature as an example of 'best practice' (Coupland 1997, CABE 2001, Barber 2002, Dixon and Marston 2003, Holyoak 2010). The scheme has won many plaudits (although it should be noted that most of these were offered before the project was completed, or any independent empirical research carried out to evaluate its impact), for example:

> 'Developers have been able to create a new urban quarter around a network of well-defined and coherent new public spaces. The centre of gravity of the city has been extended across the inner ring road, offering considerable design benefits and linkages at a larger spatial scale.' (CABE 2001)

For Healey, Brindleyplace promised a 'model of urban regeneration', demonstrating,

> '...what it takes to create a new piece of city, which adds a new location to the mix of places which compose the city.' (Healey 1999, p103)

Barber echoes this enthusiasm and explicitly links the success and distinctiveness of Brindleyplace to its mix of uses:

> 'Much of the acclaim centres on the urban design aspects of the scheme, which set it apart from the majority of overbearing, single function projects developed in major cities. It combines a permeable, traditional urban fabric with a mix of uses to create what amounts to a new district of the city. In short, it is seen as a place that works.' (Barber 2002, p5)[13]

Brindleyplace arose from a succession of policy interventions taken by Birmingham City Council (BCC) from the late 1980s, with the objective of reconfiguring, regenerating and reconnecting the city centre, particularly for pedestrians. In 1988, an international conference - 'The Highbury Initiative' (BCC 1988, 1989) - launched an urban design strategy aimed at reversing Birmingham's reputation for being blighted by 1960s Modernist planning and

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[13]This quote comes from a piece of research funded by the Brindleyplace developer, Argent PLC.

architectural practices of the type championed during Manzoni's period as city engineer (see page 65 above). Legacies of this period included a network of ring-roads, leading to the pre-eminence of the car and the creation of a 'concrete collar' (Porter and Hunt 2005) around the city centre that discouraged residential and evening uses and it was argued, produced a sterile and unsustainable urban landscape that was 'consistently lambasted' (Loftman and Nevin 1998, p137). In response:

> '...in the late 1980s and 1990s in accord with the prevailing Post-Modern ethos...there was a major attempt by the City Council to re-establish the city centre as a focus of social and community life.' (Whitehand 1996, p236)

Birmingham's reaction to its Modernist legacy is discussed by Jones (2004) who describes Manzoni's vision as 'every bit as ambitious as that of Haussmann or Le Corbusier', but questions the extent to which the post-Modernist response has produced results that are any less autocratic or destructive of a sense of historic place, or more in sympathy with the wishes of local people. Alongside physical remodelling, Birmingham aimed to rebrand itself as a 'destination', by seeking to attract major events to the International Conference Centre, National Indoor Arena (NIA) and other flagship developments, including the 5-star Hyatt Hotel, the Mailbox and Brindleyplace (Smyth 1994). Spirou and Loftman (2004) refer to the 'boosterist' cultural policies pursued by the city authorities in the attempt to manage Birmingham's post-industrial transition and present it as an international city with an alluring urban life-style. This effort reaped its greatest reward in 1998 when the G8 summit of world leaders took place in Birmingham and although the city failed in its bid for the 1992 and 1996 Olympics, it continues to host major sporting events and conferences. For Jones and Ram, this process of 'cultural reimaging' and attempt to promote a 'post-modernist hedonism' was particularly difficult in Birmingham:

> '...since this is a city whose image, elsewhere in the UK certainly, is emphatically negative. Moreover, it is negative in the worst possible way, for Birmingham is perceived as boring...a world of grey concrete canyons and high-rise social housing, a monument to regimented (and now obsolete) Fordism.' (Jones and Ram 2007, p50)

The city Council's planning committee contextualised the strategy for attempting to reverse this perception, with reference to a number of key policy drivers:

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'The next 10 years should see major cities, such as Birmingham, make a comeback as exciting, attractive and civilised places in which to live...the biggest threat...(is) the growing disparity between rich and poor...planning in Birmingham will need to address issues of design, aesthetics, environment and wider green and health policies in a way which is both new and emergent.' (BCC Planning Committee Strategy Report 1992/93)

The profound changes in Birmingham's urban landscape reflect the restructuring of a local economy that had built its wealth and reputation on manufacturing, but lost 200,000 jobs between 1971 and 1984, 90,000 of them between 1980 and 1982 alone (Parkinson 2007), leading to the West Midlands having the fourth highest unemployment rate in Europe (15%). Unemployment in the Ladywood ward, within which Brindleyplace lies, was 17.6% in 1999, while inner city Birmingham as a whole, where much of the manufacturing industry had been lost, had an unemployment rate of 31% (Loftman and Nevin 1998). As a direct consequence of this dramatic deindustrialisation, by the end of the 1980s, Birmingham city centre was left with a significant number of abandoned and derelict sites and buildings, including those that came to comprise Brindleyplace. Such massive physical and socio-economic upheaval called forth a distinctive political response.

'A key element of Birmingham City Council's regeneration strategy in the 1980s was the focus of local government activity and investment on the physical restructuring of Birmingham's city centre (particularly by the development of prestige property projects)...' (Loftman and Nevin 1998, p130)

The social, physical and economic restructuring promised by Brindleyplace was warmly welcomed by the local and national media, as was the innovation of Mixed Use:

'10,000 jobs boost for the city' (Birmingham Evening Mail headline 8.7.95)

'A winning combination: The large institutions that control the world of property are notoriously cautious, insisting that residential and commercial uses 'don't mix'. Brindleyplace proves them wrong.' (Daily Telegraph 5.6.96)

'The right mix for an inner city...schemes that aim to bring 24-hour life back to city centres that have become deserted.' (The Times 18.9.96)

Such broad faith in property development as the engine of economic and social regeneration (Brenner and Theodore 2002) found its theoretical, architectural and rhetorical origins in some of the high-profile projects that preceded Brindleyplace such as Faneuil Hall in Boston, Harbourplace in Baltimore and the regeneration of London's docklands (Hall 1988). In 1984, members of Birmingham council's planning committee visited Harbourplace (Holyoak 1999, p18)[14], Rouses' highly influential Mixed Use redevelopment of the city's Inner Harbour (Hall 1988, pp 348 – 350) that has spawned a host of imitators (Kibel 2007). Holyoak (1999) suggests that US experience directly informed early planning briefs for the redevelopment of Birmingham. A subsidiary of the Rouse Company was involved in early proposals for Brindleyplace and Goss describes an ethos that prefigures some of the development's characteristics and suggest an alignment with the City Council's ambitions for reshaping Birmingham. Rouse believed that,

'...(profit) hauls dreams into focus ...his festival marketplaces are part of a plan to provide housing and jobs for the poor, business opportunities for minorities, and public space for citizens of the city, at the same time generating retail and development profits. Ironically, the exclusion of street people from his developments is conceived as a necessary part of the profit-making process by which they ultimately will be included in the bourgeois public sphere.' (Goss 1996)

There is a striking likeness here between Rouse's model of philanthropic urban Utopianism and that associated with the origins of the planning discipline in general (Hall 2005) and its manifestation in Birmingham in particular which for Healey (2010) formed a distinctive political culture that strongly influenced the city's post-industrial revival. As Loftman and Nevin (1998) note, for one hundred years Birmingham had been associated with a tradition of large scale municipal intervention and improvement, entrepreneurialism and civic pride, typified by the work of Joseph Chamberlain (whose family home hosted and gave its name to the Highbury Initiative) and the social benevolence of the Cadbury family at Bourneville

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[14] The extent of the US influence over the development of Brindleyplace is further suggested by the contraction of 'Brindleyplace' as one word, in possible imitation of 'Harbourplace', although it has not been possible to verity this.

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(Duncan 2001). Moreover, a former Council leader describes the city's political ethos as 'non-ideological and pragmatic' (Councillor Richard Knowles quoted by Loftman and Nevin 1998, p135) so that some argue that Birmingham's property-led regeneration strategy was the product of political consensus (Loftman and Nevin 1998). For Holyoak:

> 'Over the past half-century, political control of the city council has swung from Labour to Conservative and back again, but there has mostly been a fairly narrow ideological gap between a right-wing Labour Group and a left-wing Conservative group.' (Holyoak 2010, p43)

The Joint Chief Executive of Argent PLC, the developer of Brindleyplace has a similar perception of Birmingham's pluralist politics:

> 'You really couldn't tell if you were talking to a Tory or a Labour councillor.'

> (Roger Madelin, Oral History Society Conference, University of Sunderland 1.7.11)

This interpretation of the political culture of Birmingham is suggestive of several themes explored within the key discourses that have informed the Mixed Use revival. The redevelopment of the city centre was explicitly couched as a reaction against Modernity combined with elements of Utopianism and the adoption of a flexible, non-ideological approach to urban regeneration, but based on a commitment to spatial planning that is resonant (and in fact, could be argued to have pre-figured) the Third Way. However, despite the suggestion of political consensus, there were some dissenting voices to Birmingham's public/private partnership, property led regeneration strategy. The Birmingham for People (BfP) planning advocacy group produced an alternative plan for Brindleyplace which aimed to meet 'the needs of all sectors of the community'. The group advocated low cost housing, maximum pedestrian accessibility between the Brindleyplace site and the neighbouring Ladywood estate, street fronted buildings in small blocks, a height limit of six storeys and 'plentiful' public toilets (BfP 1991). In 1993, a newly elected council leader made a direct challenge to the inner-city redevelopment strategy:

> 'My Labour colleagues have been telling me for ten years that this is municipal socialism – it's municipal stupidity more like. Yes, the city centre is now ravishing

and yes, the convention centre has created jobs. But part time, low pay, short term, non-union jobs. I want to draw a line.' (Cllr Theresa Stewart quoted in The Independent 10.10.93)

The academic work of Loftman and Nevin (1998), which critiqued the economic and social benefits of Birmingham's redevelopment strategies, was attacked by local media and politicians who backed boosterist messages such as that given by television presenter Vincent Hanna, employed by BCC as a PR consultant:

'The right message is that Birmingham is ready. Ready to compete with Frankfurt, Lyons and Barcelona.' (Vincent Hanna, The Independent 10.10.93)

The City Centre Design Strategy (BCC 1987), which was later incorporated into the Unitary Development Plan (BCC 1993a), provided the statutory planning framework for Brindleyplace. A detailed Masterplan for the Broad Street area was produced with Brindleyplace as its focal point. The ambitions for the new Mixed Use development were manifold. As well as a financially viable, employment generating office complex, the aim was to integrate the site with its surroundings, based on a high level of pedestrian activity that utilised an active new public realm and provided a link both to the city centre and newly designated urban 'quarters', for example the historic Jewellery Quarter immediately to the site's north. The area containing Brindleyplace was designated as the 'Convention Centre Quarter', but this encompassed a wider geographic section of the city:

'The (Convention) Quarter is home to 8,433 people (1991 Census), mainly in the Ladywood and Lea Bank Estates. Provision of housing should be across a wide range of types and tenures. A larger community of people from broad socio-economic groups will contribute towards a 24-hour – lived-in – feel to the Quarter and support additional business/facilities.' (BCC 1993b)

With strong allusions to the contrast between modernist and post-modernist philosophies, one of the lead-architects explicitly related the fluid, Mixed Use design of Brindleyplace to a wider conceptualisation of city life:

'The aim was to forge links within the fabric of the city and not to emphasise

buildings as stylistic objects. Contrast tempered by mutual compatibility is more likely to achieve this vital, but quite subtle, objective than rigorous consistency of style or strict adherence to one currently fashionable ideology. In the end, this is what cities are; it is why we build them and, above all, it is what we most enjoy about living in or visiting them.' (Chatwin 1997)

This broader vision was echoed by the city council, which stated its 'rediscovered belief in urbanism' (BCC 1995).

There are a number of inter-related theoretical aspects to the Brindleyplace development that reflect wider issues in contemporary urban policy. They include the elevation of design almost as a policy goal in itself (Bell and Jayne 2003), the promotion of 'landmark' and 'flagship' buildings (Zukin 1991), the adoption of 'quarters' as a way of defining and distinguishing areas of the city (BCC 1993b, 1995 Bell and Jayne 2004), the cultivation of notions of 'culture' and particularly cultural industries as a mechanism for economic renewal (Evans 2004, Porter and Hunt 2005) and finally, the utilisation of these themes as part of a place marketing and branding strategy based on variations on the theme of a given city being 'the place to be' (Hall and Hubbard 1998, Hubbard 2006), with the ultimate prize of acquiring the status of becoming a city with a global reputation (Sassen 2001). Critically however, these different - and sometimes contradictory and contested - layers of urban intervention are predicated upon the principle of 'partnership', but with the pre-eminence of the private property industry seen as fundamental to the ability of cities to survive in the $21^{st}$ century (Fainstein 1994).

The erasure of Modernism and spatial redesign of Birmingham are still in progress, with attention now focussing on the eastern side of the inner-city (Spirou and Loftman 2004. Porter and Hunt 2005) and the rebuilding of a new central library to replace the Brutalist model completed in 1973 (Blueprint 21.06.12) and described by the Prince of Wales as looking like 'a place where books are incinerated, not kept'. However, as in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Birmingham has suffered severe consequences of the post-2007 economic recession, with a significant rise in unemployment, falls in property prices, cuts in public services and the stalling of several new development projects (Morris 2009). Nonetheless, the city council remains committed to an agenda of growth and attracting residents, investors and visitors to the urban centre in order to create 'a greener, smarter, fairer and more

appealing city centre' (BCC Big City Plan 2011). Thus it may appear that, as Fisher (2009) suggests, the underlying narrative of Birmingham's on-going regeneration may be based on reiteration and for Lombardi et al (2011) this replication may be of particular significance in relation to the aspiration for sustainable development based on an ambiguous and limited conceptualisation of the term which has led to its easy welding to pro-growth strategies. Lombardi et al relate this discourse to the redevelopment of Birmingham's Eastside, branded as an exemplar 'sustainable quarter', but where vague and diverse definitions have led to sustainability being treated as a 'policy or technical fix', but one that does not translate from rhetoric to reality, in part because planners have become pre-occupied with 'design principles' rather than testing practical outcomes of policy, something that the authors link to neoliberal methods of governance, arguments that can be associated with Mixed Use policy and its prominent place in strategies for sustainable urbanism.

## Development History

The development history of Brindleyplace has been protracted, convoluted (Coupland 1997, pp 247 - 248) and for some 'ill starred' (Holyoak 2010, p39), casting light on the volatility of the construction industry and the development process (Morton 2008) and the wider complexity of the urban process (Schalcher 2010, Kasprisin 2011). As Holyoak notes, the redevelopment of the western edge of the city had been planned for many years before Brindleyplace came to fruition, producing 'a snakes and ladders history of different schemes' (Holyoak 1999, p17). This original brief for the area that included what became Brindleyplace focussed on the perceived need for a leisure and entertainment venue (which became the National Indoor Arena) and Mixed Use was less of a priority. However, as Holyoak notes, a 'fundamental' change took place in BCC's planning policy that coincided with the first Highbury Initiative in March 1988 (Holyoak 1999, p19). The Highbury Initiative (BCC 1988 1989) has been described as a 'pivotal point in the city's history' by a former Council leader (BCC 2001) and set out a clear vision for central Birmingham in which Mixed Use was a central theme.

'The symposium was united behind Birmingham's ambitious goal to become a truly international city, symbolised in the rapidly emerging International Convention Centre...to succeed...it has first to become a more popular place with its own inhabitants. The most successful city centres are alive at all times of the day, week

and year...(and) contain an intensive and intricate mix of activity, buildings, historic quarters and parks...' (BCC 1989, pp 6 – 8)

Two commissions resulted directly from the Highbury Initiative, a pedestrianisation plan for the central city to be drawn up by LDR, a firm of US-based consultants and a comprehensive design study for Birmingham (Tibbalds 1990) based on the following understanding:

'Those managing the shaping of the city centre drew from the Highbury Initiative a realisation that quality was important, that it did not happen by accident and that it would be produced only within a strategic framework...the importance of having an urban design vision which could facilitate the right kind of new development was understood.' (Holyoak 1999, p20)

Another outcome of the Highbury Initiative was the enlargement of the defined city centre area from its previous 80 hectares inside the Inner Ring Road, to 800 hectares inside the Middle Ring Road (Holyoak 2010).

A tendering process then awarded a contract for the redevelopment of the Brindleyplace site and surroundings, to build a 'festival marketplace' and indoor arena. The contract was won by a tri-partite consortium comprising MSL (part of the multi-national Merlin company linked to the development of Baltimore's Harbourplace), Sherwater (the retail arm of Rosehaugh Stanhope, the developers of Broadgate in the City of London, see p58) and Laing, the construction company. MSL purchased the Brindleyplace site from Birmingham City Council for £23.3 million. Following the completion of the NIA (October 1991), Laing withdrew from the project, leaving Merlin and Sherwater to take forward the festival market proposals, for which purpose they formed the subsidiary Brindleyplace PLC. However, Merlin also withdrew from the project in mid-1989 because of concerns about another of their developments in Australia. This left Sherwater holding both the responsibility for completing the project and the debt for the acquisition of the site. Sherwater went into liquidation in 1990 and ownership of the site passed to its parent company, Rosehaugh Stanhope (Holyoak 1999).

Given these complications, apart from the construction of the NIA, the project stagnated for several years (Smyth 1994), but in 1991 Terry Farrell's architectural practice was appointed

to develop a new Masterplan (February 1991) for which outline planning permission was granted in June 1992, with detailed planning permission for the Waters Edge area of Brindleyplace to provide bar, restaurant and retail uses. The approved Masterplan also provided for bridges across the canal to link Brindleyplace to surrounding sites, the restoration of the Victorian Oozells Street School which has subsequently become the Ikon art gallery and for leisure uses on the triangle of land to the north of Brindleyplace that later became the private Symphony Court residential development (BCC 1992).

However, in November 1992 Rosehaugh Stanhope also went into receivership and in May 1993 Argent bought the Brindleyplace site for £3 million, £20 million less than MSL had paid five years earlier. Apart from the Waters Edge element, the outline planning permission allowed Argent the flexibility to develop the remainder of the site in phases, subject to market conditions (Madelin 1999). In addition to Argent, the reformed Brindleyplace Ltd Partnership comprised two pension funds (British Telecom and Royal Mail) and private investors.

Also in 1992, Argent sold the triangular site to the north of Brindleyplace to the private house builder Crosby Homes[15] for £1 million. Despite having originally been treated as an integral part of the whole development, this transaction led to the separation of the residential element of Brindleyplace from its other uses, with the new housing becoming an exclusive gated community, producing what Holyoak (2010) describes as an 'anomaly'. For Duncan the separation of residential accommodation 'falls short of the mixed use ideal' and compromises the conceptual integrity of the scheme, but this is balanced by significant increases in property values:

> 'Gated private access and the intervening canal limit (Symphony Court's) contribution to Brindleyplace and constrict circulation linkages…(the value of residences) are reported to have increased to 250% of their sale price in the first few years, reflecting the extent of re-imaging of the locality.' (Duncan 2001, p195)

However, for Barber (2007) the 143 new homes had a lasting significance because they were

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[15] In an example of the Russian Doll nature of the construction industry, Crosby Homes is a subsidiary of St George's PLC, the developers of Charter Quay (case study 3), which is in turn a subsidiary of Berkeley Homes, the developers of Royal Arsenal Riverside (case study 5).

the first to be built in inner city Birmingham since the war, pioneering the attempts to revive 'city living' and arguably, establishing Brindleyplace as a catalyst for what has subsequently (at least until the crash of 2008) been a massive expansion of the housing market in central Birmingham.

The latest twist in the tale of the ownership of Brindleyplace came in 2010/2011 when Argent sold all of their interests in the site, with the exception of one building, to Hines Global, a US based real estate investment trust (REIT) and the Moorfield Group, a private equity investor and fund manager, for £190 million. The Hines Group identified Mixed Use as part of its rationale for adding Brindleyplace to its portfolio:

> 'As one of the top mixed use properties in the UK we believe this acquisition reinforces our strategy of investing in fundamentally sound real estate across the globe.' (Charles Hazen, CEO Hines Global, Moorfield Group Press Release 1.7.10)

The progression of Brindleyplace from being a faltering part of a local urban regeneration strategy to a global property commodity suggests the diverse interpretations of Mixed Use place illustrated in the case study interviews.

**Summary of Brindleyplace Interviews**

The senior BCC planner interviewed (INT25) had been closely involved in Brindleyplace from the outset and confirmed the project's relationship to the wider economic restructuring, redevelopment and reimaging of central Birmingham. The desire to 'put Birmingham on the map' through a renewed commitment to urban design was intrinsically linked to establishing a partnership with a development company that shared these objectives. The joint Chief Executive of Argent PLC (INT42) reminisced about the original vision for Brindleyplace, inspired by visits to 'some great public spaces' in mainland Europe and a realisation of 'what good cities mean to us'. For both planner and developer, Mixed Use was fundamental to achieving these ambitions and for INT42 represented a pioneering approach in the early 1990s, but one that has subsequently become orthodoxy. Residents of Symphony Court were less consensual about the overall rationale for Brindleyplace. While one (INT29) was a 'massive advocate of city living' and enthused about the life-style opportunities of Mixed Use, another (INT39) felt the attractions of Brindleyplace were expensive and not necessarily

catering to his tastes.  Both INT29 and INT39 recognised the disparity between Brindleyplace and its immediate surroundings, acknowledging that residents of adjoining council estates might feel 'out of place' or 'unwelcome' and related this to the level of security and management, as well as the types and cost of services on offer.  INT29 described Brindleyplace as 'an oasis' where anti-social behaviour is unusual and INT39 concurred that unlike other parts of the city centre 'beggars don't come (here) because they get moved on' adding 'It's very sanitised, but I don't mind that'.  A prominent local politician (INT37), who had also been involved in Brindleyplace since its inception, synthesised some of the contested views, linking Mixed Use to the creation of French style 'quartiers' and generating 'vibrancy', but referring to the social disjuncture between Brindleyplace and the its inner-city surroundings where social deprivation has deepened, despite the surge of new property development.  Another politician however (INT35) refuted the suggestion that Brindleyplace is an exclusive enclave with reference to the open access to its public realm and describing reluctance to visit the development as due to inverted snobbery or an inferiority complex.

The planner acknowledged that public private partnership required the LPA to 'make compromises', including the disposal of the Brindleyplace site at a substantial discount and agreement to the separation of residential from other uses.  However, these concessions were justified by securing a catalyst for new private housing in the central city.  Similarly, another representative of Argent (INT28) suggested that Mixed Use entailed a trade-off for the developer in which extra management costs were set against producing an environment that acted as an appealing commercial 'offer', particularly in terms of evening and weekend activities.  This allusion to the image of Brindleyplace was discussed by residents, one of whom (INT29) commented on the large number of overseas workers who had a transient relationship with a place that could equally be 'Tokyo or Los Angeles', although INT29 (who runs a property lettings company within the complex) also notes that a high turnover of high earners has sustained demand for expensive private rented accommodation in central Birmingham.  Questions of identity were also recalled in an episode when residents of Symphony Court had tried (unsuccessfully) to have their post code changed to 'B1' in recognition of their central location, as opposed to the 'B16' designation that Symphony Court shares with the adjoining council estates of the Ladywood ward.  Ironically however, Mixed Use was also the context for a campaign that led to the closure of a local pub under pressure from residents complaining about noise which for the planner illustrated the potential 'conflicts of interest' between aspirations for a vibrant urbanity and more suburban

attitudes in favour of peace and quiet, perhaps reflected in the description of Brindleyplace as 'a nice place to be' (INT25).

Despite BCC's on-going commitment to using it as a mechanism for attracting people to the city centre, the Argent representative (INT28) linked Mixed Use to the unpredictability of the property market, where fluctuations of demand for different types of space determines end use, citing the example of Argent's office at Brindleyplace which was originally intended to have hotel, retail and residential uses, but has ended up being almost entirely offices. Reflecting on ways that Brindleyplace might have been improved, INT42 referred to Argent's failure to prevent commercial space becoming progressively dominated by chain brands, but also alludes to the commercial pragmatism that underpins business decisions in the property industry, captured by the maxim 'an office building isn't for life, it's just for Christmas'.

Despite being political opponents, the local councillors interviewed (INT35 and INT37) were in agreement that Brindleyplace has been a success and a model for other places, as Bourneville was before it. INT37 particularly welcomes the diversified employment base in the inner city as part of Birmingham's post-industrial economic restructuring enabled by a degree of party political consensus to support flagship developments and thus change perceptions of the city. Reflecting Birmingham's distinctive political culture, both politicians exhibited a strong degree of 'civic boosterism', but with (slightly) different emphases. INT37 is very keen to promote Birmingham's image on a world stage, arguing that the city 'doesn't punch its weight globally' and should be competing with comparable cities like Lyon. INT35 celebrates the city's international airport, which he argues could become London's fourth and also welcomes the potential of the High Speed rail link that could bring Birmingham within commuting distance of London.

**Summary of Brindleyplace Observations**

The data collected suggests that Brindleyplace has succeeded in meeting some of the key objectives for the public realm within a Mixed Use development. Not only was the volume of activity high, but it was maintained at a fairly consistent level throughout the study period. Moreover, the observations indicate that the public realm attracted a wider section of people

than might otherwise have been expected for an office-led property development and that this is the result of mixing commercial uses with other activities, particularly restaurants and bars, canal-side walkways and the pedestrian linkages to other attractions such as the ICC and the Sea Life Centre, with the latter of particular importance for attracting a significant number of families with young children. The fact that Brindleyplace has clearly become a 'destination' may be seen as a vindication of the overall spatial planning strategy of Birmingham City Council in attempting to reconnect different parts of the city, particularly for pedestrians.

There are some other more specific points to note:

Part of the observation period coincided with the England versus India Test Match at near-by Edgbaston cricket ground, with a crowd of approximately 20,000, many of whom gravitated to the Broad Street/Brindleyplace area after the game, thus creating a sense of occasion and a greater level of activity than might otherwise have been the case. Although an isolated one, this is an example of the social and economic regenerative potential often associated with large sports events (Coaffee and Shaw 2003).

The additional volume of activity brought to Brindleyplace by the cricket may have been offset by the riots that occurred in many parts of England, including Birmingham, in the week before the study period (Birmingham Express and Star 8.8.11). It was interesting to note that Brindleyplace did not appear to have been directly affected by physical damage, but the large number of smashed shop windows in near-by New Street indicated the seriousness and proximity of the riots, as did the death of three men in the Winson Green area about two miles from Brindleyplace. While it is hard to give an objective assessment of the consequences for use of the public realm, it is safe to say that this was not a 'normal' weekend.

The fact that Brindleyplace was not a direct target of the riots may reflect not only its spatial separation from the remainder of the city, but also its high level of security. As noted elsewhere, Brindleyplace prides itself on being a safe environment. During the observation period, mobile security patrols were not obtrusive, but noticeable and continuous, for example, when what appeared to be an unplanned and unauthorised exhibition of street theatre took place it attracted the immediate attention of a security guard who appeared to be asking for credentials. The presence of Brindleyplace security and estate management staff

was augmented by a significant police presence, perhaps another reflection of post-riot anxiety. At one point during the observations there were eight uniformed police officers in or around the Central Square (fig. 24).



Fig. 24  Police in Central Square, Brindleyplace, 7.45pm Saturday 13th August (photo by author).

The policing and management of Brindleyplace relates to the wider discussion about whether or not such places have become sanitised, sterile and excluding environments. During the observation period, there were no observed examples of what has become contentiously labelled 'anti-social behaviour' particularly associated with groups of young people, again a heightened concern in the immediate aftermath of the riots. At one point in the observation a group of four young teenagers cycled into the Central Square where they sat quietly for ten minutes. They were not challenged by security, but two pairs of police officers arrived in the square immediately after their departure. This observation was noteworthy because despite their innocuous behaviour, the very presence of a group of young people on bikes in Brindleyplace appeared incongruous and almost an act of spatial defiance on the part of the young men.

In the case study interviews several respondents referred to Brindleyplace as a place free of begging, so it was interesting that the author was approached by a homeless person asking for money and by a Big Issue seller.

Another feature of the sense of Brindleyplace as a highly managed space is the regular grounds maintenance operation that ensures that the area is virtually litter-free and that lawns are immaculately manicured. This could partly account for the fact that very few people were observed walking or sitting on the grass, even though there is no prohibition from doing so.

The observations revealed some other subtle spatial dynamics in and around the Central Square. Relatively few people sat in the square for long. Rather, it appeared to be predominantly used as a diagonal pedestrian route to the Sea Life centre and/or the canal-side. While this may have been different on a hot, sunny day, it may also have been accounted for by the design of the public realm, which only has a few static benches around the edge and none in the central area of the piazza. Those people who did sit used the perimeter walls (fig. 25) and there was a noticeable increase of these on a working day when people were taking 'fag breaks'.



Fig. 25 Improvised or 'Integral seating' (Whyte 2000), Brindleyplace Central Square, 1.15pm, Monday 15<sup>th</sup> August (photo by author).

Predictably, there were several 'spikes' in the number of people sitting in and around the Square when the sun came out. The only people who sat in the square for any length of time did so outside the coffee bar, which does have seats, suggesting commercially controlled access to sustained or comfortable enjoyment of the public space.

It was also noticeable that relatively few baby buggies were observed within the Central Square, but there were far more around the perimeter. While there are sloped and level access points, there are also steps leading down into the square at certain points of access and perhaps these act as a subtle, if unintended, disincentive to those with baby buggies. This finding is perhaps reinforced by the fact that only two wheelchairs were observed within the square during the observation, although more were seen moving around the outside of the public realm.

While noting the generally sustained level of use of the public realm at Brindleyplace, there was a noticeable, if predictable, fall off at the end of the working day, such that on Monday evening there were only a handful of people in the Central Square and the surrounding bars were also quiet. There was, however, a steady flow of pedestrian movements across the square, a significant proportion of which seemed to be office workers heading in the direction of the car park.

## Conclusions

This case study provides some significant insights for evaluating Mixed Use in the context of a major inner-city renewal programme. Brindleyplace is one of a flotilla of 'flagship' developments (Smyth 1994, Doucet 2007) that took place against the backdrop of economic crisis and restructuring (Parkinson 2007). Hoskins and Tallon describe Brindleyplace as part of:

> '...(the) vanguard in the resettlement of the inner city, concretising a metaphorical reconstruction of the city...following the urban idyll.' (Hoskins and Tallon 2004, p28)

As Swyngedouw et al (2002) argue, such initiatives can be seen as attempts to 'heal' the

wounds of the post-industrial city through the revalorisation of urban land, but they confound the myth that such endeavours are emblems of 'free enterprise' because they are planned, promoted and heavily funded by the local State. The evidence for this research confirms that Mixed Use was treated by Birmingham City Council as an important planning tool for re-imaging and animating the central city (Pollard (2004. Healey 1999, 2010) which would in turn have catalytic regenerative benefits (Dixon and Marston 2003). However, while concluding that Brindleyplace is an example of 'positive gentrification' Barber warns of the danger that its 'ripple effect' benefits may be unevenly distributed and in particular, may not reach deprived areas of the city (Barber 2002, p25). This suggestion, elaborated by Loftman et al (1994, 1998) presents a more troubling account of Mixed Use as a component in prestige, property-led regeneration projects that reinforce social and spatial injustice in the city by presenting a range of goods and services that appear to promote civic inclusiveness, but can be perceived as creating enclaves of privilege and exclusion, as observed by MacLeod (2002) in relation to the 'new urban glamour zones' of central Glasgow.

A striking spatial irony of Brindleyplace is the presence of the Sea Life Centre. The aquarium is one of a range of metaphors used by Benjamin to describe the phantasmagoria of consumer-oriented property development in its early 19th century form and the ambition to create 'a world in miniature, in which customers will find everything they need' (Benjamin 1999, AP A1, 1/31). This aim is strikingly reflected in the marketing material for Brindleyplace, captured in its advertising slogan of being a place to 'work, play, eat and stay'.

**Case Study 2**

**British Street – 'Repairing the 1970s'**

**Project Summary** (Full details p360)

| Mixed Use Type | Urban Infill |
| --- | --- |
| **Project Description** | Medium-scale (3.7 hectare) retail-led Mixed Use as part of the regeneration of an inner-city council estate. |

Fig. 26  British Street estate under construction, 1973 (photo Tower Hamlets Local History Library).

Fig. 27  British Street estate shortly before redevelopment (source unknown).



Fig. 28  British Street after redevelopment 11<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2011 (photo by author).

## Background and Planning Rationale

This case study provides an example of how Mixed Use has been used as an instrument for advancing significant socio-spatial change by being grafted on to a complex network of other urban strategies and provides further insights on the key discourses introduced in Chapters 1 and 2. The most visible outcome of the redevelopment of the British Street estate and the feature that has been used to justify the description 'Mixed Use' is the location, on a high-profile site, of a convenience store with private flats above. This symbol of contemporary UK urbanism, part of the inexorable rise of the Tesco chain (Simms 2007) provides, in Benjamin's terms, 'camouflage' for the renovation and remodelling of a modernist-era council estate, but links to a number of other policies strongly associated with the Third Way. The catalyst for the British Street redevelopment was the transfer of the estate from the ownership of the local authority to an RSL as part of the New Labour government's 'stock transfer' programme which sought to reduce the number of council homes by 200,000 a year and to use this asset exchange as one of several mechanisms for attracting private investment to ensure that all social housing (council and RSL owned) would meet certain minimum standards (DETR 2000a, Pawson and Mullins 2010). Stock transfer was related, in turn, to a series of other policies that were congruent with the restructuring of public services and the State envisaged by the Third Way (Malpass 2005) and embraced a number of concepts that were key components not only of housing policy, but of a wider physical and ideological reimaging of the metropolis.

Since their origins in late-Victorian/Edwardian municipalism, council estates (Hanley 2007) have been a prominent and distinctive feature of UK cities and were home to 22% of the population of England until the early 1990s (Whitehead et al 2012), with particularly high densities in inner city areas such as Tower Hamlets where 63% of the housing stock was in council ownership (LBTH 1998). However, over the past three decades, a period marked by the advent of the Right to Buy in 1981, council housing has become increasingly problematised, associated with a layer of 'residualised' low income households trapped in areas lacking economic and social opportunity (Lee and Murie 1999), exacerbated by poor architectural design (Coleman 1985) and thus creating environments that were defined in dystopian terms (Mooney 2008) and likely to foster behaviour labelled as 'anti-social' (Burney 2009). In order to address these perceived problems New Labour presented a policy rationale in which the redevelopment of council estates facilitated the breaking up of a

damaging monoculture and its replacement with more socially and economically diverse neighbourhoods through the active promotion of private home ownership (Rees 2009). Such 'tenure diversification' was seen as crucial for achieving New Labour's wider objective of creating sustainable 'mixed communities' (ODPM 2003b, ODPM 2005a, Raco 2007, Cheshire 2009, DCLG 2010a). This policy narrative is clearly expressed in the Planning Statement for the British Street project:

> '...dominated by public rented housing, making up 78% of all accommodation. The proposed private for sale accommodation will alter the tenure mix to create an estate with 59% rented and 41% leaseholders...The tenure composition will be more diverse and as a result will create a more sustainable residential area.'(Leaside Regeneration 2006a page 10, para. 4.9)

The British Street estate was built by Tower Hamlets Council using 'non-traditional' construction techniques of the type often associated with council housing of the period (CML/BRE 2002). The new estate replaced two streets of terraced homes and was opened in 1974, but by 1976 it was described by the local newspaper as 'notorious' because of the technical and structural faults that afflicted it almost immediately after completion, a comparison, albeit on a minor scale, with the troubled Pruitt-Igoe public housing project, the demolition of which Jencks (1977) identifies as the death of Modernity. The hot water and central heating systems at British Street failed, leading to cold and damp for existing tenants and the non-occupation of one recently completed block (East London Advertiser 9.1.76). Three years later, problems with damp remained and the 'Dream Estate' was dubbed 'The White Elephant' (East London Advertiser 13.7.79). An architectural assessment of the original estate describes it as,

> '...memorable for the drabness of its repetitive system-built blocks... (and) the grim four-storey maisonettes of grey-ribbed squares of concrete, arranged in a semi-pedestrian layout with vehicle cul-de-sacs.' (Pevsner et al 2005, p618)

Reimaging the estate's identity, layout, aesthetic and public realm became a key focus of the redevelopment project and was promoted as an opportunity to 'repair' its 1970s design (Leaside Regeneration 2006b, p23). British Street was described by the regeneration agency as suffering from 'a series of design problems', some of which relate strongly to the

Modernist/Post-Modern discourse, including a generally 'harsh and uninviting' environment due to uniformity of design, 'poorly defined' buildings, lack of natural surveillance and 'defensible' space and inadequate integration and connectivity with the surrounding area. However, the estate was also described as having excessive permeability because it allowed access from a variety of different points and thus, it was argued, encouraged anti-social behaviour by allowing people to 'filter through the area causing problems of safety and security for residents' (Leaside Regeneration 2006a), although little evidence is provided for this apparently contradictory conclusion. Three specific physical changes resulted from these prescriptions: first, the landscaping and linking of existing public spaces to create a 'linear park' through the estate, second, the enclosure of the low rise residential blocks by fences augmented with controlled entry systems and third, the demolition of six 'tucked away' shops and their relocation to a new retail and residential building on the main road that would enhance the estate's definition and 'presence'. This building, which became Tesco Express, received the following architectural endorsement when it was nominated in 2008 for an award as 'Best City Development':

> 'On a very narrow, difficult site in Bow, Telford Homes, in partnership with EastEndHomes, have succeeded in pulling off a development that is both stylish and integral to the social and economic regeneration of a relatively deprived neighbourhood. The northern facade against the busy Bow Road has a strikingly tough, odeonesque imagery that will become a landmark. All the apartments have sunny southerly aspects with big balconies overlooking quiet side streets. With a local supermarket in the entire ground storey, it's a scheme that works at every level.' (Architect Ben Derbyshire's award citation)

Notwithstanding the eventual ubiquity and arguably sterile character of the retail element of the British Street project, the specific conceptual benefits of Mixed Use were given a prominent place in the planning process for the redevelopment. The committee report to councillors explicitly refers to the scheme as 'Mixed Use' including residential, retail and community uses and confirms that this is in compliance with the borough's Unitary Development Plan which states that Mixed Use 'will be generally encouraged' because it helps to maintain 'local character, vitality and diversity', contributes to activity in public spaces, increases the 'perception of security', generates 'varied' employment and promotes energy efficiency (LBTH 1998, 2007).

Another essential aim of the British Street redevelopment was to increase residential densities (LBTH 2007 pp 63 – 64). High density development is seen as a 'key precondition for the compact city' (Fulford 1996), is enshrined in the range of 'sustainable' planning policies introduced by TWUP that accompany Mixed Use (UTF 1999, DCLG 2005a, 2005b, Ratcliffe et al 2009) and is identified by decision-makers as promoting more efficient use of land, increased profitability and encouraging viability and use of public transport (Boyko and Cooper 2011). The Planning Statement for British Street formulates this policy as follows:

> 'Overall, the increased neighbourhood density helps to reinforce a successful community with a wider diversity of residential tenures and access to an improved range of local services and facilities.' (Leaside Regeneration 2006a, p10, para. 4.10)

Achieving the envisaged transformational change of British Street was, it was argued, dependent on the transfer of the estate out of local authority ownership. In the mid -1990s, in common with all local authorities, Tower Hamlets council was required by government to consider options for attracting investment to its housing stock, based on an assumption that there would be insufficient public money to redress decades of under-investment, an objective that was given added impetus by the introduction of the Decent Homes Standard (Ginsburg 2005). As part of the Council's 'Housing Choice' strategy, British Street tenants, along with three neighbouring estates[16] were balloted on the transfer of their homes to EastEndHomes (EEH), a newly formed RSL able to attract £40 million of investment over six years for the four estates (EEH press release 11.04.05), but with £17 million of this figure to be raised by the development of thirty-five 'opportunity sites' within the existing estates for new, predominantly private housing, something that EEH argued was 'necessary' in order to provide a 'cross subsidy' to pay for extra improvements (LBTH 2007 para.4.3, pp 53 – 54).

According to the 'Proposal to Tenants' the transfer and redevelopment of British Street would:

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[16] Eric/Treby, Brokesley and Bede.

1. Ensure all tenants' homes benefit from repairs and improvements to bring them up to a decent, modern standard.

2. Improve safety and security on the estates.

3. Create an attractive environment for all to be proud of.

4. Provide a new local housing management service with a local caretaking and cleaning team.

5. Develop an effective and efficient local repairs service with locally based handypersons for each estate.

6. Set up a resident-led management committee who will say what services they want and to what standard.

7. Improve community facilities.

(EEH/Tower Hamlets Council 2004)

In addition to new bathrooms and kitchens, a significant proportion of the proposed work to residents' homes centred on structural repairs to the low rise blocks where latent faults required improved cladding, thermal insulation and double glazing. EHH also offered improvements that went beyond the minimum standards, labelled as 'Decent Homes Plus'. These additional enhancements included new door entry systems, traffic calming, the introduction of a Home Zone and creation of communal gardens and courtyards. The 'offer document' concludes that stock-transfer represents 'a unique opportunity to bring about this vision' and warns tenants that were they to vote to stay with the Council, not only would the improvements be financially impossible, but there would also be a significant reduction in the level of service (EEH/THC 2004, p44). Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the couching of the choice in this fashion, the ballot in May 2004 resulted in a 'yes' vote, with the legal transfer of the four estates to EEH taking place a year later.

The British Street case study has to be set in the context of the wider spatial dynamics of east London and the capital as a whole where economic restructuring and the advent of the 'global city' have wrought significant socio-economic change (Butler and Rustin 1996, Butler and Robson 2003, Imrie et al 2009). In Tower Hamlets these transformative forces were unleashed by the closure of the London docks and their subsequent redevelopment (Brownill 1990, Foster 1999, Butler 2007). Writing in 1964 Ruth Glass described the East End as 'exempt' from gentrification (Less et al 2010, p7), but forty years later Hamnett observes:

'The old East End is gradually being turned into expensive residential districts for city workers and the traditional working class is in retreat.' (Hamnett 2003, p2)

These changes have been given an additional impetus by the 2012 Olympics. The Olympic Park is barely a mile from British Street and this has attracted interest from the speculative housing investment market, exemplified by the following advertising for one of the new private apartment blocks at British Street.

'Buy-to-let investors are racing to invest in east London ahead of 2012. The Olympics are going to result in substantial investment in infrastructure, such as transport, in east London. That is going to make the area more accessible, popular and fashionable with renters and homeowners, pushing up prices.' (Halfapercent.com)

The changes wrought to Tower Hamlets by gentrification and private sector property development (Koutrolikou 2012) are illustrated in microcosm at British Street.

**Development History**

The debate and controversy around the transfer of council housing, which some critics regard as privatisation, has gone relatively unnoticed by political and academic discourse, despite being a potent issue at local level and representing a major removal of assets from public ownership and control (Ginsburg 2005, Robbins 2005, Glynn 2009, Watt 2009). The decline of council housing has been associated with the erosion of the post-war consensus in favour of a robust welfare state, the breakdown of the 'hegemony of central planning' and physical decline and obsolescence (Van Kempen et al 2005) and for Glynn:

'Council housing has suffered from three connected problems. It was often poorly designed (with an over-reliance on inadequately tested systems building) and built to a cut-price budget, it was generally poorly managed by a distant and unwieldy bureaucracy and it was increasingly regarded as intrinsically less desirable.' (Glynn 2009, p27)

As Jones argues, the policy-led diminution of council housing has been accompanied by a

wider ideological stigmatisation of the working class such that,

> '...prejudices about poverty and unemployment converge in the image of the council estate.' (Jones 2011, p206)

Post-war council housing, in particular, has been directly linked by advocates of the Urban Renaissance with outmoded planning policies that have left damaging physical and social legacies. It is interesting to note here that the criticism of council housing expressed below is almost a mirror image of wider criticism of mono-functional land use separation and has distinctly Jacobsian echoes:

> 'On too many estates, the forcibly-imposed physical structure is designed to sort people and their individual behaviour into a uniform pattern. It paid no heed to informal human relations or to people's capacity to organise and to solve problems for themselves. (Rogers and Power 2000, p80)

Such views have contributed to more widespread and popularised criticisms of modernism for which council housing has been the focus and have helped build a theoretical and rhetorical case for a succession of government policies aimed at reducing – and ultimately eliminating - the UK council housing stock (King 1998, Ginsburg 2005). New Labour's housing policy for the 21st century did not make this intention explicit, but its stated aims of identifying alternative sources of finance for social housing while promoting greater housing choice and new models of community participation, as part of its wider agenda of modernising local government, was predicated on the transfer of thousands of council homes a year to RSLs (DETR 2000, p59, para. 7.11). However, the ascendancy of RSLs as the government-favoured provider of affordable rented housing pre-dates New Labour and can be traced to the 1988 Housing Act when housing finance was restructured to favour a greater role for the private sector (Malpass 2000).

Within this broader policy context, in Tower Hamlets, the council's 'Housing Choice' programme provoked a sustained and at times heated debate between forces in favour of stock-transfer (including the local authority, some residents and RSLs such as EastEndHomes) and campaigns led by local residents who wanted to preserve their status as council tenants, supported by the national Defend Council Housing campaign. These

arguments effectively become part of the development process in the context of British Street because without a vote by residents in favour of transfer, the redevelopment programme would not go ahead.

The essence of the dispute between pro and anti-stock transfer forces was a fundamental disagreement about the future of council housing. Tower Hamlets Council had reached the conclusion that it was unable to adequately invest in its housing stock (LBTH 2003 p3) and moreover, that its inability to make physical improvements would inhibit the development of 'sustainable communities' (LBTH 2003 p4). An external consultant (the accountants PricewaterhouseCoopers) advised that to meet both physical and social policy goals, the only option was for the Council to dispose of its housing (LBTH 2003 p14). An additional argument made by the pro-transfer lobby was that a new landlord would enable tenants to have 'a real say' in the management of their homes, a nod to the kind of active citizenship that is a key TWUP objective (Etzioni 1993). By contrast, the Tower Hamlets Against the Transfer of Council Housing (THATCH) campaign argued that the long-term value of council housing exceeded the short-term expediency of using council housing as collateral to raise private finance. THATCH maintained that stock transfer represented a 'one way ticket' for council tenants who would trade important housing rights in return for improvements that should be paid for by direct public investment. THATCH also warned that new private apartments built on council estates would damage the local environment by reducing open space, while enabling private developers to make profits at the community's expense.

The British Street transfer ballot produced a campaign that featured claims and counter-claims of misinformation, malpractice, 'dirty tricks' and intimidation (The Guardian 08.10.04). This culminated in THATCH making an official complaint to the Secretary of State (08.06.04) and the Electoral Reform Society (09.03.06), while the local authority attempted to 'put the record straight' by denying that the intention of the British Street redevelopment was to 'build luxury flats all over the estate' (18.05.04) and constructing a narrative of local entitlement and legitimacy by accusing anti-transfer campaigners of being politically motivated 'outsiders'.

The eventual ballot result (announced 03.06.04) produced a majority in favour of transfer, with 56% 'yes' votes and 44% 'no', with a turnout of 59% of eligible tenants. Armed with this mandate, EEH proceeded with the redevelopment programme that promised 'a better

future for everyone'.

A crucial and ultimately defining feature of the redevelopment programme (and one that did not feature to any significant extent in the transfer ballot) was the decision to demolish and relocate six shops on Merchant Street that were associated by the developers with anti-social behaviour. The planning documentation uses the Jacobsian lexicon of improved 'natural surveillance' to justify this measure as a rearrangement, rather than a change of uses, such that the estate would retain its local shops, with flats above, but these would be moved to a more prominent location that would encourage greater pedestrian footfall, animation and therefore commercial success. The stated intention in the supporting statement for the planning application was that the new shops would be 'occupied by the existing shopkeepers' (Leaside Regeneration 2006b, p7, para 3.4 - 3.5).

How six, independently owned local shops were replaced by a single Tesco Express is explained differently by different participants in the British Street development process (see interviews below). However, in planning terms it was achieved by a single exchange of letters between the developer and the LPA. On 15th July 2008 Leaside Regeneration Ltd, on behalf of EastEndHomes, wrote to Tower Hamlets Council requesting a 'minor amendment' to the extant planning permission to provide a single retail unit in place of the anticipated six. This was agreed by the LPA on 6th August 2008 (GL Hearn 2008). No mention is made of the potential of Tesco being the occupant of the new retail space and while this may not be a material planning consideration, it has been argued by some local residents that the loss of local shops significantly changed the quality of the estate. This reflects a wider anxiety about the homogenisation of the high street in general and the increasing dominance of Tesco stores in particular (Simms 2007). The New Economics Foundation has researched and campaigned against the increasing 'cloning' of UK high streets, with large supermarket groups increasingly dominating the retail market at the expense of the diversity and identity offered by local shops (NEF 2010). Concern about the profusion of Tesco stores in Tower Hamlets has been raised with the local authority. At a licensing meeting in 2009, it was stated that there were nine Tesco stores in the borough (LBTH Licensing Sub-Committee 26.3.09), when the issue was raised at a Council meeting in 2011 there were seventeen (LBTH Council Meeting 02.02.11.); as of August 2012, according to the company's website, there were twenty. In addition to this network of local stores, the company is planning a Mixed Use 'Tesco Town' close to the 2012 Olympic Park, prompting some to ask if such

places are the future of urban development (The Guardian 05.05.10).

Another key and contested feature of the British Street redevelopment was the re-designation and re-design of the estate's public realm. The original estate featured a significant amount of open space (sixteen areas totalling 2,388 square metres) comprising grass verges, small grassed patches between housing blocks and larger, open play areas. The green space included the land facing Bow Road that became the site of the Tesco Express (620sqm), one area of 733sqm and three other open spaces of more than 100sqm. These areas were described as follows in the planning application literature:

> 'Currently the landscape of the British Street estates is limited to small patches of grass edged with hairpin railing and concrete flagged footpaths...hard and featureless.' (Leaside Regeneration 2006b, p18, para. 7.1)

The redevelopment plan proposed a 'transformation of the estate's landscaping' (Leaside Regeneration 2006a, p5), with a much greater number of smaller open spaces (thirty-seven totalling 2,610sqm), the largest of which is 336sqm. Six of the former open spaces, including the Tesco Express, became the sites of new apartment blocks, although at one point in the planning process the Tesco site was scheduled to be landscaped as a community garden (BPTW Partnership 2003). The final planning statement describes the creation of a 'linear park' through the estate to encourage uses that, it was argued, would improve the animation, sociability and safety of the estate, particularly for young people:

> 'There is no provision for children's play on the estate. The introduction of play opportunities is essential for the development of a successful place to live. Play and recreation provides an invitation for the local community to use outdoor space, to meet other residents and helps to generate the positive activities within the estate that will increase surveillance, improve security and reduce crime.' (Leaside Regeneration 2006a, p18, para. 7.3)

The delivery of these improvements proved problematic. The quality of the new play areas were criticised by one local residents group and soon after completion, one had to be closed for health and safety reasons (Mile End Residents Association 2010). These problems have been partially rectified, but two years after the redevelopment, some of the play areas remain

incomplete.

Alongside physical redevelopment and in common with other case studies for this research, the British Street redevelopment has also entailed an element of re-naming and re-branding. The developers marketing material refers to the 'Merchant's Quarter', a reference to Merchant Street which runs through the estate, but perhaps also conveying different meanings of trade and commerce, combined with the common nomenclature of 'the quarter' which is associated with many other examples of contemporary urban place making (Bell and Jayne 2004). It is an interesting choice of word, suggesting sub-division and separation, but chiming with the localism that is a key component of Mixed Use policy. A narrative of urban renewal has been constructed around this new identity that relates to the wider changes in the area and in particular, how these affect property values:

> 'East London was on a roll even before Stratford was chosen as the venue for the 2012 Olympics. Values have jumped since the announcement in 2005 and most insiders expect further price rises...Merchants' Quarter is a development of the former British Estate just off Bow Road. Telford Homes is building six new apartment buildings comprising 161 flats for sale on the open market, while EastEndHomes, a not-for-profit 'social landlord' is remodelling two tower blocks that will be re-let to tenants. New commercial space for existing shopkeepers and businesses, plus landscaped zones and a community centre are also being built as part of the regeneration project. All homes have been sold, but re-sales are likely to appear...as most were bought by investors.

> ('Evening Standard' 06.11.07)

This re-imaging enlists a series of cues to suggest the creation of a 'new' place, notably the reference to the 'former' estate, but also the conjuring of Mixed Use to suggest a homely, community-oriented neighbourhood of local shopkeepers, although this is somewhat compromised by the suggestion of an influx of institutional, Buy to Let investors.

Koutrolikou (2012) interrogates the contested issues around governmental attempts to promote 'inter-group relations' and how such policies are translated into 'everyday realities' that engage a range of spatial dimensions, notably housing development and public space

strategies from which 'greater ethnocultural mix' are assumed to result. However, as Koutrolikou concludes, the success of policy-led social integration has been questioned and these issues and their relationship to Mixed Use arise form the following interviews and observations.

## Summary of British Street Interviews

A senior planner (PLA11) confirmed that LBTH treats Mixed Use as 'central to our understanding' and a 'core component' of policy and linked this to the perception of Tower Hamlets becoming 'more central' in its spatial relationship to the rest of London, linked to the development of Docklands as a rival commercial district to the City of London and the impact of 'mega events', particularly the 2012 Olympics. However, the local authority was also anxious to avoid the draining away of commercial and civic activity from local areas and used Mixed Use as a strategy to 'reinforce' them, exemplified by the British Street redevelopment. Nonetheless, PLA11 acknowledged that the application of Mixed Use policy sometimes 'got lost in translation' and that 'outcomes can vary from the intentions of written policy'.

The suggestion of a gap between policy expectations and results is particularly pertinent to the treatment of local shops at British Street. The issues were discussed with INT23, a senior officer for EastEndHomes, who only reluctantly accepted the label 'developer' and repeatedly emphasised the 'social' outlook of the organisation. INT23 stated that the main purpose of the British Street project was to 'improve the fabric of the existing blocks', but this objective was strongly linked to using Mixed Use to achieve wider policy objectives. In particular, the former shops on Merchant Street were perceived as 'a problem':

> '...there were some very run down shops in the middle of the estate that weren't very viable in terms of passing trade. At least one of them was no longer a shop, but running Arabic classes and we thought that was the running pattern, so we thought we had to do something...As our negotiations (with existing shop keepers) became increasingly fraught, it became clear to us that we weren't necessarily going to be able to maintain that small shop arrangement....in the end, we thought it was going to be better for the estate as a whole to have a Tesco there that didn't sell out of date milk and the odd bottle of twenty year old Blue Nun, so those old shopkeepers moved

away.'

This interpretation contrasted sharply with that of local residents. One (INT34) describes Tesco as having 'killed the community', while another associates the new convenience store with a number of other discontents.

'All they've done is given all the property and all the spare land to developers...The old shops shut down...A lot of the elderly people used to go there and the kids used to go for sweets...I never go to the Tesco. I drive to one of the big ones...We've got supermarkets everywhere: why do you need them all? What was originally planned (for the Tesco site) was gardens with a few chairs in it...I don't know anyone who lives there (the new apartment blocks). You don't hardly see anyone there.' (INT13)

A local councillor (INT33) argues that EEH never had any genuine intention to relocate the six shops and suggests that the original shopkeepers were 'priced out', presenting an interesting contrast between the current Tesco store and the former local shops and how each contributes to the social dynamic of the area:

"...where people used to go to the shops and say 'Can you give this message to so and so when he passes', those things have gone...instead of local people knowing 'John' from the shops, today it's 'Salim' working at Tesco, but tomorrow it will be 'Ben' and then the third day it will be 'Simon'. Their workforce is constantly changing..." (INT33)

The identity of local shops creates a bridge to other contested understandings of the British Street project and its embodiment of the inter-related (and sometimes conflated) policies of Mixed Use and Mixed Communities. The developer (INT23) states that EastEndHomes would have 'thought we'd arrived' if a Starbucks had been attracted to the area because this would signify a significant shift in the social demographic of the area that was an explicit objective of the redevelopment.

'The people moving into the new development mean it's more mixed, so you are getting people with money, people who work...We have been in danger of creating ghettos of poverty and lifestyle and to start to mix it up is a valuable thing.' (INT23)

INT23 added that a broad range of people use the Tesco and emphasised the availability of the free cash point as a mechanism for financial inclusion. By contrast, a resident (INT34) describes the new estate as 'an environment for the few' within which Tesco has contributed to a loss of diversity and choice. This sense of nostalgia for something lost was shared by another resident (INT38) who had lived on the estate for over 40 years and recalled it as 'idyllic', with a strong sense of community identity that had been eroded by the arrival of a more transient population:

> 'A lot of the new homes have been bought by investors... they rent it out and some of the tenants are terrible. They make noise, have parties, throw rubbish – and they're all youngsters.' (INT38)

INT34 placed changes in the British Street population in a broader context:

> 'You've got people moving in who've got money to spend...It's not creating communities, it's creating consumerism, animosity and friction... a lot of people have moved out. I can afford to move out, but only if I go to Dagenham...people who've lived in the area most of their lives have moved out and been replaced by people who can afford the going rate.'

Despite suggestions of socio-spatial separation, the planner (PLA11) maintained that Mixed Use policy could be used as a mechanism for generating 'a public realm that is truly public', an objective which the developer (INT23) related to a wider effort to 'weave estates back into the fabric of the city', but a resident (INT41) refers to EastEndHomes 'back tracking' on promises of environmental improvements.

Asked to evaluate the success of the British Street redevelopment, the local councillor (INT33) replies 'the question of success depends on who you are', arguing that physical improvements have been superficial and at the price of over-development and suggests a covert policy driver for 'mixed communities' is to attract a more affluent population that is less reliant on local public services.

## Summary of Observations

By comparison with other case studies and the aspirations set for it in planning and design terms, the British Street public realm appears not to be generating the volume, consistency or type of pedestrian animation that might be expected of an area with its characteristics. The Tesco Express attracts a significant level of footfall and has been described as a 'landmark', but it can also be seen as screening out the British Street estate, creating a dramatic contrast between the level of activity on Bow Road and the somewhat sterile environment behind it. This contrast between 'front' and 'back' is further emphasised by three particular features of the public realm – the virtual absence of public benches, the under-provision of children's playgrounds and the prominence of security fencing around residential blocks.

There is not a single clearly identifiable public bench anywhere within the redesigned estate. There are two rocks and a tree trunk that could be used as seating and are perhaps designed for this purpose, although they would not be suitable for many older people or those with physical difficulties. However, it seems peculiar that public seating has not been included as a contribution towards the intention to create spaces that would be 'overlooked, safe and inclusive' (Leaside Regeneration Ltd 2006b p4). A similar disincentive to use public space applies in relation to children's play areas. There is only one functioning item of play equipment on the estate and 'No Ball Games' signs are liberally distributed. It is therefore not surprising that so few children were recorded in the public realm.

A significant element of the justification for the redesign of British Street was to improve safety and security. The most noticeable resulting feature is the enclosure of each of the eight low-rise blocks by fences up to two metres high, with access via entry-phone. This creates a striking visual impression, but also produces a spatial redefinition, as part of the strategy of creating 'defensible space' (Newman 1996). During the study period, both children and adults were observed outside their homes, but within the fence surrounding their block, in an area that might otherwise have been interpreted as the public realm, but in the British Street context has the character of a tertiary, 'in between', 'safe' space. This sense of a residential compound may further contribute to the recorded lack of pedestrian animation and social interaction.

The success of the British Street public realm is further complicated by its relationship to cars. Merchant Street is the main vehicle access point to the estate and some particular traffic

flows were evident during the observation period. It was apparent that people drive onto the estate to use the Tesco Express and use British Street and Merchant Street for access to residents' estate parking, to the extent that there were periods when the recorded number of vehicle movements exceeded the number of pedestrians. There also appears to be some confusion or conflict about the nature of 'shared space' where such areas are not clearly defined or sign-posted. Similarly, there is no indication that the stated intention of making British Street a 'Home Zone' has been met. Given the proximity of the extremely busy Bow Road, the overwhelming character of British Street remains one of an area surrounded by vehicle traffic.

## Conclusions

This case study reveals the plasticity of the Mixed Use concept and its capacity to be moulded, in policy terms, to fit a wide variety of urban conditions. The location of a new Tesco Express as part of the redevelopment of a council estate might appear incongruous, but illustrates, in both spatial and metaphorical terms, the mobilisation of Mixed Use to resolve urban complexity. As Benjamin suggests in relation to the Arcades, the significance of a given urban form, however commonplace, needs to be related to its wider social context. The Tesco store at 'Merchant's Quarter' can be seen as part of the rise of the global grocery chains (Seth and Randall 2011), but also as symbolising the reimaging of a particular neighbourhood in the context of wider socio-spatial change where Mixed Use is operationalised both to justify planning decisions and to underscore a shift and dilution of local identity (Allmendinger 2011).

The lament of some British Street residents for the local shops displaced by the Tesco convenience store reinforces the sense of increasing tenure-defined social division resulting from the introduction of a significant number of private apartments in an area previously characterised by council housing, but where there is little evidence of the mixing of newly arrived and longer established members of the community, as anticipated by policy (Cheshire 2009) and expressed by Hamnett as follows:

> '...inner London has simultaneously become less socially segregated at the macro scale and arguably more segregated at the micro scale.' (Hamnett 2003, p13)

The existence of parallel lives being lived by British Street residents in different types of housing expresses some of the tensions between outmoded modernist urbanism and the new

visions associated with post-modernity. The 'breaking up' of a place previously characterised as monolithic in social and architectural terms, to be replaced with one allegedly more in tune with the heterogeneity of the 21$^{st}$ century metropolis and thus 'repairing the 1970s' has not necessarily resulted in the type of integrated, sustainable, animated community envisaged by the wider theoretical justification for Mixed Use policy.

# Case Study 3

## Charter Quay – 800 years of urban planning

**Project Summary** (Full details p362)

| Mixed Use Type | Urban Infill |
| --- | --- |
| **Project Description** | Medium-sized (1.7 hectare) town centre, residential-led waterfront scheme linked to provision of new theatre and addressing heritage and environmental themes. |

Fig. 29  Charter Quay before redevelopment, date unknown (photo Kingston Local History Library).

Fig. 30 Charter Quay after redevelopment (photo St. George PLC).

## Background and Planning Rationale

Charter Quay presents a further example of Mixed Use being applied in a framework of inter-weaving policy concerns. In contrast with other case studies, Charter Quay's socio-spatial context appears unambiguously suburban, but this does not negate some of the complexities that are a recurring theme of this thesis and the tensions between different perspectives on and access to urban space. The key policy driver for the LPA in supporting the project was to bolster its strategy for improving Kingston's historic town centre and to this end, using Mixed Use as a mechanism for increasing residential use and developing the area's commercial activity, but with the latter oriented to a specific life-style aesthetic charecterised by proximity to water and opportunities for al fresco eating and drinking. The local authority has also sought to promote development that enhances its reputation for environmentalism. These multiple objectives are highlighted in the introduction to the borough's core planning strategy:

> 'Kingston is a fantastic place. It has a national reputation as one of the best places to live and work. We have leading schools, a university, and a broad cultural offer. Our town centre is one of London's most visited shopping destinations, and we enjoy many green spaces and an open riverside location.'

> (Councillor Simon James, Executive Member for Sustainable Place, Introduction to Local Development Framework, RBK Core Strategy 2012)

An additional and fundamental planning rationale for the Charter Quay redevelopment was that it enabled the building of the Rose Theatre to become a cultural landmark reinforcing Kingston's image of a place with wider social significance, as suggested by the following:

> 'This week we went to see Ibsen's The Lady from the Sea, at the Rose Theatre in Kingston, Surrey. It's one of my favourite theatres, with its vast stage and friendly staff... [at a press night] you might see Peter Hall, Prunella Scales and Timothy West, Jerry Hall, Michael Frayn and Claire Tomalin, Baroness Jay, even Mr and Mrs Gyles Brandreth.'

> (Simon Hoggart, The Guardian Friday 02.03.12)

This cultural identity is reflected in the geographic history of the area and is specifically

mobilised in Council policy which stresses the borough's 'rich heritage' and the 'Kingston experience' as part of a narrative aimed at encouraging 'creative people and industries' and inward investment, with the Rose Theatre identified as a 'catalyst' for meeting these objectives (RBK 2008b). Kingston-upon-Thames lies 12 miles south-west of central London and is the largest town in the Royal Borough of Kingston (RBK) with a population of approximately 160,000 (Audit Commission 2010). For over 500 years the market town of Kingston maintained an independent identity until becoming a metropolitan borough in 1835 and being steadily absorbed into suburban Greater London, becoming a London borough in the mid -1960s. Kingston is also a sub-regional centre, particularly for shopping, attracting 18 million visitors a year from across south-west London and north-east Surrey (RBK 2007a). The area that is now Kingston has been part of the royal estate and an administrative centre since Saxon times and significant settlement dates to the 12th century when key elements of its urban morphology were built – a church, the Market Place and Clattern Bridge (which still stands at the south-eastern corner of the Charter Quay site). The building of nearby Hampton Court palace in the 16th century led to a period of rapid growth and established Kingston as a location of regional significance, which it has maintained (Andrews et al 2003). Recalling the planned/organic discourse, it has been suggested that the development of Kingston's medieval infrastructure, may not have been accidental or 'organic', but part of a planned 'growth strategy':

> '...these features were deliberately contrived elements of urban planning, added as an investment...in order to stimulate economic growth and thereby maximise potential revenue for the Crown.' (Hawkins 2003)

Seven hundred years later, Charter Quay was a catalyst for the redevelopment of a high-profile, high-value riverside site that was part of a spatial strategy that aimed, once again, at regenerating and reinvigorating the historic town centre. Responding to concerns about loss of daytime visitors and increased pressure for mono-use, private, 'luxury' riverside apartments, in 2001 RBK launched an Action Plan that sought to combine a diversified range of uses in the town centre, including more housing, with an improved 'retail offer' (RBK 2007a, 2007b). These policies became part of the borough's development plan and were incorporated in the Local Development Framework (RBK July 2008a).

Refocusing the role of Kingston town centre has been associated with 'two waves' of

development (RBK 2007a). Between the late 1980s and early 1990s, the town was undergoing a form of spatial and economic restructuring common to many other areas of the UK, but perhaps not readily associated with a place like Kingston. Despite its leafy, affluent reputation, Kingston has had a significant industrial base, particularly the production of military aircraft from the 1920s until 1992 and the closure of the British Aerospace factory about a mile north-east of Charter Quay. The town also had significant, but declining river-based industry, including timber yards and boat building (Andrews et al 2003). These losses to the local economy were somewhat compensated by the growth of Kingston University, which now has 21,000 students and has played a sometimes controversial part in the development of the town's night-time economy. In urban planning terms, this period saw demolition to make way for the Kingston relief road and subsequent redevelopment of the town centre, including pedestrianisation and the opening of a John Lewis store and the Bentall shopping centre. The second wave, from 2000 to 2005, included the completion of Charter Quay and a number of other Mixed Use developments that provided 1,000 new homes in the town centre, as well as the Rotunda centre that features restaurants, a cinema and ten-pin bowling (RBK 2007a). Another notable part of the town centre action plan was the formation in 2004 of 'Kingstonfirst', the UK's first Business Improvement District (Newman and Thornley 2005, Cook 2008).

## Development History

The development history of Charter Quay features a series of stalled and revised projects that failed to materialise, largely due to the volatility of the property market and changes in policy orientation. Between 1988 and 1997 there were five separate planning applications that did not come to fruition, before St George PLC obtained consent for the eventual project in October 1998. In August 1990 a scheme with some visual similarities to the final development and described in a local newspaper as 'an imaginative mixed use scheme' and 'a hit with everyone' (Surrey Comet 12.04.90) was abandoned because it was no longer financially viable. This earlier project included the proposal for a theatre that became intrinsic to Charter Quay's subsequent development and also featured a 'festival' arena of the kind that was in vogue at that period (Goss 1996). Fluctuating market conditions led to significant changes in the project design, including a reduction of residential units from 53 to 18 (compared to the eventual 244), to be replaced by more significant commercial uses to create a 'trophy office development' (Surrey Comet 17.08.90). Seven years later, following a

change of land ownership, the St George proposal was granted consent. It met with 'disappointment' from a local conservation group who complained that the proposal did not fit with 'our diverse and eccentric town' (Surrey Comet 25.04.97), but was welcomed by the local MP who said,

'...the market and this whole area will be improved and Kingston will get its theatre.'
(Edward Davey MP, Surrey Comet, 02.10.98)

The building of the Rose Theatre, to the south-east of the site, was a crucial element in the Charter Quay project. Under the terms of the planning consent, the developer was required to build a 'shell' of a theatre, which additional funding would be obtained to complete. The planning documentation confirms that this was a pivotal negotiation point in the development process (RBK 1998a, pp 16 – 19). The proposal to build the theatre is hedged by a number of caveats and conditions which indicate that this particular feature of the Mixed Use character of the site raised difficult issues for the LPA in protecting its position in the context of a public-private partnership with a developer who was essentially a volume house-builder, with no experience of building an entertainment venue (RBK 1998a, p14, para. 25). Nonetheless, the theatre shell was completed in 2002, at a cost of £2.3 million, but this left outstanding the £3.5 million required for the 'fit out' (Surrey Comet 16.01.08). The use of public money to finish and open the theatre became a high-profile, long running local controversy, raising significant issues about the competing political and cultural expectations of urban improvement projects. As an illustration of this tension, one particularly note-worthy consequence of building the theatre was that there is no 'affordable' housing at Charter Quay. In fact, it is clear from the planning documentation that the theatre was built as an alternative to affordable homes. This issue is addressed, in brief and in passing, in the planning reports with the comment that the site was not designated for affordable housing in the extant Unitary Development Plan (RBK 1998a, p47, para. 20). The Charter Quay project preceded the widespread linkage of planning permission for private property developments to the provision of affordable housing via 'section 106' agreements. However, by 2007 RBK was reflecting that of 1,100 new homes built in the centre of Kingston between 1985 and 2005 only 157 were 'affordable' (RBK 2007b) and meeting housing need in Kingston was identified as an issue of concern by an external inspection of public services (Audit Commission 2010). As an indication of the scale of this problem, at the time of writing (November 2012), a two bedroom apartment in Charter Quay costs in the region of £400,000

- £500,000 and the rent for a four bedroom house is £5,850 per month. As well as the non-provision of affordable homes, Charter Quay also led to the removal of thirty-nine houseboats from moorings adjacent to the site (RBK 1998a, p68).

The relationship between housing policy and the Charter Quay development was referred to by some of the dissenting voices against public investment in the Rose Theatre:

> 'There is no justification for spending such a vast sum of money on a capital project while there is such a worrying lack of affordable housing in the borough and while our council estates are in a poor state of repair...the Rose is not a priority.'
> (Councillor Steve Mama, Leader of Labour Group RBK, letter to Kingston Guardian, 17.08.06)

It is important to note that Councillor Mama represented the Norbiton ward to the east of Kingston town centre, an area with 'pockets of deprivation' focussed on the Cambridge Estate, the largest council estate in the town (RBK 2012, p7, para. 2.12), but his concerns were echoed by another letter to the local media, from an anonymous correspondent:

> '...the main reason a theatre was planned as part of the Charter Quay development was to avoid any social housing on the site.' (Surrey Comet 28.06.06)

However, those questioning the rationale for Charter Quay were largely drowned out by a lobby supporting the Rose Theatre. A wide range of celebrities, led by the theatre and film director and founder of the Royal Shakespeare Company Sir Peter Hall, used the local and national media to promote the artistic, cultural and economic benefits of 'The First Theatre of the 21st Century' and were supported by local councillors and RBK officers who described the theatre as:

> '...an important catalyst for changing the town centre at night and broadening the types of people visiting Kingston.' (Kingston Town Centre Manager, Surrey Comet 16.01.09)

Under headlines such as 'Theatre heralds a new cultural age for Kingston', councillors from the ruling Lib Dem party sought to justify the decision to spend a total of £12.8 million of

public money on the project. Councillor Derek Osborne, leader of the council referred to the theatre putting Kingston 'on the map' (Surrey Comet 16.01.08).

While the planning documentation is explicit that the relationship between Charter Quay and the theatre was symbiotic, after 2002 it appears that the two aspects of the development became detached, suggesting they were separate places, with no conceptual, spatial or planning policy relationship. Any sense of disagreement about the policy priorities embodied by Charter Quay has been replaced with a narrative of success, illustrated by the following award citation:

> 'This development has regenerated a brownfield site of exceptional importance. The site fronts on to the Thames, and backs on to Kingston town centre (and) fulfils many of the criteria of an excellent development…It provides high-density, mixed-use accommodation adjacent to an existing centre of activity. It has created new jobs, and provides accommodation for both those working locally and further away. New shops and several restaurants bring life right down to the edge of the river. The absence of traffic, clutch of decent venues, and public art has made the pedestrian square a high quality environment and turned Charter Quay into a new destination in Kingston.' (Building for Life 2004)

The following interviews and observations explore the extent to which these qualities are recognised by key participants and reflected in the use of the public space around Charter Quay.

**Summary of Interviews**

An interview with the lead planning officer (INT22) confirmed that the two main policy drivers for Charter Quay were reinvigorating Kingston town centre and the aspiration for a theatre. Mixed Use was an emerging policy theme at the time, but combined with favourable market conditions, the concept provided a planning rationale for achieving these aims. Describing the development process as 'a learning curve', INT22 acknowledges that the project did not yield the full range of potential community benefits, including affordable housing, because delivering the theatre was 'all consuming'. This view was echoed by a representative of the development company (INT24) who adds that Mixed Use was a vital

part of obtaining planning consent because it aligned the developer with the policy and political aspirations of the LPA. However, INT24 suggested that the theatre was peripheral to St George's vision for the site, which was more focussed on the commercial advantages of Mixed Use as part of an aesthetic of urban vibrancy and 'selling a lifestyle' in a place 'with a bit of life to it'.

The qualities of place promoted by the developer were not universally endorsed during a group discussion with half a dozen residents (GP6) that yielded fascinating insights into the relationship between people living in an 'exclusive' private development and the world 'outside', particularly in terms of how Mixed Use mediated and influenced that interface. None of the residents referred to Mixed Use as an explicit reason for moving to Charter Quay, indeed one of them referred to Mixed Use as 'a big downside', but all endorsed Charter Quay's reputation as 'the development that everyone wants to be in' because of its central location and 'Continental feel'. However, there was also unanimity about problems resulting from living in a Mixed Use area. These issues were attributed to a variety of different causes which conflated noise and an excess of bars with questions of social class, albeit that this was often expressed in coded language, reflected in the following quotes:

> '...you've got groups with different objectives and different styles... In a Mixed Use development you've got businesses that vary, some are more responsible than others... there reaches a point when the alcohol and the shouting rises and that's where the tension arises.'

> 'The sales literature suggested the commercial units would have boutiques selling Gucci handbags, without any idea of restaurants and certainly no fast food ones... they attract a profile which is very different. So if the planners had had any intelligence they would have realised they were bringing together various socio-economic groups that won't mix.'

The planner (INT22) recognised problems resulting from the composition of uses at Charter Quay being 'left to hope' and the consequent preponderance of restaurants and bars, but added that some residents unrealistically expected to live in an 'idyllic riverside location' instead of a busy town centre. While acknowledging some of the issues around compatibility of uses, the developer (NT24) regards Charter Quay as a successful place,

reflected in residential values, commercial occupancy rates and use of the public realm, allied to 'a high degree of management'. A local councillor (INT44) endorsed Charter Quay's positive contribution, particularly in terms of opening access to the river and creating a 'destination', but also noted attempts by the owners to 'impose their own rules' that may exceed the regulations of the local authority, for example signs seeking to restrict the consumption of alcohol (see fig. 33) when there are no alcohol enforcement areas in Kingston. Behaviour in the public realm was something that clearly concerned residents (GP6) who confirmed that they had resisted the provision of benches in the central plaza, a finding reinforced by the incident discussed in the commentary below, when a member of the estate management staff said that 'just sitting' was actively discouraged.

The residents group intimated that they were pleased that a theatre had been prioritised over affordable housing, but the local councillor (INT44) suggested that such a dispensation may not be repeated because of the danger of creating 'socially exclusive areas'.

## Summary of Observations

The data suggests that the design, layout and character of Charter Quay have successfully applied the Mixed Use concept to produce a public realm that generates a consistent level of pedestrian animation. Activity was maintained throughout the observation period, including Monday evening and outside normal working hours. The main explanations for this success appear to be twofold. First, the predominant type of non-residential use - cafes, bars and restaurants - attract significant numbers of customers by utilising their central and riverside location. Secondly, these benefits are reinforced by the proximity of the Thames riverside walk and the landscaping of the public realm to maximise the permeability and connectivity between the town centre, Charter Quay and the river.

A noticeable feature of the Charter Quay plaza is that it is a place where people like to spend a considerable period of time. The numbers sitting in the public realm generally exceeded the numbers moving through it, but almost all of these people were customers of one of the surrounding bars and restaurants. There is no clearly designated public seating in the plaza, despite adequate space being available for it (see figs 31 and 32 below) suggesting that this is a deliberate decision that could be interpreted as encouraging the commercial activity (because a visitor cannot easily sit down unless buying something) while also discouraging

other potential activities such as loitering, street drinking or rough sleeping. A number of people were observed using what Whyte (2000) refers to as 'integral' or improvised seating, as illustrated in the following photographs.



Fig. 31 A scene of urbanity, but no seating, in public space, Charter Quay plaza (photo by author, 21st Aug. 2011).



Fig. 32 More improvised seating at Charter Quay. Note that there is ample space for 'proper' seating, but this is something that Charter Quay residents oppose. Note also the St Geroge PLC logo incorporated into the brickwork of the cafe/kiosk building. The plaque below carries a brief history of the site's medieval origins (photo by author, 20th August 2011).

This sense of the Charter Quay public realm as a managed and controlled environment is suggested by other findings. There are signs prohibiting skateboarding, cycling, drinking except at commercial outlets and reminding visitors that they are on private property (fig. 33).

Fig. 33 An example of 'interdictory space' (Flusty 2001) on the riverfront walkway, Charter Quay (photo by author, 30th Sept. 2011).

The relationship between ownership, access and management and its importance for the success of Mixed Use developments is explained by a representative from the developer:

"We don't tend to offer the public space up for adoption by the local authority, we always retain control of it… We say 'this is a privately owned, but publicly accessible place'…" (INT24)

This quote evokes Whyte's discussion of the dynamic between public space and private ownership:

'…the plaza is the owner's and he (sic) has the right to revoke any right you fancy you may have to use it.' (Whyte 2000, p316)

The mechanism for resolving any perceived adverse effects resulting from open access is intensive management. This was illustrated at Charter Quay in an incident when the author was approached by an estate manager while carrying out the observation exercise whilst

sitting on a low perimeter wall. The manager advised that this behaviour had been picked up on CCTV and that he was obliged to 'respond' to possible infractions of estate rules by a 'vigilant' residents committee who 'don't' miss a trick'. When asked about the absence of benches in the plaza (which was the reason for sitting on the wall) the estate manager replied 'people aren't allowed to just sit', adding 'all they're interested in is making money', a reference to the commercial outlets around the plaza. This response appeared to corroborate the assessment that in some Mixed Use places, including Charter Quay, enjoyment of the public realm has become circumscribed by – and perhaps conditional on - being willing and able to participate in commercial activity.

## Conclusions

At first sight, Charter Quay may appear a mundane example of the type of waterfront development that has assumed a prominent, almost ubiquitous, place in the urban morphology of many cities in the last two decades (Goss 1996, Davidson and Lees 2005, Kibel 2007, Butler 2007), exploiting what has been referred to as 'the ultimate amenity' for urban regeneration, proximity to water (Thaler 1988). However, such a superficial reading would fail to see the complex evolution of Charter Quay and how the Mixed Use concept decisively affected its eventual manifestation.

It has been argued that there is 'nothing new' about Mixed Use (Coupland 1997, Grant 2005) and Charter Quay provides an illustration that planned interventions to shape the urban environment pre-date industrial cities and the adoption of formal and professionalised planning techniques. The tendency to proclaim novelty is a recurring feature of urban policy that received additional and explicit emphasis in the post-millennium, New Labour UK. However, the changes to central Kingston demonstrate that urban change is part of a longer evolutionary process (Andrews et al 2003) and a reminder that the design and uses of urban places have long been related to economic and political concerns (Kostof 1991). Continuity of urban change, across time and at different scales is also suggested by other aspects of the Charter Quay development. The project took place against the backdrop of significant spatial reconfiguration of a central area regarded as the driving force of the local economy, particularly in the aftermath of a significant period of labour market restructuring, wherein attracting Mixed Use and residential development were policy tools for revitalising the urban core, a key aspiration of the Urban Renaissance. The blend of interventions deployed at

Charter Quay is strongly resonant of TWUP, for example:

'When existing centres are in decline, local planning authorities should assess the scope for consolidating and strengthening these centres by seeking to focus a wide range of services there (and) promote the diversification of uses and improve the environment.' (ODPM 2005b, PPS6, para. 2.8)

Charter Quay and its procreation of the Rose Theatre also demonstrates the alignment of Mixed Use with the motif of 'cultural quarters' in response to the perceived need to design types of urban space that react to new patterns of behaviour and consumption (Bell and Jayne 2003, 2004). As Montgomery argues, the promotion of cultural quarters is coupled to a range of other policy drivers:

'This is usually linked to the development or regeneration of a selected inner urban area, in which mixed use urban development is to be encouraged and the public realm is to be reconfigured.' (Montgomery 2003)

Charter Quay confirms that one of the great advantages of Mixed Use for policy makers is that it can be hitched to a wide variety of other strategies for which it is seen as symbiotic. However, Charter Quay also suggests the ephemeral nature of urban policies. In its earlier planning iterations, the redevelopment featured the 'festival' market places that were in vogue in the 1980s (Goss 1996), but the concept was dropped in the final versions and replaced with Mixed Use. Goss describes the artificial, 'highly contradictory spaces' that seek to combine spontaneous urbanity with rigid social control which for Bell and Jayne represent efforts to 'tidy up' the urban landscape (Bell and Jayne 2004, p251). This suggestion is reflected in Goss' description of attempts to exclude 'real' ships from a waterfront festival marketplace (Goss 1996, p238), echoing the removal of houseboats from the Charter Quay riverfront. This displacement of authenticity and diversity is further exemplified at Charter Quay by the signage and enforcement of rules that contribute to the creation of 'interdictory space' (Flusty 2001) where public access is significantly hedged by private property interests.

Charter Quay signifies that the narrative and form of property development tends to resemble the archaeology it rises above, as layers of history are covered and concealed. This is literally

and metaphorically true of Charter Quay, where the regeneration of the 21$^{st}$ century conceals that of the 12$^{th}$ and where contested issues of access to and use of resources have been hidden by 'hagiographical texts and narratives' (Goss 1996, p229) that promote the 'success' of Mixed Use places, but relegate and ultimately silence the contested issues that surrounded their implementation.

**Case Study 4**

**Greenwich Millennium Village (GMV) – 'Part of the vibrant city yet separate from it'**

**Project Summary** (Full details p364)

| | |
|---|---|
| **Mixed Use Type** | New Neighbourhood |
| **Project Description** | Large (24 hectares) 'Urban Village' on brownfield, waterside site, promoted as a model of sustainable urbanism. |

Fig. 34  Greenwich Peninsula before development of GMV, late 1990 (photo English Partnerships).

Fig. 35 GMV from the Ecology Park, looking north-west towards the Oval Square (photo by author 15th Sept. 2010)



Fig. 36 Ralph Erskine designed homes, GMV (photo by author 8th Sept. 2010).

## Background and Planning Rationale

Greenwich Millennium Village (GMV) brings together some of the key issues in contemporary urbanism. Regarded as a flagship of 21$^{st}$ century 'sustainable development', GMV has assumed iconic status and is strongly identified in policy, political and ideological terms with New Labour and TWUP (Cooke 2003, Ratcliffe et al 2009), particularly through the promotion of the Urban Village (Franklin and Tait 2002). The spatial planning rationale for GMV combines the pan-regional Thames Gateway with the redevelopment of one of the largest brownfield sites in the UK and has inspired the involvement of some of the leading figures of the Urban Renaissance through a distinctive design philosophy within which Mixed Use plays a prominent part. New Labour's symbolic appropriation of the millennium celebrations was embodied by the Dome (Nicholson 1999); GMV enjoyed a similar significance as the model for an avowedly new approach to sustainable urban development that sought to lead the creation of an active, resilient and diverse community enjoying the benefits of a harmonious combination of high density, environmentally-friendly, 'tenure blind' housing linked by carefully designed public spaces with mixed commercial, retail, leisure, and community uses. Furthermore, GMV was promoted as a model of innovation, using pioneering techniques to improve energy efficiency (Williams 2008), reduce construction waste (Egan Report 1998) and enshrine quality through the use of Design Codes (English Partnerships 2007). Finally, the project would be delivered by a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) of the type closely identified with the policy 'pragmatism' of the Third Way (Driver and Martell 2000).

GMV operates on a scale of significance that is reflected in major public sector investment in land and transport infrastructure. The site occupies 24 hectares in the south east corner of the 80 hectare Greenwich Peninsula, formerly industrial land that was acquired by the Government's regeneration agency, English Partnerships (EP), from British Gas in 1997. Following extensive decontamination at a cost of £180 million (EP 2001) the Peninsula was identified as a location with major Mixed Use potential, for which a Masterplan was prepared by the Richard Rogers Partnership, with capacity for up to 10,000 new homes, 325,000 sqm of office space, 22,800 sqm of retail space, 10,850 sqm of food and drinks outlets, 8,600 sqm industrial/business park, a new hotel and various community facilities, including schools and healthcare services (London Borough of Greenwich 1996). None of the latter figures include what has become the most identifiable feature of the locality, the Millennium Dome at the

northern end of the Peninsula, now rebranded as the O2 Arena (Anschutz Entertainment Group 2005). The Dome has been described as the 'catalyst' and 'symbol' for the Peninsula's regeneration, providing a 'new cultural dynamic' for an area that had suffered steady decline over many years:

> 'It always helps to have a symbol people can point to…the interest generated by one remarkable building can provide just the energy needed to change the way people see the rest of the place.' (Jennings 1999, p228 – 229)

In May 1999 the futuristic North Greenwich Jubilee Line Extension station (designed by Norman Foster) was opened adjacent to the Dome, enabling travel to and from the City and Docklands in 20 minutes.

From the outset, ambitions for GMV were extremely high and couched in arguments that sought to address deep-rooted policy concerns, to the extent that GMV was advanced by one of its original designers as a form of urban development that could provide an alternative to the suburbs by producing an environment that would attract people to move to and stay in the city (Derbyshire 1999). Reinforcing this aim, the project's developers compared it with the formative London suburbs and summarised its unique appeal as being,

> '…part of the vibrant city yet separate from it.' (Taylor-Wimpey/Countryside 2000 p6)

In a further nod towards the project's historic significance and Utopian undertones, GMV has also been described as a 'revival of Ebenezer Howard's garden city ideals' (Architectural Design 1999).

The strategic planning importance of Greenwich Peninsula and GMV was accelerated and moved to a different spatial-scale by the promotion of the Thames Gateway as 'Europe's largest regeneration project', a vision that was originally promulgated by the Thatcher government as an extension in physical and ideological terms of the London Docklands Development Corporation (Mann 2008) and subsequently taken up by New Labour as an expression of its commitment to inter-regional economic competitiveness based on devolved,

multi-tiered governance"[17] (Cochrane 2012b). The 250,000 acres of land stretching for forty miles along the Thames has been identified as having the potential to accommodate an extra 250,000 people in 160,000 new homes and create 180,000 new jobs (DCLG 2007b). Although inherited from the previous government, the election of New Labour created the 'construction of popular legitimacy' (Cochrane (2007 p141) around a particular approach to the regeneration of the Thames Gateway that closely identified the project with core aspects of TWUP:

> 'In 2007 Tony Blair set out the Government's belief that the Thames Gateway had the potential to be a model of sustainable development for the 21st century as the UK's first eco-region.' (James Lang LaSalle 2009, p57)

The linking of an enormous regional growth strategy with environmental sustainability enabled the construction of a distinctive narrative around GMV that can be read as a form of 'persuasive storytelling' whereby planners become 'advocates for the sustainable city' (Throgmorton 2003), messages that are reinforced by seductive developers' marketing material. The following extract is from a promotional brochure for GMV:

> 'As the new Millennium opens, the most dynamic and revolutionary development in Europe is taking shape in the Greenwich Peninsula. Why revolutionary? Because what is being created here is no less than a new, coherent community, offering a better and more intelligent way of life. A community that combines the lessons learned of the past and the most advanced technology of the present, that conserves our natural resources rather than depletes them, that offers the world a blueprint for how life will be lived in the future.' (GMVL 2000, p2)

Such rhetorical celebration has been buttressed by specific themes of New Labour urbanism, particularly the use of planning policy and spatial design to produce 'sustainable' communities.

> 'The development incorporates a number of design features, such as semi-private shared courtyards and community buildings, that are associated with socially cohesive

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[17] A strategy that has since been largely abandoned by the post-2010 Coalition administration.

communities…As it is intended to create a socially mixed, inclusive community a series of other measures have been included. No distinction between social and private housing. The social housing will be fully integrated within the development.' (LBG 1998, p18)

Affordable, mixed tenure and 'tenure blind' housing policies (ODPM 2003 DCLG 2006b) have important links to Mixed Use (DCLG 2006a) because the inclusion of these elements have become a key part of the negotiation process between LPAs and developers (GLA 2004) and have played a significant part in the planning and design rationale of GMV.

The various policy outcomes envisaged for GMV are gathered together in the form of the Urban Village (Biddulph 2003), promoted by New Labour as a model for sustainable urbanism (DETR 2000b, 2000c) which, as Franklin and Tait note, conveyed a series of meanings:

> 'The purpose of planning documentation is to act as a statement of intent…Urban Village ideas are thus connected to institutionalised concepts, structures and practices, such as government endorsement in PPG1; sustainability as an emerging policy agenda; the cosiness of the mythologised English village; the orthodoxy of the Urban Village Forum and the post-industrial cultural icon of the heritage rich historic quarter.' (Franklin and Tait 2002, p263)

Brindley (2003) describes the Urban Village concept's claims to promote social stability, diversity and integration, aspirations that are not only central to the Urban Renaissance, but are closely linked to 'lofty' and 'messianic' ideals in urban planning.

## Development History

In common with other case studies in this research, the development history of GMV can be traced back through several iterations and phases over a prolonged period of time, during which planning policy and design priorities have changed significantly and there have been a variety of problems in bringing the scheme to fruition. In October 1998, Greenwich Council's Planning and Development Committee granted outline planning permission for GMV, to comprise 1,377 homes, plus mixed retail and business uses, a health clinic, a

primary school, landscaping open space and community facilities including a 'teleservices centre'[18], a crèche, community centre and a Combined Heat and Power (CHP) plant to produce renewable energy, as part of GMV's ambitious environmental sustainability targets (LBG 1998). The planning application for the original Masterplan summarises the overall aim of the project and indicates the fusion of social and technical methods to create a particular type of place.

> 'This application seeks permission for the provision of a Mixed Use urban residential quarter. It has been conceived to provide flexible living and high standards in environmental sustainability as well as to foster a socially inclusive and long lasting community. The combination of these aims and the fact that the development is to be on a brownfield site make this a unique proposal.' (LBG 1998, para. 6.1, p16)

However, the development history of GMV has featured significant periods of uncertainty and delay and these were accentuated by the project's high-profile political associations. As the turn of the millennium approached, the Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, was faced with the task of saving GMV from becoming 'just another estate' ('Building' 1999). Problems surrounded the development partnership and in particular, the extent to which the original objectives were in danger of being compromised. Following the granting of outline planning permission there was a delay in starting work when Greenwich Council questioned whether energy and cost saving targets set out in the original design had been watered down by the developers (LBG 1998). Tensions within the original project team were brought into the public domain when the lead architects, Hunt Thomson Associates (HTA) left, alleging that private developers were exploiting the notoriety of the GMV project in order to obtain a high value site, but without a genuine commitment to innovation and sustainability (The Guardian 30.6.99). Despite these difficulties, the first phase of GMV was developed with the following set of aims:

> 'The proposal is for the first phase of a sustainable mixed use urban residential quarter which reinvents the London Square to create streets and public spaces which are of

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[18]The precise meaning and intention of the Teleservices Centre is unclear, but it appears to have been to create an IT centre for GMV residents that would provide a range of activities and services including training, office space and internet sharing. The Centre was envisaged as 'a resource that will help to strengthen social and economic activity within the Village' (LBG 1998 p19), but the facility has never materialised.

human scale, lively, intimate and secure. It uses the buildings to create a well-tempered environment and gives the pedestrian priority over the car.' (HTA 1998)

The original GMV concept was dominated by the architectural ethos and legacy of Ralph Erskine whose philosophy of 'people places' was fundamental to realising the vision for a 21st century Urban Village. Erskine's primary purpose was to design a place that, despite its relatively large size, was not anonymous or alienating. To avoid this, Erskine produced a blueprint that sought to configure domestic, public and semi-pubic space in sympathy with the social proclivities of GMV residents. Thus the first phase of the development, which lies to the north-east of the principal public space – the Oval Square[19] – is divided into five groups of approximately 300 homes 'each with its own little central public space' (the communal gardens around which the blocks are clustered). Erskine then sub-divided the blocks into smaller horse-shoe shaped groups of approximately 30 dwellings, what he refers to as 'gossip groups':

> 'This represents the number of people who recognize one another without enforced intimacy. I also introduced the idea that every group of houses should have a common building where people can meet one another. Another big challenge will be to mix classes, cultures and races in the scheme.' ('Building' 24.04.98)

Erskine's description of 'gossip groups' conveys the humanism that is appreciated in his work and suggests the social animation that is a key element in the GMV prospectus. Erskine's aim of promoting social engagement included encouragement for prospective residents to be involved in the planning and design process, an endorsement of collaborative planning (Healey 1997) that chimed with another TWUP theme of seeking to stimulate community participation in the shaping of local services. However, Erskine was also aware that efforts to produce a genuinely sustainable development were likely to be compromised by commercial interests: for example, the architect wanted to plant trees that would protect the development from the prevailing north-east wind from the Thames.

> 'But trees tend to block the view and I've been told that if you can't see the river, the

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[19]This apparent oxymoron reflects a change in design during the GMV project, but is the given name for the central public realm.

value of a house goes down by 20%.' ('Building' 24.04.98)

Despite such pressures, environmental and design sustainability have been key features of the GMV development. From its original planning phase, GMV adopted a series of ambitious targets (Williams 2008), including:

Reduce energy consumed by 80%

Reduce embodied energy in construction materials by 50%

Reduce water consumption by 30%

Reduce construction cost by 30%

Reduce construction programme by 25%

Achieve zero defects for completed homes

(LBG 1998)

Another aspiration for GMV's environmental credentials was to create a place that was defined as pedestrian-friendly, with car use controlled and particular attention paid to well-designed public spaces, the centre-piece of which is the Ecology Park that lies to the south-east of the Oval Square, described as 'A Park for People – Informed by Ecology'. The Ecology Park and adjoining Southern Park seek to fully utilise the relationship between GMV, the Thames and the riverside walk and the planning literature suggests additional conceptual resonances:

'The parks will be important resources for the Village in terms of Public Open Space, visual amenity, leisure, wildlife and ecology. The provision of these features gives true meaning to the term 'Village', as they reflect core aspects of village life.'[20] (LBG 1998, p21)

The enhancement of GMV by landscaped open space was to be accompanied by a network of streets, shared courtyards and community buildings that would create a 'human, lively, intimate and secure' environment of the kind associated with 'socially cohesive communities'

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[20]As further testimony to the aim of imitating 'village life', early drawings include a cricket pitch in the GMV design.

(LBG 1998, p16). Of crucial importance to realising this vision was the mix of housing that promised the integration of rented, shared ownership and private homes that would be 'indistinguishable in appearance' (LBG 1999a, p21) and provide a 'high percentage' of affordable homes (LBG 1999a, p23). Given the importance of housing size and tenure in shaping the social characteristics of a community, as expressed in government policies (DCLG 2006b), this research has endeavored to establish the exact housing mix at GMV, but this has proved a difficult task. In part, this is a consequence of the protracted and complex nature of the development, which is reflected in the volume of planning documentation. According to Greenwich Council's website, GMV has been subject to eighty-four separate planning applications between 2000 and 2012. While the majority of these are for detailed amendments, in Phases 1 and 2 there have been six major applications for permission to build 1,095 homes. However, there appear to be a number of discrepancies between different data sources providing information about the homes built. Thus the housing mix suggested in the most recent comprehensive review of the project (BNP Paribas 2011) varies from the figures on the Greenwich Council website, which in turn differ from the figures given in the original committee reports, some of which do not contain break downs of size or tenure. A direct request was made to the LPA for an exact summary of the housing size and tenure mix of the homes built at GMV, but the lead planner for the project replied that this information was not available (email 23.10.12). Given this uncertainty, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the housing composition of the completed phases of GMV, although it is note-worthy that the LPA is seemingly unaware of how, or if, its planning decisions have been implemented. Nonetheless, the following assessment is drawn from the available material.

The original outline planning permission for Phases 1 and 2 envisaged 1,377 new homes of which 1,111 (80%) were private, 192 (14%) were for 'social renting' through a housing association and 74 (6%) were shared ownership (LBG 1998). These figures were seemingly at odds with national, pan-London and local policy guidelines stating that a minimum of 30%, up to a notional maximum of 50% of new homes were to be 'affordable', a reflection of a well-established UK policy for using land-use planning as a mechanism for generating non-market housing, with mixed results (Whitehead 2007).

The most recent GMV Planning Statement (BNP Paribas 2011) states that the original outline planning permission for 1,377 new homes in Phases 1 and 2 was reduced to 1,095 units, although no detailed explanation or justification for this change is offered in the

contemporaneous planning documents. Based on the available data and notwithstanding the inconsistencies and omissions noted above, the mix of these dwellings is as follows:

| Studio flats | 8 |
|---|---|
| 1 bedroom | 299 |
| 2 bedrooms | 427 |
| 3 bedrooms | 159 |
| 4+ bedrooms | 3 |
| Private market for sale | 758 |
| Social renting | 111 |
| Intermediate/shared ownership | 27 |

Table 9: Mix of new homes completed in GMV Phases 1 and 2.

Note: The above totals 896. The remaining 199 homes are contained in Phase '1E' for which planning approval was granted in December 2004, but for which there is no documentation available from the Greenwich Council internet archive.

Some provisional, but significant, conclusions can be drawn about the housing mix at GMV from these figures. 85% of the homes are for private market sale, 12% for social renting and 3% for shared ownership. These figures are broadly consistent with the original Masterplan, but show a 5% increase in the number of private homes for sale. The proportion of private and affordable housing differed significantly for different stages of the development, as follows:

| Project Phase | Planning Permission | Total homes | Affordable homes | % Affordable homes |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1A | April 2000 | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| 2A | May 2000 | 186 | 29 | 15 |
| 1B | April 2001 | 199 | 8 | 4 |
| 2B | October 2002 | 186 | 15 | 8 |
| 1E | Dec. 2004 | 196 | No data | No data |
| 1C and 1D | May 2006 | 228 | 59 | 25 |

Table 10: Phased distribution of affordable homes, GMV Phases 1 and 2

An explanation for this uneven distribution is offered in the planning documentation, on the basis that the overall number of affordable homes throughout the project will remain 266 (LBG 1999b, para. 10.22), with the implication that subsequent phases would contain more non-market housing. This is reflected in Phases 1C and 1D where the aim of an 'integrated and undistinguishable' tenure mix is restated (LBG 2005, para. 10.30). However, in addition to the absence of affordable housing in Phase 1A, it should also be noted that in Phase 2A there were three blocks containing only private homes, suggesting that the aim of integrating tenures was unevenly applied.

As well as a bias in favour of private housing, the data also indicates a preponderance of smaller homes that is consistent with wider London property development trends of the period (Bowie 2010). 82% of the new units are studio, one and two bedroom homes, 18% are larger family homes of three or four bedrooms. These figures compare with the comment of the Director of Housing at the outset of the GMV project that there was a 'predominant need in the Borough for family sized accommodation offering the space and facilities suitable for children' (LBG 1998, para. 7.2.3. p22). The capacity of GMV to attract and retain families with children is addressed by Silverman et al (2005) who note the dominance of flats over houses and the scarcity of private gardens alongside the emergence of a community 'polarised' by income and tenure, but to which some households had been attracted by GMV's 'special qualities', including the architecture, environmental sensitivity, 'urban lifestyle' and the ideal of a mixed community.

Mixed Use has been an intrinsic element in developing the GMV vision. The original Masterplan (LBG 1998) summarises the inter-relationship of the range of projected benefits, as set out in emerging national planning policy guidance:

> 'Planning systems can deliver high quality, mixed use developments such as Urban Villages characterised by compactness, mixed use and dwelling types, affordable housing, a range of employment, leisure and community facilities, ready access to public transport, public open space and high standards of urban design...' (LBG 1998, para. 8.3, p26)

More specific objectives were that Mixed Use (particularly Use Class B1) would attract small

and growing local businesses and that new commercial activity would be integrated with housing. New employment uses were envisaged clustering around the Oval Square, described as 'the focal point of Village life', where 'passing trade' would be attracted to 'speciality retail, cultural workshop, restaurants, retail and studio offices' by use of the surrounding public space (LBG 1998, pp 35 – 36). However, the practicality of these plans was questioned in the original Masterplan consultation. The local branch of Friends of the Earth commented:

> '…the viability of the village retail units will be seriously undermined by the presence of the planned large scale retail area on the other side of Bugsby's Way. This would in turn threaten the overall concept of a sustainable community within the village.' (LBG 1998, para. 7.2.6, p23)

The prescience of these comments is addressed in the following interviews and observation exercises, but is also suggested by the decision to convert some of the retail units to residential use (LBG planning ref. 07/2927/F), work that was carried out during the study period.

The potential difficulties of applying Mixed Use policy are also implicit in the planning dispute that has delayed the completion of the project. In January 2008, planning approval was given for the development of a further 594 homes and 5,779 square metres of office and high-tech employment use, as well as a nursery, community centre and sports/play areas, facilities that had not been provided in Phases 1 and 2, despite being stipulated in the original Masterplan. However, in June 2008, planning permission was quashed following an appeal by the Port of London Authority and the adjoining aggregate works which argued that (inter alia) the LPA had failed to adequately consider the need for noise mitigation between residential and industrial uses (BNP Paribas 2011). The revised planning application for the completion of GMV (Phases 3, 4 and 5) was given outline permission in February 2012.

The divergence between the stated aims and outcomes for GMV formed a major subject of the interviews.

## Summary of Interviews

The LBG planner interviewed (INT21) gave a clear indication of the high-level strategic importance attached to the GMV project by local and national agencies, particularly in terms of the emerging policy framework of sustainable urban development and Mixed Use.

'The aim was always to reclaim Greenwich Peninsula as a model environmentally sustainable community...There was a lot of support for the idea from government and English Partnerships in terms of the new planning regime that was coming in around that time, focusing on high density, the compact city and so on. Here was an opportunity to do something special and Mixed Use was a key justification for going to the higher densities that would support the local services and let people do everything they need within walking distance.' (INT21)

However, while stating that LBG regards GMV as a 'success', INT21 also confirms a degree of variation between the original planning objectives and the eventual development outcomes, but describes this as 'not unusual' and adds that an overall judgment of the scheme is conditional on the completion of the remaining phases and the evolution of the Greenwich Peninsula as a whole because GMV 'can't succeed in isolation'. An interview with a representative of the development consortium (INT43) expressed similar mixed sentiments:

'There's a base line position that we wanted Mixed Use, but that was primarily to create a path of least resistance from planners...There's an absolute commitment to have a lively, animated space. The images the architects use to sell their schemes always have loads of people in them, but that's not necessarily what happens in reality.'

Residents also expressed a degree of ambivalence about GMV, with criticism particularly focussed on social segregation, with one (INT20) referring to 'a huge division' between housing tenures which another (INT36) described as inhibiting an integrated community and fostering the circulation of myths that demonise social housing tenants. Further evidence of latent tensions can be found in an on-line discussion between GMV residents under the heading 'My loud chav neighbours having a party' that includes the following exchange:

...screaming and shouting...extremely annoying, especially if you need to get up to go to work.'

'We were not having a party...you obviously have nothing better to do than judge anyone who you feel is paying less than you...'

'...we had to get up early...we don't get the privilege to sleep 'til midday...'

'...you can't see the world from the eyes of others – the ones whose taxes house and feed you.'

('GMV Sucks' website, August 2011)

Difficulties of establishing an active community were confirmed at a GMV residents' committee meeting (13.6.11) where there was a strong sense of pessimism about the viability of communal social events, some of which had been cancelled because of lack of participation, something that one committee member attributed to the profusion of sub-letting by short-term private sector tenants who have 'less investment' in the neighbourhood, a point echoed by a local politician (INT26). An extension of this point is the observation that GMV does not have a settled, mixed population of families with children, an issue that is also suffused with questions of housing tenure and social mobility.

'...there aren't many children living at GMV. Owners move out when their children reach school age - tenants are stuck.' (INT20)

The planner (INT21) also stated that the Mixed Use quality of GMV has failed to establish itself, particularly given the level of competition from adjoining shopping centres, aggravated by physical isolation:

'...the commercial space has struggled, what with a big Sainsbury's and an even bigger Asda just down the road. Also, because GMV is so isolated, no one's going to visit the area just to use the local shops, so it's really reliant on the critical mass on its doorstep.' (INT21)

The developer (INT43) identifies similar issues, but suggests they will be addressed in future phases with the arrival of a larger population with the potential to make the Oval Square a 'vibrant' place, a more circumspect approach to Mixed Use and the provision of more family housing and community facilities. The latter point was also made by the local ward councillor (INT26) who expressed disappointment that the promised community facilities have not materialised and suggests that this may contribute to lack of social cohesion adding that the developers have refused to release unused commercial space for community use.

**Summary of Observations**

The data presented suggests that GMV is struggling to generate the level and type of vitality in its public realm that was envisaged at the scheme's inception and is implicit in the benefits associated with Mixed Use. There are many possible explanations for this, but perhaps the foremost is that GMV itself is only half finished and the Greenwich Peninsula has yet to see the level of development that would create the critical mass of population that make Mixed Use viable and thereby encourage pedestrian animation of the public realm. Thus it could be argued that it is too early to evaluate the success of GMV against the social and policy objectives set for it. The counter argument, however, is that GMV has been occupied for over a decade and the completion of 1000 homes, with 2000 residents, should be sufficient to at least begin to see significant signs of the lively public realm that was anticipated in the project's design.

The low level of footfall in and around the GMV public realm tends to reinforce some of the findings suggesting difficulties with implementing a Mixed Use strategy. There are currently three empty commercial units around the Oval Square and these have not been occupied since the development was completed. Furthermore, there are three commercial units to the west of Oval Square that have never been let and are being converted for residential use. The viability of commercial activity is a crucial indicator of the success of Mixed Use development (Dixon and Marston 2003) and conversely, the existence of a significant proportion of empty commercial space reflects difficulties in the planning and execution of Mixed Use policy (Giddings and Craine 2006, The Scottish Government 2009). This finding contrasts sharply with the strategic planning objectives set out for the scheme:

'...the streets... will feature people friendly spaces, shops, cafes and restaurants (that)

should ensure that there is a lively street social life.' (LBG 1999, p15)

If a final judgment on how Mixed Use may enliven GMV's public realm needs to await an increase in the area's population, there are other factors that may mitigate its success. In particular, the proximity of several large retail parks seems likely to draw potential customers away from local shops. The Sainsbury's superstore on Bugsby Way is a five to ten minute walk from GMV. An interview with one resident (INT36) found that while people living at GMV may use the local convenience store for items like milk or a newspaper, they are likely to do their major weekly shop at one of the near-by supermarkets and may use their car to do so. In another interview a GMV business owner (INT45) pointed out the absence of certain types of commercial outlet as another disincentive to use of the GMV public realm, in particular the lack of a post office that might draw people to the Oval Square on a regular basis, instead of needing to travel to the nearest post office a mile away.

The type, as well as the level, of use of the public realm also appears to reflect characteristics of the area that have emerged elsewhere in the case study. The predominance of single pedestrians over groups may add weight to the suggestion that GMV is struggling to nurture the kind of family-oriented community that was a specific part of the planning policy rationale. Several interviews indicate that GMV houses a largely transient population of people who may have limited time for participating in the civic or public life of the area, for example,

> 'At the weekends this can be something of a ghost town. Look at the demographic. How many people are Monday to Friday residents?'
> (INT20)

Another interviewee refers to a sense of anonymity and social atomisation:

> 'We don't know the people who live next door…It's as if we're in different countries.' (INT36)

Another indicator of the character of GMV reflected in the observation findings is the relatively small number of children and young people recorded using the public realm. Throughout the observation period, only one group of children was seen playing in the GMV

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streets, despite the fact that they have been specifically designed to encourage such activity (GLA 2007 p6). Again, this reflects some of the issues and concerns captured by interview evidence, particularly those of a local councillor (INT26) who complains about the lack of a children's playground or facilities for young people. Other interviews have referred to the tendency for families to leave GMV when their children reach school-age, a reflection both on perceptions of local schools and the under-provision of family-sized housing with private gardens (INT20). Taken together, the observations tend to corroborate the perception of residents interviewed who regard GMV as being a place that is not family or child-friendly. This view may be reinforced by the relative infrequency, in comparison with other case study areas, of baby buggies in the public realm.

As in other case studies for this research, very few wheelchair users were seen using the public realm. In an interview, one resident who has serious health difficulties and whose partner is a wheelchair user stated that the attitude towards people with disability at GMV 'stinks' (INT20). This interviewee was contacted by email and invited to comment on the fact that only two wheelchair users were recorded using the public realm during the observation period. His response was as follows:

> 'I think it's all to do with access. I know there are many more wheelchair users in GMV than two. The shops are a particular problem in that if you live on this side of the village (the west), it's a long way to push yourself and depending on where you decide to cross…there are no dropped kerbs…It can also be a question of taking your life in your hands simply to get across safely…There are no disabled parking bays near the shops so most people would find it easier to go to Asda etc. as you can park right outside.' (Email 10.9.11)

This reflection suggests a wider range of socio-spatial discontinuities and design short-comings that may continue to frustrate GMV's reputation.

**Conclusions**

A final judgment of GMV as an exemplar of sustainable urbanism should arguably await the project's full completion, projected for around 2020. However, the establishment of a new community over the course of a decade provides sufficient evidence to ask whether this

'Urban Village' is meeting its ambitious goals, or if it presents a series of policy disconnects around some of the project's key objectives. However, the fate of GMV cannot be isolated from the wider regeneration of the Greenwich Peninsula, seen as vital for providing the critical mass necessary to generate a dynamic and economically viable community and in turn support mixed uses. The National Audit Office has undertaken a comprehensive progress review of the area's redevelopment (NAO 2008) which recognises the success of the Millennium/O2 Dome, but reports unmet housing targets both within the Greenwich Peninsula and the wider Thames Gateway, within which delays in delivering the later phases of GMV are a factor. This case study suggests that this is indicative of other examples in which there has been divergence from the original planning vision.

The aim of developing a mixed, sustainable community lay at the heart of the spatial and conceptual design of GMV and was directly linked to essential themes of Third Way Urban Policy (ODPM 2003). The key intervention for implementing this strategy was the building of well-designed housing that was 'tenure blind' and provided a combination of private and non-market homes, incorporating a range of sizes that would encourage families to live at GMV. However, the archival research and interviews clearly indicate that GMV has so far failed to meet these objectives. The over provision of one and two bedroom flats, compared with the under provision of family homes and the dominance of private over social housing was commented on by several interviewees as having a detrimental effect on the quality of the GMV community, something that was compounded by an increasingly transient population of short-term private renters. While these findings are entirely consistent with wider trends in the housing market, particularly in London (Bowie 2010), they can be seen as having a particularly anomalous effect at GMV where so much policy, political and public finance capital have been invested in creating a 'blue-print' for building sustainable communities (Power 2004). The existence of spatial segregation by tenure type (Cole and Goodchild 2001) is clearly indicated by the research, reflected in the comments of interviewees who refer to not knowing their neighbours, a lack of community involvement and a perception of differential services for private and non-market residents. Manzi (2010) has explored the limits of housing regeneration strategies as a mechanism for shaping wider social changes and behaviours, including the fostering of mixed communities and 'citizenship' envisaged by TWUP and concludes that such aspirations fail to take account of social complexities at the local level where, for example, a seemingly simple expectation of 'participation' can confer 'second class citizenship' on some, in the context of a housing

management system influenced by stigmatised perceptions of social housing tenants, some of which are evident at GMV. These issues are also suggested by the use of the GMV public realm, where there is little evidence of the 'lively street social life' anticipated in the early planning documents and where the LPA admits that local shops have 'struggled'.

Another emblematic feature of the GMV development was its claim to be a model of energy efficiency, but Williams (2007) has questioned the project's ability to meet its environmental targets and relates this to issues about the extent to which such initiatives can rebalance wider social norms suggesting, for example, that most GMV residents cared more about their property's value than its energy use and relating this back to the fractured attempts to develop a sense of community identity. However, just as GMV's success cannot be separated from its broader spatial context, so Williams argues that localised efforts to plan for urban sustainability may be at odds with pan-regional growth targets such as those of the Thames Gateway where,

> '...new (housing) will consume resources, generate waste and emissions, both in the construction process and during operation...past experience suggests that the success of planning as a tool to deliver more environmentally sustainable communities has been mixed, largely because economic and social considerations have taken priority.' (Williams 2007, pp107 – 108)

Large-scale urban expansion based on volume house building is seemingly at odds with the concept of the Urban Village, identified by its advocates with a host of social and environmental benefits, particularly through the development of Mixed Use neighbourhoods that 'tend to be more friendly and secure' (Aldous 1992). The iconography of village life is a recurring theme of sustainable urbanism (Brindley 2003) and has been specifically and repeatedly invoked in the planning and policy narrative of GMV, but Biddulph (2003) questions whether New Labour's promotion of Urban Villages for the new millennium (DETR 2000c) are genuinely different types of place. An alternative reading of GMV is suggested by Franklin and Tait (2002):

> '...the real significance of the Urban Village is as an idea, rather than as a reality...In effect, it does not exist.'

This judgment echoes both Benjamin's 'dream worlds' and the original meaning of Utopia as a mirage, both epithets that can currently be applied to GMV.

# Case Study 5

**Royal Arsenal Riverside – 'Historic Heart, Dynamic Future'**

**Project Summary** (Full details p367)

| Mixed Use Type | Piece of the City (1) |
| --- | --- |
| **Project Description** | Large (31 hectares) residential-led, new build/conversion waterside heritage and Town Centre regeneration site. |

Fig. 37 Royal Arsenal Riverside site before redevelopment (photo Berkeley Homes).

Fig. 38  Royal Arsenal Riverside, post-development (photo Berkeley Homes).



Fig. 39  The 'Dial Arch' pub in converted listed building, new flats behind and historic reference to founding of Arsenal football club as a works team (photo by author 6th May 2011).

## Background and Planning Rationale

The redevelopment of the old Woolwich Arsenal site, now re-branded Royal Arsenal Riverside (RAR) is the product of a large-scale, complex spatial planning process, with links to regional, pan-regional and national policy agendas and exemplifies the use of Mixed Use as a policy tool for 'place making'. Following the closure of the munitions/defence facility in the late 1960s, the local authority was faced with several inter-related challenges. An abandoned 31 hectare site, that had formerly been the largest source of local employment, needed to be brought back into economically viable use. From the outset, this task was complicated by several factors. The site had substantial contamination resulting from its previous usage and was concealed behind a three metre high wall that restricted access and separated RAR from its surroundings. One of the key policy drivers was to open the site up and reconnect it to the adjacent Woolwich town centre which was also planned for significant regeneration, having suffered a prolonged period of economic decline. Re-design of RAR was further complicated by twenty-two listed buildings, some of them dating to the 17th century, in a conservation area. The redevelopment needed to adapt to changes in the economic, political and policy climate and do so in response to pan-regional planning policies contained in the Thames Gateway initiative. Reflecting the high profile strategic importance of RAR, the development is the product of a multi-agency Public/Private Partnership involving the government's national regeneration agency, English Partnerships, who acquired the site from the Ministry of Defence in 1997, the London Development Agency (LDA), who invested £55 million of public money in the area, the London Borough of Greenwich and the developer Berkeley Homes, who acquired full ownership of RAR in February 2011 (LDA 2011). Although on a smaller, more contained scale, the project is analogous to the redevelopment of the closed London docks on the opposite side of the Thames, presenting the reimaging of a 'redundant' industrial landscape based on private developer-led regeneration that produces social and spatial changes that appeal to a new affluent urban population seeking 'new forms of living' in cities (Butler 2007).

Royal Arsenal Riverside is located immediately north of Woolwich town centre, in the borough of Greenwich, south-east London. Woolwich itself has an ambiguous spatial identity and character. Approximately eight miles east of central London, for most of its history Woolwich was a 'provincial town' standing apart from the city, rather than being a suburb of it (Watson 1986). Today it is classified as an outer London borough, but has some

of the socio-economic features associated with the inner-city, including a multi-ethnic population and multiple social deprivation: for example, Woolwich has the highest level of unemployment and single parent households and the lowest level of home-ownership in the Thames Gateway delivery areas (DCLG 2006d). These characteristics were illustrated when Woolwich was a major scene of the August 2011 riots, but some commentators noted that the extensive damage was overlooked by the media coverage, reflecting the nature of Woolwich as a 'forgotten' place (Hill 2011).

The history of the Royal Arsenal site as a munitions and ordinance factory dates to the late 17th century when it developed alongside the nearby Royal dockyards and shipbuilding facilities. At its peak during the First World War, the Arsenal employed 80,000 people within the wall-and-river guarded enclave that extended a mile east to Plumstead and was known locally as 'The Secret City' (Masters 1995). The Arsenal's decline began after 1918, although during World War Two it still employed 30,000 workers, but accelerated in the 1950s, before finally closing with the withdrawal of the Ministry of Defence in 1994.

The scope of the RAR redevelopment has increased substantially in the past decade and it is likely that changes will continue to take place before its final completion, which could take another 10 to 20 years. Several inter-linked policy drivers have fed into the increased scope and importance of the project since it was first conceived in the late 1990s. These include PPS1 (sustainable development and communities), PPS3 (housing) and PPS6 (town centres). The emergence of the Thames Gateway as a national and pan-regional regeneration framework for the east of London placed additional emphasis on RAR as a generator of new homes and jobs (James Lang LaSalle, 2009). The Thames Gateway has reinforced the requirements of the London Plan (2004, consolidated 2008[21]), particularly in relation to the need for additional housing in the capital (Bowie 2010) and the designation of Woolwich as an Opportunity Area for achieving this growth (Mayor of London 2004, policy 5D.2). These policies envisage 20,000 new homes along the river frontage from Greenwich Peninsula to Royal Arsenal.

At a local planning policy level, the LBG Unitary Development Plan 2006 specifically identifies the Arsenal site for Mixed Use development, with the following objectives:

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[21] The London Plan is the city's overall strategic development plan. It was further revised in 2011

'Continued re-use and development of the former Royal Arsenal site in Woolwich and its listed buildings for a mix of uses, recognising its major tourism potential and including new linkages to enhance the commercial redevelopment of Woolwich.' (LBG UDP 2006, p7)

The UDP is further linked to the Woolwich Town Centre Development Framework, issued by the local authority as Supplementary Planning Guidance (LBG 2002).

The UDP anticipates significant increases in the borough's population, from 217,805 in 2001 to 246,616 in 2016 (LBG UDP 2006, p5) and in common with most London boroughs, this includes a significant increase in the number of households, creating increased demand for one and two bedroom homes (LBG 2006, para. 4.14 p5). In response to these demographic changes and in line with the London Plan, Greenwich Council has a housing delivery target of 2,010 new homes per annum, from 2007 – 2017. (These housing targets have changed somewhat since the election of a new Mayor of London, but the overall planning policy imperative of releasing land, particularly brownfield sites, for new housing remains the same.)

Another key element of the planning rationale for Woolwich Riverside has been conservation, with the aim that the design of the new development should be harmonious with its historic context and the listed buildings on the site (Berkeley Homes 2008, p20). Summarising the redevelopment aims, the developers state that it,

'...exemplifies a mixed-use urban London development of new homes and luxury apartments, forming part of an entire regeneration of a historic riverside location. Creating Royal Arsenal Riverside demands a scale of vision and is one of the most exciting, unique property development projects in Britain today. Ultimately, the 76 acre site will form a whole new neighbourhood in South East London, comprising a vibrant, thriving and sustainable community in a historic riverside setting. A mix of commercial, residential and leisure facilities will seamlessly fuse the old with the new.' (Berkeley Homes website)

There are currently (November 2012) a number of uncertainties about the future development

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of RAR, with the roles of both the London Development Agency and Thames Gateway Development Corporation likely to be subject to significant reform and no firm commitment that an anticipated Crossrail station will be opened as planned in 2017. However, there is sufficient progress on the project to evaluate to what extent it is meeting its ambitious objectives.

**Development History**

As well as its unique spatial and historic context, the defining characteristic of RAR is its sheer size, ambition and the resulting complexity and longevity of its planning and development process. A project that was already ambitious and had been a decade in development became additionally complex in 2008 with confirmation that the trans-London Crossrail project would pass under the site, with a new station situated within RAR. The scope of the development has generated a huge volume of planning documentation through multiple Masterplans and planning applications that have repeatedly revised and increased the scale, composition and design of the project.

Since 1998, the RAR development has advanced in several phases based on a series of large-scale planning applications. Mirroring changes in planning policy, at local and national level, the net effect of this evolving process has been a substantial increase in the number of homes and residential density on the site, as well as increases in space for non-residential uses. The original Masterplan was submitted by English Partnerships in 1998 and envisaged 550 new homes. A second major planning application, 'The Armouries', was put forward by Berkeley Homes in 2000 for 711 new homes in the form of apartments converted from the Royal Arsenal's many workshops and administrative buildings. In 2006 outline planning permission was granted for the development of the west of the site, 'The Warren', for 2,517 residential units and 25,173 sqm of Mixed Use space. This followed the 'call in' of the application by the Secretary of State (Berkeley Homes 2005). In 2008 a further and revised major application was submitted for 3,711 homes and 26,362 sqm of non-residential space, generating 1.900 new jobs (LBG 2008a).

The substantial revisions to the Masterplan have caused some local people and elected councillors to question the overall impact of the development. At the Planning Board meeting in November 2008 that considered the intensification of the scheme, concerns were

raised about a range of issues, including over-development, the possibility of higher density leading to higher crime rates and the under-provision of family housing in favour of smaller units that could attract Buy to Let investors and a transient population (LBG 2008b). The meeting also discussed reductions in the percentage of affordable housing on the site, which were to be off-set by an increased contribution from the developer towards the cost of the Crossrail station.

Access to transport links is a key element of the regeneration strategy for Woolwich. The marketing material for RAR emphasises its 'connectivity' to other parts of London, in particular the City and Docklands, as well as international links from London City Airport, a five minute journey on the Docklands Light Railway (DLR). The site has the highest possible transport accessibility rating. Residents are offered a number of commuting options including Woolwich Arsenal DLR station, opened in January 2009 and an overground link to the City and central London. A travel alternative is available in the form of the premium rate Thames Clipper fast ferry service to Canary Wharf and the City, an option that enables residents to commute directly from the RAR site (via the pier at the northern end of No.1 Street), without needing to cross the Plumstead Road to Woolwich town centre. However, the most important element of the development of RAR is the anticipated Crossrail station. The £16 billion scheme will connect the outer areas of east and west London and potentially enable Woolwich residents to travel to the City of London in 14 minutes and Heathrow airport in under an hour. However, the proposed station at Royal Arsenal, one of only two planned for South London, has been caught in a 'mire of red tape' (Financial Times 25.1.11). Under the terms of the 2005 planning consent, Berkeley Homes are required to build 'the box' of the new station at a cost of £100 million, with Greenwich Council to provide the fit out costs. In return, Berkeley received a dispensation to reduce the proportion of affordable homes in Phase III of the RAR site to 25% - from an original 35% - and increase the overall number of units by 1000. Although the final agreement for Berkeley to build the station shell was announced in February 2011, it is apparent that unless further funding is confirmed, the actual provision of Crossrail train services to Woolwich will remain uncertain (DoT 2011). The importance of the new transport link for RAR lies not only in the increased residential volume and density of the scheme, but in the linkage of this 'critical mass' to the expansion of the development's Mixed Use facilities, many of which are planned to be clustered around the new station. While the ultimate fate of the Crossrail station remains to be seen, it is another example (also seen at Charter Quay) of the inter-linking of Mixed Use with the

partial provision of social infrastructure by property developers.

The revised Masterplan for the third phase of the RAR development attracted the attention of CABE who questioned the design and density of the increased volume of new housing and reviewed the progress of the scheme in producing 'a viable residential community from scratch' (CABE 2008), key concerns addressed in the case study interviews.

## Summary of Interviews

Because of the involvement of both local and pan-London planning authorities, interviews were conducted with planners from the LDA (INT17 and INT18) and Greenwich Council (INT31). Having taken over the project in 2000, the LDA inherited '£100 million of problems' on the RAR site and a scheme that was 'ahead of the transport infrastructure', but the over-riding imperative remained to address the decline of the area, symbolised by the 'collar of social housing' surrounding Woolwich town centre:

> 'Nobody was coming to Woolwich. We had to do something.' (INT17)

This resolution was shared by a local politician (INT30) who stated that Woolwich has the highest male unemployment rate in the UK, outside of Northern Ireland and is characterised by its high proportion of social housing estates and a litany of related problems:

> 'It's a town that has been hit hard and lost about 20,000 jobs every 20 years…There isn't a town anywhere in the country that's suffered like that…What we saw in Woolwich was just a huge benefit ghetto.' (INT30)

Against this background, for INT30 the application of Mixed Use at RAR presented an opportunity to develop a place that did not 'turn its back' on the town centre, but instead generated a 'ripple effect' whereby a more affluent community would bring economic benefits to Woolwich as a whole. This would be done by carefully regulating the uses permitted within the RAR development so that residents were 'in a sense forced' to cross the Plumstead Road to use the shops in Woolwich town centre and thus 'raise the quality of the shopping experience.' Despite this overall aim, the LDA planners recalled numerous changes to the project brief, describing it as a 'moving policy target', a sentiment echoed by the LBG

planner with particular reference to Mixed Use:

> '...plans do have a tendency to change in detailed design... So just because the Masterplan says there will be particular uses, doesn't mean it will be that way...The developers want the flexibility to respond to the market...that's inevitable with a Masterplan that's been around for twenty years, but it does mean the end product won't look much like the original plan.' (INT31)

Continual revisions were confirmed in an interview with an executive from Berkeley Homes (INT27) who emphasised the commercial benefits of Mixed Use and its capacity to create 'a sense of place' in the context of increased housing numbers:

> '...what it means to residents is that there should be facilities that are their own, for this particular area – decent shopping, bars and restaurants, a health facility, an education facility and some cultural uses...you need non-residential uses to make a place and that enhances both our sales rate and sales revenue... People buy into the dream that you're trying to sell.' (INT27)

This reflection raises the crucial issue of the relationship between RAR and its environs, something that was of particular concern during a group discussion with residents (GP4), one of whom stressed they were 'trying to build a community':

> 'People outside say 'it's a walled city' and my answer is 'the walls are open'. Anyone can come in. There are lots of people here who have middle class values, but if you're prepared to behave in a way that's reasonable, you can come here.'

Another participant added:

> 'When I first came it was appalling over there. It was a really depressed area and for some time I didn't even go to explore...it was so horrible. But it's gradually coming up and now there's a Costa and a Starbucks and more of us go there to do our shopping.'

For the LBG planner (INT31), such sentiments suggest the development of a 'self-defined'

suburban-styled community, separate from the wider Woolwich area which was 'not exactly what the planners had in mind'. The LDA remains optimistic that Woolwich can be subject to a 'big transformation', but is also aware of the dangers of creating a fragmented, divided landscape, concerns that are compounded by difficulties with the realisation of Mixed Use and public realm strategies and an acknowledgment that, to date, the animation and footfall levels at RAR have failed to meet expectations. All interviewees highlighted the significance of Crossrail to RAR's future, particularly in terms of Mixed Use, with the potential for the station to generate a wider range of local services, although the local planner noted the 10% reduction of affordable housing resulting from the agreement for Berkeley Homes to build the 'shell' of the new station, but for the developer Crossrail pertains wider significance:

> '...the plan now is that most of the Mixed Use will be around and on top of the Crossrail station... For the town itself, it will be a catastrophe if it doesn't come...Crossrail is the impetus the area needs. There's always been a difference in sales values between north and south of the river and a lot of that's to do with transport... Crossrail will get you to the West End and across to Heathrow quickly... (but it's) not a done deal. There will be a box and there will be trains running through the box. Whether there's an actual station or not is still in the hands of others...' (INT27)

For the local politician (INT30) Crossrail is crucial because 'the world's perception of the town will change' as well as potentially connecting local people to a wider employment market.

In the current absence of a significant range of Mixed Use services, The Dial Arch pub was seen as a crucial amenity by residents (GP4) and was linked to a sense of identity, security and again, the relationship between RAR and Woolwich town centre:

> 'This (the Dial Arch) is a place where women feel totally comfortable. It's completely safe.'

> 'This is the village pub. It's a magnet for our social activities, a place where you'll always find a friendly place. It's like you're coming to your living room.'

'The prices in this pub are higher and there's no desire to make them lower because if you want to drink here, you have to pay the extra ...there's no way I'd go to any of those pubs across the road on my own, but here I feel locked within my community.'

## Summary of Observations

The developers' publicity material refers to Royal Arsenal Riverside, home to 3,500 people, as a 'vibrant riverside quarter' (Berkeley Homes press release 10.6.11). The evidence of this research suggests that, while RAR may have the potential to fulfil this description, it has yet to establish the relationship between Mixed Use, pedestrian footfall and an animated public realm. At the time of carrying out the observation exercise, there were only three established commercial enterprises at RAR (the 'Dial Arch' pub, 'Couture' café/delicatessen and the 'Firepower' museum and cafe/bistro) and this appears a likely cause of the variable pedestrian footfall, not just in and around the public realm, but in the developments' streets, which were often deserted, particularly after 6pm. However, a local councillor (INT30) argues that a long-term view is needed in order to realise the full benefits of the development:

'There's still another decade or more of the development to take place...I guess it's only in twenty years' time that we'll know if it's really been a success...' (INT30)

A key concern of the RAR project is its spatial relationship with its surroundings, particularly Woolwich town centre and the Thames riverside. Taken purely as a reflection of pedestrian movements it appears that a strong connection has been established between RAR and Woolwich, although this is to be expected given its transport links. What is less clear is the extent to which people who live at RAR use other services and facilities in the town centre, or whether their patterns of behaviour are creating the potential for a separate community, something that could be intensified when future development phases increase the number of retail and other commercial services within the RAR walls, although this is something the LPA is actively seeking to avoid (see INT30). Evidence for the connection between RAR and the riverside is less apparent, although there was a noticeable spike in footfall on Monday evening when people were observed returning to RAR using the Thames Clipper service.

Low pedestrian activity may have particular implications for the viability of the Firepower museum for which concern has been expressed because of low visitor numbers. This is

confirmed by the Berkeley Homes executive (INT27) who also sits on the museum's management committee and whose comments reflect the results of the observation and the difficulties in establishing different types of Mixed Use:

'...the Firepower museum (has) struggled because it just hasn't got the footfall, but when the pub opened it was successful straightaway.' (INT27)

By far the least used element of the RAR public realm was Wellington Park, a large open green space to the east of the site. This was a surprising finding, for several reasons. Wellington Park provides a very pleasant environment: a landscaped garden surrounded by historic buildings, residential blocks, including family housing and an enclosed children's playground. Clearly the weather is likely to be a significant factor in the level of use of such an area, but while the climate during the observation period was changeable, there were several periods of bright sunshine when it was warm enough to sit outside, but only three people were recorded doing so. Only one group of children was recorded playing in the park, although another group of three was seen 'hanging out', although previous visits to Wellington Park have seen it in greater use. Given this, it is possible that the low numbers recorded in the observations was untypical and reflects the unpredictable weather, the time of year or some other random variable. However, there may also be some factors in the design and spatial characteristics of this part of the RAR public realm that fails to encourage greater use. The park itself is raised above street level in order to accommodate an underground car park. This podium effect makes Wellington Park unobservable from the street, something that may deter some users because it reduces visibility. Whyte makes a similar observation about the design of Bryant Park in New York where the public space is separated and hidden from the street, preventing both surveillance and the easy movement from one space to another (Whyte 2000, p 312). The raised level also makes Wellington Park less readily accessible to wheelchair users or people with baby buggies and although there is sloped access at the southern end, no wheelchairs or buggies were recorded during the observations. There are no shelters in the park (or elsewhere within RAR), which although they may be perceived as a security risk or management problem, could encourage more use in inclement weather and break up the otherwise exposed feeling. Finally, the children's playground is in a separate enclosure adjacent to the park, but at street level, meaning that parents or carers cannot be in the park and maintain easy supervision.

The Royal Arsenal residents' group (GP4) was asked about the use of Wellington Park. One pointed out that the space is used for occasional community events and more regular 'boot camp' exercise classes, although these are run as a commercial enterprise. Another resident highlighted the potentially conflicting uses and perceptions of the public realm:

> 'People tend not to use it for just sitting in because there are other areas and it is often full of kids. Using the park for events is problematic if held too often because of noise.'

This view has been echoed by CABE in a more general criticism of the RAR public realm strategy:

> '...we are not convinced that the purpose of each space has been fully considered in relation to each other and with a view of their proposed character and the uses that surround each one.' (CABE 2008)

The use of the public realm in general and Wellington Park in particular raises interesting questions about the extent to which RAR offers an environment that meets the needs of those with and without children. The LPA regards achieving a 'mixed and balanced' population as a policy objective, but the developer has questioned the site's suitability for families, as reflected in the housing mix which proposes that 80% of homes are studio, one and two bedroom flats (Berkeley Homes 2005, para. 6.29, p23). The lack of housing for families was raised as an objection to the RAR planning application (LBG 2008b, p75) and inevitably produces a community that does not have significant numbers of children, something that residents interviewed are conscious of and relate specifically to the type of place they live in and how they want to see RAR develop in the future (GP4)

> 'Many of us are here building a community. We're mostly singles or childless couples...and we want the amenities – shops, a doctor's surgery, restaurants – to be here, on site.'

It is interesting to note that facilities for children are not included in this list of desired Mixed Use amenities.

As in other case studies, there is a sense of the public realm at RAR being an environment subject to a significant degree of supervision and control. CCTV is frequently in evidence and there is a security patrol service, although this was not particularly noticeable during the observation period. Signs on the lampposts around the site bear the message:

> 'If you drink alcohol in the street or in public spaces in this area you may be arrested and fined £500.'

These signs were discussed with an Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) specialist working for the local authority (INT46) who explained that they are a legacy of a previous policy to exclude alcohol from certain areas of the borough. However, these exclusion zones were abandoned 18 months earlier due to problems with enforcement and replaced with a more general requirement for 'responsible' drinking. It is interesting, therefore, that the more prescriptive warnings at RAR have not been removed. The ASB specialist also related the signs to some of the social dynamics at RAR, particularly the divisions between private and 'social' housing tenants, which he described as 'huge' and added.

> 'We get complaints from private owners who call a crisp packet blowing down the street anti-social behaviour or about children from the social housing being in the park or the café. We tell them they're as entitled to be there as anyone else who lives at Royal Arsenal. It's a very nice environment, but some of the people didn't expect to be sharing it with social housing tenants.' (INT46)

The threat of 'Anti-Social Behaviour' and efforts to control it are issues that have been addressed by the developers, with an allusion both to active and passive surveillance methods, the latter a key component of the rationale for Mixed Use.

> 'There used to be a big problem with vandalism to cars, but then we put up surveillance cameras and increased staff visibility on site. We're now a no crime area. I suppose that's because potential perpetrators know there's activity and surveillance here…' (INT27)

In evaluating the use of the public realm at RAR, particularly by children and families, it should be noted that most of the residential blocks feature internal courtyards, some of which

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were intended to have play facilities for under-fives (LBG 2008a para. 9.21.4, p92). Given the configuration of the blocks and the fact that they all have security controlled access, it is impossible to say if these semi-private areas are used as an alternative to the public realm. However, the RAR developer (INT27) acknowledges the difficulty of stimulating consistent pedestrian footfall and the place that Mixed Use plays in this:

> 'Vibrancy is one of the most difficult things to make work. Creating a new community is very difficult, but I think we're just beginning to see signs of it. A lot of that is to do with the pub on site, we have a gym, a little shop and the new uses will help.' (INT27)

The results of this research exercise confirm that use of the public realm is positively associated with successful Mixed Use facilities, such as the Dial Arch pub and suggests that, particularly given the size of RAR, far more Mixed Use will be needed to maintain a consistent level of animation throughout the site.

**Conclusions**

Royal Arsenal Riverside can be seen as representing the fusion of two, arguably conflicting, urban planning philosophies. On one hand, the project celebrates localism and compactness expressed through the multi-faceted aspiration of 'place making' and 'sustainable communities'. On the other hand, RAR is the product of large-scale, pan-regional planning policy predicated upon urban growth and sprawl. Mixed Use can be seen as an attempt to mediate the conflicts between these poles. A place that could otherwise be characterised as a vast, partially gated, mostly private, possibly exclusive or excluding housing development is tempered by attempts to introduce other uses that attract a more diverse range of activities and people for the benefit of residents and the wider community. Moreover, Mixed Use is the vehicle for a series of other objectives that fit with the overall policy context within which RAR was developed, particularly the reconnection of two parts of Woolwich that had first been separated by previous industrial use, then became the focus of industrial abandonment and resulting attempts to reverse economic decline. These themes will continue to be highly relevant for the future of RAR, particularly in terms of the Crossrail link and the prospects for the 'Mega Regen' Thames Gateway initiative (Jones and Evans 2008).

These issues are accentuated by the size and complexity of RAR and its planning history, which has evolved over a prolonged period from a scheme with 500 homes, light-industrial uses and a predominantly local focus, to one which may have 5000 new homes, consumer oriented Mixed Uses and form part of a pan-regional growth strategy. This transformation reflects many of the key urban policy trends since the RAR project began in the mid -1990s, combining the ascendency of private property developers acting in tandem with increasingly entrepreneurial models of planning policy, while pursuing the leitmotifs of cultural identity, aspirational urban lifestyles and responding to the varied concerns for the safe and sustainable city.

One particular issue relating to RAR's protracted and convoluted planning history is the capacity for local residents to have any meaningful involvement in such a project. The UK planning system now has a statutory, political, professional and rhetorical commitment to actively engaging local communities in its decision making, as set out in the LPA's 'Statement of Community Involvement'. This intention relates to the wider debate around the role and legitimacy of planning in an increasingly complex policy and spatial environment (Bradwell and Inderpaul 2006). As Ratcliffe et al note:

> 'The government has consistently said that they would like to create a 'culture change' in planning. Numerous policy documents have promoted greater community involvement…to create meaningful engagement in the system.' (Ratcliffe et al 2009 pp 48 – 49)

However, such aspirations may not take account of the time-scales and detail of a project like RAR. It is likely that the redevelopment will take thirty years and has already, in its first fifteen years, generated a massive body of planning literature. However well-intentioned an aim, it seems unlikely that 'ordinary' citizens can maintain a consistent level of participation in and vigilance over such a process. This is reflected in a consultation exercise conducted for one of the most recent phases of RAR, in which 2,500 local residents and readers of two local newspapers were invited to submit comments on a significant Mixed Use extension of the existing scheme, but only 22 feedback forms were received (Berkeley Homes 2011).

If the wider population of Woolwich does not engage with the continuing transformation of RAR, then it may be that its 'self-defined community' becomes more entrenched and that a

narrow band of interests, comprising existing residents, the local authority and the development company, will define its socio-spatial character. In this respect, images used to 'sell' and promote RAR may assume a greater resonance and this is powerfully suggested by some of the promotional material used to attract buyers and residents (Caldeira 1999). The interview carried out with the developer (INT27) refers to Berkeley Homes seeking people to 'buy the dream', visualised though a host of marketing images and messages, exemplified by the following photo and text:



Fig. 40 Advertising hoarding from Royal Arsenal Riverside (photo by author 11<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2009).

A unique development, regeneration in the truest sense. Out of the shell of an old factory works new construction surges forth… Behind the sleek modern façade a cool contemporary living space.'

(Advertising hoarding, Woolwich Riverside sales office)

A range of meanings can be discerned from these examples. They evoke a particular vision of present day urbanism based on a knowing lexicon of youth, cultural diversity and an almost seamless inter-play of work, consumption and leisure, activities that Mixed Use is specifically designed to accommodate, but which may exclude those not able to participate in this 'landscape of consumption' (Zukin 1991). However, while some theorists may regard RAR as a classic example of the 'colonisation of space' in the interests of the affluent (Harvey 2008), there is more than one thing going on. RAR, like other Mixed Use places in

this research, presents itself as a managed environment, reflected in the profusion of CCTV, security patrol vehicles, controlled entrances, interdictory signage and the express desire (conveyed in the interviews) of the developer, residents and local politicians to maintain a high level of management of the estate. While some writers would regard this as part of the landscape of urban paranoia often typified (as by the LBG planner interviewed) by the residential enclaves of Southern California (Ellin 1997), it might also be seen as presenting a form of urbanism that is more inclusive to groups otherwise excluded from or threatened by the city. RAR may appear sanitized and impersonal, but it may also provide an environment in which women, particularly white, middle class women feel safe and secure (Zukin 1991), something that resident interviewees (GP4) explicitly welcomed. As with other key aspects of RAR, time will tell whether this sense of socio-spatial separation intensifies or dissolves in years to come and Mixed Use could be a crucial indicator of this. While local planners and politicians remain committed to creating a place that integrates with its surroundings, the scheduled arrival of a Crossrail station by 2017 is likely to create the impetus for a further wave of Mixed Use and private residential development within the 'Secret City' (Masters 1995) that redefines the identity of Woolwich in a mirror image of 'Docklands' on the other side of the river. However, as Brindley et al note, the legacy of Docklands regeneration has been uneven:

> '...Docklands is producing a collage of private realms...The social exclusiveness of the new houses and offices is mirrored by the physical exclusion imposed by the buildings themselves.' (Brindley et al 1996, p120)

An alternative reading of RAR's future would see public spending restrictions delay or prevent the opening of the Crossrail station with a resulting stagnation or erosion of the critical mass, footfall and attendant financial investment needed to sustain a Mixed Use development on this scale, leading to the potential for a place that is part-completed, spatially incongruous and socially fractured.

**Case Study 6**

**Watney Street/Tarling Estate – Polarised Space**

**Project Summary** (Full details p369)

| Mixed Use Type | Urban Infill |
| --- | --- |
| **Project Description** | Medium-scale (0.72 hectare) residential-led, public/private urban improvement site, partly resulting from demolition of council housing. |

Fig. 41  Newly built Tarling Estate c1951 (photo Tower Hamlets Local History Library).

Fig. 42  Partially demolished Tarling Estate, prior to redevelopment 2003, facing north-west towards Watney Street market (photo Tower Hamlets Local History Library).



Fig. 43  New Mixed Use development at Watney Street, looking south (photo by author 24th Jan. 2009).

## Background and Planning Rationale

Watney Street and the Tarling estate in Shadwell stand at a spatial confluence where seismic waves of urban development converge, approximately halfway between the old financial district of the City of London and the 'new' commercial centre around Canary Wharf. The continuing growth of 'Docklands', the City of London and London as a whole are inscribed in the urban morphology of the new East End, reflected in a dramatic growth in private sector housing, including a profusion of new-build 'luxury' apartments, significant investment in transport infrastructure and the development of a lifestyle aesthetic associated with the contested concept of 'new urbanism' (Davidson and Lees 2005, Butler 2007). These changes are thrown into sharp relief in Tower Hamlets, where the closure of the docks marked the demise not only of a major source of local employment, but also the end of established cultural patterns for the working class communities around them. The launch of the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) in 1980 was the catalyst for profound physical and economic transformation that has continued to reshape the social relations of east London (Brownill 1990, Butler and Rustin 1996, Foster 1999, Cohen and Rustin 2008). Thus, the Watney/Tarling development can be seen as part of a response to the rapidly changing nature of city life driven by shifts away from traditional manufacturing industry employing a local, homogeneous, industrial working class, towards a service oriented, flexible, culturally and socially diverse population operating within a globalised economy (Buck et al 2002, Butler and Robson 2003).

The area around Watney Street had, until recently, not been subject to the same degree of change as other parts of the East End. However, the local authority had an 'emerging vision' that sought to revitalise and reconnect Shadwell in order that it kept pace with the metropolis around it. Priorities included strengthening the links between Commercial Road and Watney Market by encouraging new housing, improving shop frontages and capitalising on transport links in order to create a 'landmark' area and a 'walkable Shadwell'. (LBTH 2009a)

Within this context, the Planning Statement states that the Watney/Tarling Mixed Use development would deliver the following 'significant planning and regeneration benefits':

1. Contribute to growth and diversification of the local economy and provide a range of employment opportunities for local residents.

2. Provide retail facilities for existing and future residents and local employees.

3. Contribute to strategic and local housing objectives and provide a range of accommodation of varying size, tenure and affordability, including a high proportion of large family-oriented units.

4. Deliver a significant number of affordable housing units.

5. Act as a catalyst for the regeneration of the wider area.

6. Significantly improve visual amenity through the development of high quality, mixed use buildings.

7. Provide a landmark building at a site of strategic significance.

8. Respond positively and sensitively to the locality's urban design context.

(Toynbee Housing Association April 2004, para. 7.38, pp 31 – 32)

The spatial planning and policy rationale for the development also related to the extant London Plan (Mayor of London 2004) which stipulated the requirement for 23,000 additional homes in the capital by 2016, of which 7,140 per annum were to be provided in the East London sub-region and 2,070 per annum in Tower Hamlets (Policy 3A.1). The Plan also indicates the aspiration that 50% of these new homes would be 'affordable' (Policy 3A.7) and explicitly encourages Mixed Use development as a mechanism for maximising the intensification of site usage, high density housing, low parking provision and enhancement of the public realm (Policy 4B.1). Tall buildings that create attractive landmarks within their urban context are also encouraged (Policy 4B.8).

The strategic location and function of Shadwell is also related to what has been referred to as the 'City Fringe', an arc running from the eastern edge of the City of London near Liverpool Street station, south through Aldgate and bending south-east into Whitechapel and Shadwell. The City Fringe has been identified by the London Plan as an 'opportunity area' capable of accommodating thousands of new homes and jobs using Mixed Use as a key policy tool (Mayor London 2005). While Watney/Tarling lies at the periphery of the City Fringe, it can be viewed as forming part of the missing spatial link joining the City of London to Docklands, or as a sign that the City is set to 'invade' Tower Hamlets (Architects Journal, 26.09.02).

## Development History

Policy statements that underpinned the eventual Mixed Use scheme conceal a deep planning archaeology that illustrates some of the vicissitudes of policy and the complex and sometimes opaque machinations of the property development process (Ambrose and Colenutt 1975, Logan and Molotch 1987, Rydin 2010). Prior to the Second World War, Shadwell, like the rest of the East End, was a densely populated landscape of terraced streets. As today, Watney Street was the main north/south artery of the area and hosted a popular traditional street market. After the war, extensive bomb damage coincided with a determined new approach to slum clearance and council house building (Labour Party 1945, Timmins 1995). It was in this spirit that the Metropolitan Borough of Stepney (which became part of Tower Hamlets Council in 1964) embarked on the building of the Tarling Street estate in 1949 (fig 41). The new estate comprised seven blocks containing 258 homes (LBTH 1986) with the aim of reducing the population density by half (Metropolitan Borough of Stepney 1949). However, crucially for this case study, a strip of land on Watney Street, which is now the eastern boundary of the new development, remained vacant and was classified as Temporary Open Space. Following the demise of the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1986, the land was owned by the London Residuary Body (LRB). Possible uses proposed for the empty site included a new public library or housing, but the files indicate that until 1990, the local authority's preference was for the site to be landscaped and retained as public open space. At some point between 1989 and 1990, ownership of the undeveloped strip of land passed from the LRB to a private developer. The files do not make clear exactly how this happened, but the approximate market value of the site at that time is indicated by the archived record that Wapping Neighbourhood[22] offered to buy the strip of land for £50,000, for use as open space (Wapping Neighbourhood 1989). Apparently these negotiations did not succeed because the private owner set up a development company with a local charity to build sheltered housing on the site (Wapping Neighbourhood 1990) and a planning application was submitted. Strong local opposition was voiced against the proposal, as reflected in numerous petitions and letters in the planning files and in March 1993, the application was refused, on the grounds of 'over development' and the impact the scheme would have on local residents.

In 1994 Wapping Neighbourhood made another attempt to buy the site. Interestingly, it also

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[22]During this period, Tower Hamlets Council was divided into seven semi-autonomous 'Neighbourhoods'.

offered the owner a 'land swap' of two other publicly owned pieces of land in exchange for the Watney Street site (Wapping Neighbourhood 1994). These negotiations also appear to have failed, but by 1997, the private developer had gone into liquidation and another private developer offered the official receiver £500,000 to acquire the land, along with some adjacent sites. The fact that the site's value had increased tenfold in less than a decade reflects the dramatic upsurge of the global property market in the 1990s and its relationship to patterns of urban development, particularly in London's Docklands (Fainstein 1994).

By 1998, through a process that again is not clear from the planning files, the Watney/Tarling site was owned by a consortium comprising Tower Hamlets Council, Toynbee Homes and a construction company, Galliford Hodgson Ltd[23]. In December 1999 a planning application was made by Toynbee Homes which bears the recognisable imprint of the final scheme and sees the first explicit reference to the Mixed Use concept (LBTH 2000). However, this proposal is very different from the one eventually built. It shows a low-rise assembly of four and five storey buildings comprising 101 apartments, 11 retail units, traditional market stalls, public open space and a piazza linking the south and north of Watney Street. Despite renewed opposition from some local residents, planning permission for this project was granted by Tower Hamlets Development Committee on 27th July 1998. However, it was not until 12th January 2005 that the Development Committee considered and granted planning permission for the final scheme. In the intervening years, not only had the property market risen significantly, but the focus of the local authority appears to have shifted beyond the use of a particular site, towards the regeneration of the Tarling Estate and the wider Shadwell area.

In 2003, under a headline 'Time to move over Tarling', the local newspaper announced a 'major regeneration' of the Tarling estate, illustrated by a photograph of the demolition of two blocks of council housing (see fig 42) and the following quote from the Chief Executive of Toynbee Homes:

> 'We are delighted we can begin to deliver some real improvements for people in Shadwell. When this scheme is complete the neighbourhood will be transformed and will offer quality homes and a safer environment for residents.' (East London

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[23]Toynbee Homes was a subsidiary of Toynbee Housing Association, both of which are now part of a group structure, One Housing Group. Galliford Hodgson now trades as Galliford Try.

In this narrative, the Mixed Use Watney/Tarling project becomes intrinsically linked to the twin objectives of area regeneration and the diminution of local authority housing in order to produce what the developer refers to as 'a more mixed and balanced community' (Toynbee Housing Association 2004). The planning documentation endorses this purpose, setting the project in a wider urban design context, with distinct Jacobsian undertones:

> 'The proposal forms an excellent response to the urban context. The site is permeable without sacrificing a clear distinction between public and private. The increased density has a logical place next to the two Shadwell stations and will provide a critical mass of people necessary for a lively neighbourhood and to sustain local shops. The variety of dwelling type, size and tenure will result in a mixed neighbourhood that is hallmark to a sustainable community.' (GLA 2005, p4, para. 16)

As the GLA report notes, housing mix was fundamental to achieving the aim of a sustainable community. Planning reports emphasis the provision of a high proportion of 'affordable' and larger family homes within the scheme, but this conceals important signs of tenure segregation and a selective interpretation of 'affordable' housing. The figure for non-market housing within the Watney/Tarling development presented by the LPA in recommending support for the scheme is 75% (LBTH 2005, para. 6.4.2 )[24], calculated by adding together homes for social rent (n75), shared ownership (n73) and intermediate rent for key workers (n24). By contrast, the Planning Statement refers to the provision of 34% (n75) affordable homes, by only counting units for social rent and acknowledges that this figure is below the London Plan target of 50% (Toynbee Homes 2004, p26, para. 7.12), a discrepancy that is not addressed in either the LBTH or GLA reports seeking planning permission. For Stone (2006), these are not purely issues of semantics because weak classifications of affordable housing have significant social and geographical consequences. There is no statutory definition of affordable housing (House of Commons Library, 2006), but research by the charity Shelter (2010) suggests that 'intermediate' tenures, such as 'low cost' or shared ownership are 'poorly articulated' and are driven more by the commercial interests of RSLs

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[24] The Greater London Authority (GLA) also had a development control function in approving the scheme, but gives the figure of 'affordable' homes as 78% (GLA 2005). This is one of a number of arithmetic or presentational discrepancies between the planning documentation produced by LBTH, GLA and the developer.

than housing needs. Shelter found that the average income of people taking advantage of intermediate home ownership is £28,000 - £32,000 and that RSL development strategies are increasingly dominated by such products, while building fewer homes for social rent. The average wage in Tower Hamlets is just below the London average at £32,157, but this figure needs to be set in the context of starkly uneven income distribution, whereby 15% of Tower Hamlets residents have gross household income below £10,000, compared to 11% for London as a whole, while the next 22% have income below £20,000 (LBTH 2005b, p22). The median income in the Shadwell ward is £25,703 and one quarter of the ward population has income below £15,000 (LBTH 2010, p38). These figures indicate that Tower Hamlets residents in general and Shadwell residents in particular are unlikely to be able to take advantage of intermediate home ownership, a suggestion supported by research (LBTH 2009c) which found that 64% of working Tower Hamlets households could not afford to buy a home and that of 58 homes purchased through intermediate home ownership between April and September 2008, only five had gone to families on the borough's housing waiting list, leading the report to conclude that there should be,

'...more emphasis on social rented rather than shared ownership because social rented stock would meet more local need.' (LBTH 2009c, p18).

In addition to the tenure mix across the Watney/Tarling development, it is also important to note that none of the 78 affordable homes are contained within the 'landmark' 20-storey tower block, Kelday Heights (Toynbee Housing Association 2004, p8, para. 4.6), an issue that is also not addressed in either the LBTH or GLA reports. Similarly, the planning narrative stresses the provision of large family homes, referring to a 'significant proportion' of homes of three bedrooms or more (LBTH 2005, para. 6.4.1). However, a subsequent planning report confirms that 80% of the homes at Watney/Tarling are one and two bedroom apartments (LBTH 2009b, p32, para. 8.6).

Reflecting on an earlier phase in the socio-spatial restructuring of Shadwell – and one specifically focussed on the ward's immediate river-frontage – Davidson and Lees (2005) argue that 'new build gentrification' is characterised by a profusion of expensive private apartments marketed to the high-earning middle class, leading to a large growth in the proportion of professional class residents forming a population aspiring to a particular aesthetic of urban living, but one that tends to be transient and socially insular. The planning

rationale and development history, together with the following interviews and observations, examine to what extent this description applies to the Watney/Tarling development.

**Summary of Interviews**

The lead planner for the Watney/Tarling development had retired when this research was conducted. However, there is a record of the planner's reasoning in recommending approval for the project in the original committee reports (LBTH 2000, 2005). This is augmented by an interview with another Tower Hamlets planner (PLA11) who provided a more general explanation of the LPA's Mixed Use policy, but with some specific references to the Watney/Tarling development.

The planning narrative highlights the merits of Mixed Use in comparison to the mono-functional residential use that is associated with the two blocks of council housing demolished to make way for the new development, adding that the commercial units 'will make an important contribution to the growth and diversification of the local economy' (LBTH 2005a, para. 6.3.1). The planner also recognises opposition to the proposed high-rise block, but comments that 'tall blocks of flats are not necessarily bad' (LBTH 2005a, para. 6.10.4) and concluding that the new scheme 'represents a high quality piece of contemporary architecture to address the site's strategic importance' (LBTH 2005a, para. 7.2)

Unusually, this same planner is also quoted in the media discussing the potential for Tower Hamlets to take strategic advantage of a wave of new property developments:

> 'Make no mistake, this is a massive opportunity for the local area and the council will be in the driving seat encouraging economic growth. As a result, we will ensure that we gain as many new jobs and new homes through planning gains and the use of section 106 agreements (as possible).' (Architects Journal 2002)

PLA11 confirmed the pursuit of these objectives in relation to Mixed Use policy, particularly in the City Fringe, as a mechanism for optimising land use by bolstering viability for the provision of infrastructure for a growing population, in this context describing Watney/Tarling as an 'exemplar' project where Mixed Use 'reinforced what's already there'.

A developer (INT10) with long direct involvement in the site presented a different understanding of how the scheme evolved, relating the replacement of the low-rise, low-density proposal with the final development to wider factors:

> 'You get periods when everyone forgets everything and goes crazy. They think that numbers means more money....When the market went out of control there were so many applications that planners lost the plot and things were getting pushed through that weren't being scrutinised enough...Mixed Use has tended to become a one size fits all policy and Tarling/Watney Street is a classic example' (INT10)

This market-oriented interpretation is confirmed by INT5a, a senior manager with Toynbee Housing Association who recalled that most of the private apartments in Kelday Heights were sold to institutional and Buy to Let investors, contributing to a separation between private and non-private residents through their occupancy of different blocks and relationship to the wider community. One interviewee from Kelday Heights (INT6) reported confronting fellow residents about their negative attitudes towards people living in the surrounding area, but older Shadwell residents also expressed doubts about newer arrivals:

> 'I've made friends with one person in that development...I don't see them.' (INT2)

> 'They don't seem to be part of the texture of the area. It's more mixed, but people don't seem to be interacting.' (INT3)

Personal safety was a concern for residents of the new private development and was related to a particular group of 'Asian youths' (Minutes of Residents Association, 24.6.09). Several other respondents expressed their feelings about changes in the local area through perceptions of ethnicity. Such sentiments were related to a narrative of cultural identity, entitlement and resentment, whereby some residents felt 'left out' from the benefits of regeneration

> 'Where they wanted integration, it's caused segregation. Don't get me wrong, I'm not racist, but the Asian community gets all these new builds because they're purposely built for them. They're making communities of Asians. They don't want to mix with us.' (INT1)

However, another long-term resident (INT3) observes 'there's never any resentment to the white middle classes' and INT1 underlines the suggestion that certain new arrivals to the area may be more easily accepted in cultural terms, even if they are perceived to have a different socio-economic status:

> 'Yuppies were just people who had a few more bob than I did. They've integrated into our way. They eat more pie and mash than I do... It's a cultural thing. Nothing to do with colour, race or language. The Jewish community's culture is quite similar to ours – the Asian community's is completely different.' (INT1)

The development history of Watney/Tarling was a particular source of resentment for some interviewees:

> 'We were told there were going to be shops like their used to be – butchers and bakers and little supermarkets...You had everything you needed in one spot.' (INT1)

This sense of nostalgia for a place as it used to be was related by other long-term residents to the quality of local shops and again, this was sometimes related to ethnicity:

> 'There are lots of Bangladeshi fruits and vegetables and shops selling the same stuff, but you can't do a proper shop.' (INT4)

By contrast, residents of the new development all commented on the variety of local shops and market stalls. For one (INT9) local regeneration, particularly the new East London Line station, had a positive effect because it would 'put Shadwell on the map' and for another (INT8) this was explicitly linked to having bought a home in the area as an investment and an expectation that properties would increase in value.

Residents were also asked about their perceptions and use of the public space around the new development:

> 'Those little stone things? They don't even look like benches!' (GP1)

> 'They've tried to manufacture the public realm. It's typical planners. They set down

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rules and we've got to conform to them.' (INT2)

'Nobody hangs around there. It's a horrible area. It seems really naïve. People from different backgrounds don't go and sit there and start talking to each other.' (INT3)

'I'd tell the architects "there is no public space here". All there is are some concrete planters and benches. It could have been much more carefully designed. (INT6)

Some of these responses do not necessarily tally with observation, however, they do seem to reflect a sense of dissatisfaction not just with the design of the new development per se, but perhaps more generally with the process and ideology that underlies it.

The divergence of views about the Watney/Tarling development was summed up by a local politician (INT5b) who reflected that Mixed Use had not prevented the area from becoming 'polarised' and elaborates this point by describing the competing interests that different actors have in the development process:

'Different disciplines and people have different sets of glasses through which they see that space. You have people who are selling land and property developers concerned with market values; land use planners have a fairly technocratic understanding of how that space fits into the world outside; all of those people have a rhetorical commitment to something that is supposedly value free whereas in reality (it) is contested.' (INT5b)

These contested interpretations of space are further reflected in the use of the Watney/Tarling public realm.

**Summary of Observations**

Judged by the volume and diversity of use, the public realm at Watney/Tarling can be described as successful, a finding that requires an appreciation of the area's socio-spatial context and design. Above all, although Watney Plaza and its associated network of public space are 'new' and were integral to the redevelopment project, they form part of an established street pattern with a variety of pre-existing mixed uses. However, these uses have

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changed significantly during the time-scale of this research. Since February 2009, when the area was first considered as a possible case study, the new shops on Watney Plaza and Martha Street have all been let, the public space on the western side of Watney Street has been completed and the Shadwell East London line station has opened. The railway arches along Chapman Street have also become a more prominent shopping centre, catering largely to the Bangladeshi community. All of the latter could be seen as likely to contribute to the overall volume of use and footfall in the study area. These additions should be set alongside the loss of some amenities since 2009. Care House, a community centre behind Watney Plaza run by a veteran community activist, its clientele largely drawn from the white working class, has closed down, as have two cafes/coffee bars and a sari shop. These changes reflect both the short-term volatility of new-start commercial enterprises and the long-term socio-demographic changes in the Shadwell area evidenced in other parts of the research. In particular, the closure of Care House can be seen as an example of the passing of the 'old' Watney Street bemoaned by some interviewees. However, the sum total of these changes is certainly in favour of more pedestrian use of the Watney/Tarling public realm.

A feature of Watney/Tarling is its animation throughout the day, a key aspiration for Mixed Use planning. Although the street market stalls begin to close at 6pm, the following uses were still open in Watney Street at 8pm on a Saturday evening: a betting shop, a pub, an internet shop, a hair and beauty parlour, a barber, a sari shop, a property services and travel agency and two convenience stores. By contrast, the space to the rear of Kelday Heights is by far the least animated area of public realm and this appears to reflect its location, character and design. James Voller Way runs parallel to Watney Street, but is essentially a backstreet and this identity has not been altered by the new design of the public realm and streetscape. Furthermore and related to this, the deployment of Mixed Use has been far less successful here than in other parts of the Watney/Tarling development. There are four commercial units, of which only one was open at any point during the observation period and one has never been occupied. The only unit in consistent use is a hair and beauty parlour, but this has erratic opening hours. In sum, there is insufficient Mixed Use activity in this vicinity to drive consistent footfall or animation of the public realm.

These difficulties with letting Mixed Use space are compounded and possibly contributed to by elements of the urban design. Four benches are concentrated in a landscaped configuration, interspersed with concrete planters, at the southern end of James Voller Way.

The surrounding buildings mean the benches are almost always in shade. The area also has a noticeable ambiguity of purpose. The corner of James Voller Way and Tarling Street is a conventional road traffic junction, with cars parking both on the street and gaining access, via the pavement, to the carports that adjoin the town-houses on the eastern side. However, the junction with Spencer Way is marked by a different road surface suggesting the characteristics of a 'Home Zone', although there is no signage for such a designation and no traffic calming measures to warn against driving at excessive speeds within a 'shared space' and several cars were seen driving at more than 20mph in this area. Given this, it is perhaps not surprising that very few children were observed playing in the 'street'. The remainder of James Voller Way, including the area of benches (fig. 44), appears to be intended for pedestrian use only, although this is not always complied with (fig. 45) and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the benches and planters are intended as traffic barriers, rather than as contributions to the public realm.



Fig. 44  James Voller Way looking north, a cluttered, ill-defined collection of benches and planters (photo by author 19th Sept. 2011).

Fig. 45 James Voller Way looking south. Note empty commercial units at right and car parked in area that could be pavement or public realm, but is also adjacent to carports (photo by author 17ᵗʰ Sept. 2011).

By contrast, the newly completed square opposite Kelday Heights offers a much more coherent example of public space and its interface with the street, benefitting from the footfall along Watney Street and Chapman Street, but also presenting an unambiguous design that attracts people into and through the landscaped area. However, it is interesting to note the omission of any children's play equipment.

## Conclusions

This case study illustrates some of the key shifts and trends in urban and planning policy over the last quarter of a century. In 1986, when Tower Hamlets Council began to plan the future of the partially-vacant Watney/Tarling site, public authorities still largely operated within a system of municipal managerialism shaped by the post-war consensus and exemplified by mass council housing such as that demolished to make way for the Watney/Tarling project. By 2005, when the scheme was given planning permission, the same agencies had widely embraced a style of entrepreneurialism reflecting the new dynamics of the 'post-modern' city (Brenner and Theodore 2002) and spatial strategies for reshaping the Welfare State (Jessop 1998), characterised by strategic regeneration based on diversified service provision through

public-private and multi-agency partnerships such as those with Registered Social Landlords (Cochrane 2004). Congruent with these changes, at Watney/Tarling the council's strategy moved from being primarily concerned with the use of a particular site, to a focus on the regeneration of a wider area. The scale, massing and density of the eventual development dwarfed those previously envisaged, driven by extremely favourable housing market conditions. The modern, glass-clad and overwhelmingly private tower block stands in stark contrast to the council housing it replaced and the traditional street market and flats above shops that featured in earlier plans, perhaps confirming the 'over development' fears of some local people, but also facilitating the arrival of a 'new' type of Shadwell resident.

Mixed Use has been proposed as a medium for resolving such social complexities and enhancing the urban experience, but this research questions if this has been the case in Shadwell where one of the most prominent issues to emerge was a lack of any sense of social integration associated with the new development and on the contrary, the perception of spatial separation defined by class, housing tenure and ethnicity. This is not a surprising finding and one that has been extensively and controversially explored elsewhere, with some writers referring to the existence of a disaffected and forgotten 'white working class' in the East End (Dench et al 2006), while others emphasise the persistence of racialised models of entitlement (Wemyss 2009). Putnam (2000) has observed the existence of social networks that 'tend to reinforce identities and homogeneous groups' which for Svendsen (2010) are reflected in the type of 'subjectively constructed space' that are indicated by the degree of variation in how local residents interpret the Watney/Tarling redevelopment. For Svendsen the key to mitigating such socio-spatial segregation is the planning of multi-functional meeting places that facilitate a diversity of human exchanges, but he adds that such an expectation cannot be based upon abstract or decontextualised notions that social mixing is 'a good thing'. However, such simplistic conceptions appear to underpin the narrative of justification for the Watney/Tarling redevelopment where the original planning documentation predicts that Mixed Use will deliver a range of social, economic and spatial objectives (Toynbee Housing Association 2004). The Shadwell area exhibits a high level of animation and vivacity, some of it attributable to Mixed Use, but there is little evidence to suggest that this, in itself, is sufficient to transcend deeper social and spatial inequalities.

# Chapter 7: Reflections on the Case Studies

Walter Benjamin explored the detailed dynamics of the Parisian Arcades because he saw within them phenomena that characterised the urban preoccupations of their time, on both minor and major scales, reflected in the diverse range of material that he collected for Das Passagen-Werk. Following Benjamin's approach, this chapter considers the insights offered by the case studies on contemporary UK urbanism. It does so by addressing the research questions, how they illustrate and develop the themes within the four key discourses and the extent to which they support the proposed typology. It is apparent from the individual case studies that Mixed Use space relates closely to local circumstances, but some general conclusions can be drawn about places that share a common theoretical, conceptual and policy lineage.

## What are the conceptual foundations of Mixed Use?

Chapter 1 argued that the conceptual foundations of Mixed Use are characterised by their elasticity, but that the work of Jane Jacobs played a seminal role in establishing core principles for fostering urban vitality through a spatial form more in tune with the rhythms of city life than might be associated with more mechanistic models. Without explicitly invoking her name, each of the case studies exhibits a distinctly Jacobsian flavour, adopting formulations that are strongly redolent of the ideas and language used to promote the Mixed Use revival, confirming Jacobs' enduring influence. The urban dynamism and diversity that Jacobs associates with Mixed Use is repeatedly deployed by developers in promoting their schemes and echoed by planners in supporting them, for example at Greenwich Millennium Village the development consortium refers to the role of Mixed Use in the creation of a 'lively hub', 'the place to meet' within the 'vibrant city' (GMVL 2000), while the planning documentation describes the creation of spaces which are 'human, lively, intimate and secure' (LBG 1998, p16), a view endorsed by the lead GMV planner who argues that 'in terms of place making, Mixed Use is where it's at' (INT21). There is an apparent anomaly here because in other interviews, planners appeared not to strongly align the practical application of Mixed Use policy with its conceptual and arguably more esoteric foundations, one interviewee dismissing the Mixed Use concept as 'nonsense' and a 'glib term', rejecting the idea that people 'fall out of bed so they can go to the gym and do their shopping'. (PLA19). This inconsistency may reflect a divergence between personal and institutional perspectives

and/or suggest the existence of a 'theory/practice gap' within the planning discipline (Innes de Neufville 1983, Allmendinger 2002, Abukhater 2009, Moroni 2010) and one that assumes particular relevance in relation to Mixed Use where a specific spatial intervention is so closely aligned to expectations of the social qualities and behaviours that may result.

To the extent that the work of Jacobs can be seen as providing the foundations of Mixed Use, there appears to be significant divergence between how the concept is envisaged in theoretical terms and how it is applied in practice. Jacobs is quite exact about the requirements for the benefits of Mixed Use to be fully realised, through a detailed and specific combination of integrated, complementary and mutually reinforcing land uses, but subsequent Mixed Use policies have significantly stretched earlier definitions, leading to criticisms of vagueness and suggestions of a 'catch all' policy. Such conceptual fluidity was evidenced in the interviews with planners for this research, where there was a repeated focus on the presumed benefits of Mixed Use, rather than the conceptual foundations (PLA6, PLA11, PLA13). This finding is supported by the case studies where, in contrast to Jacobs' exposition of the synergy of different uses, non-residential space appears as a dislocated adjunct with no clear expectation of inter-relationship between different types of activities or people, but instead an assumption that the location of shops, offices or cafes will have a 'multiplier' effect in social, economic and environmental terms. At British Street, for example, where previously local shops had been integrated within the grain of their surroundings, there is no spatial relationship between the new convenience store and the housing estate to its rear, and while use of the Tesco Express generates a level of animation, this is not reflected in the adjacent redesigned public realm which appears sterile and underused. A similar disconnection between conceptual expectations for Mixed Use and social reality was found at Royal Arsenal Riverside where a strategy for 'people attracting uses' (Berkeley Homes 2000) compares sharply with observations of almost deserted streets, but where public spaces (as at Brindleyplace and Charter Quay) are also significantly securitized by CCTV, gated access and uniformed patrols, an apparent denial of the existence of informal, community surveillance networks that Jacobs (1961 pp 39 – 65) argues results from Mixed Use.

## How and why does the production of Mixed Use space occur?

The case studies illustrate the complex, multifactorial processes that produce Mixed Use space, where various policy strands and commercial interests coalesce and converge around the concept, often after prolonged development periods, policy fluctuations and several design iterations. Brindleyplace, Charter Quay and Watney Street, for example, had all originally been identified as suitable sites for a 'festival marketplace' of the kind that Goss (1996) has compared with Benjamin's Arcades, but following failed development proposals, were absorbed into the emerging architectural and policy vernacular of Mixed Use. This sense of Mixed Use as a solution to seemingly intractable urban problems is reflected in case study interviews with policy makers, such as a planner (INT25) who refers to the concept as meeting a 'combination' of strategic goals and a politician who describes Mixed Use as a method to 'combat the failure of previous policy' (INT37), while property developers acknowledge the importance of Mixed Use as 'essential' for obtaining planning permission (INT24). Thus, while allowing for their differing spatial contexts and scales, there is a noticeable consistency in how the Mixed Use concept is presented as an optimal solution to a particular urban problem, whether addressing the legacy of deindustrialisation and abandonment of the urban core (as at Brindleyplace), the perceived need to reconfigure a modernist council estate (British Street), or the aim of building a brownfield sustainable community (Greenwich Millennium Village).

Notwithstanding the apparent unassailability of the Mixed Use concept, each case study also features contested interpretations of the function and meaning of urban space. Despite the stated commitments of LPAs to community involvement in planning decisions, the opinions of residents arguing for green space and independent local shops (British Street), community facilities (GMV), affordable housing (Charter Quay) or low density development (Watney Street) are ultimately subverted by the multiple benefits claimed for Mixed Use. Beyond specific issues, some residents interviewed pose fundamental questions about the qualities of urban space and how Mixed Use might relate to them, for example:

> 'It's quite vibrant around the shops, but apart from that, there isn't actually that much to do. For some people it's just abstract, or virtual, whereas others are more organically rooted in the area. (The Mixed Use development) doesn't take account of the reality of social space and how people really relate to each other, in terms of

identity and culture, your history in the area - lots of things. It's like the planning in the 60s when they didn't look at people's wider connections to the economy and power.' (INT3)

As discussed by Bagaeen (2011) in relation to the siting of a new supermarket, the conflicting narratives surrounding the production of Mixed Use space reflect the competing constituencies operating within the dynamic of property development and the planning system wherein unequal power relationships mediate the extent to which some voices are heard and others silenced.

**How has the Mixed Use concept been incorporated into urban policy regeneration strategies?**

The widespread adoption of Mixed Use within the hierarchy of urban strategy is an example of the elevation of a particular policy formulation assumed to have generalised applicability (Cochrane and Ward 2012). Each case study contains a narrative in which Mixed Use is privileged and advanced as a mechanism for achieving other policy and spatial objectives such as reviving the urban core (Brindleyplace), renovating a council estate (British Street), building a cultural attraction (Charter Quay), promoting sustainable urbanism (GMV), generating new housing (Royal Arsenal), area regeneration (Watney Street) and possibly some combination of these. Furthermore, the case studies suggest that the promotion of space for Mixed Use leads to the relegation of space for other purposes so, for instance, there is no housing (affordable or otherwise) within the Brindleyplace development, the Tesco Express at British Street replaced small independent shops and occupied a space that was to have provided a communal garden, the Rose Theatre in Kingston was built instead of affordable homes and retail units took precedence over housing units at Greenwich Millennium Village.

The wide-ranging policy framework established to support Mixed Use discussed in Chapter 3 provides a regulatory validation that acts to relegate alternative interpretations of urban space and becomes written into the 'persuasive story telling' (Throgmorton 2003) of planning and regeneration strategies. This dynamic also forms an important part of the negotiation process between the LPA and developers seeking planning permission by setting the context for a scheme being composed and constructed in a particular way by a pragmatic application of policy to meet particular ends. Thus, a particular intervention is justified and legitimised

through the strategic deployment of policies that appear above criticism, particularly when combined with the irrefutable logic, if imprecise definition, of sustainability.

**Do the outcomes of Mixed Use development fulfill the conceptual aspirations set out in policy?**

Given ambiguous conceptual foundations and a diffuse policy background, it is not surprising that the case studies indicate significant divergence between the stated objectives and observable outcomes of Mixed Use developments. These discrepancies operate at a variety of levels, ranging from the omission of elements of a proposed scheme, such as a gym (Watney Street) or community centre (GMV), to an apparent failure to nurture the type of urban vitality that is proposed as an intrinsic benefit of Mixed Use (Royal Arsenal). It could be argued that it is unrealistic to expect an isolated specimen of a given built-form, however well intended or designed, to transcend wider social forces such as the patterns of residential transience that militate against community cohesion (evidenced by all the case studies) or the proximity of a big box retail park that undermines local shops (starkly illustrated at GMV), but it could also be argued that the narrative around Mixed Use tends towards a level of hyperbole that obscures such policy and spatial contradictions. This point was acknowledged in interviews with planners, one of whom suggests that design proposals are routinely exaggerated (INT21), while a developer admits that the conjuring of an image around Mixed Use is as important in marketing terms as it may be for sustainable urbanism.

> 'Bear in mind, we're selling a life-style to people, so even if they're not actually going to pop downstairs to enjoy a cocktail on the drinks terrace or use the residents' gym, we want them to think they are and know that they can.' (INT24)

Based on this research, a sense of inflated expectation appears to be particularly marked in relation to the design and function of the public realm, the remodelling of which is an ancillary policy driver for all of the case study developments, but where observations question whether the resulting volume and diversity of pedestrian activity matches the predicted social vitality. As Greed (2003) has argued, the existence of some very basic facilities can make a significant difference to an aspiration of inclusive urban design. However, in the case studies there was a noticeable under-provision of children's play areas, several areas that appeared to militate against easy use by buggies or wheelchairs, a complete

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absence of public toilets[25] and most noticeably, instances where public seating was either absent, poorly located or badly designed. However, facilities, or their absence, can be linked to overt and covert social meanings that circumscribe the role of and behaviour in the public realm. Lofland (1998) has stressed the importance of public space for the quality city life, but Minton (2009) has noted the highly conditional character of apparently public areas in new property developments which MacLeod (2002) specifically relates to the type of places explored in this research:

> "…any conception of 'publicness' we ascribe to the new renaissance site is highly selective…the new urban glamour zones conceal a brutalizing demarcation of winners and losers, included and excluded." (MacLeod 2002, p257)

The case studies found examples of the deliberate prohibition of certain 'undesirable' behaviour with a clear intention to enforce such rules through the intervention of security patrols linked to the private owners of Mixed Use developments or their agents (fig. 46), exercising powers which a local councillor suggested went beyond those that could be exercised by democratically controlled local authorities (INT44).



Fig. 46. Private security patrol vehicle, Royal Arsenal Riverside (photo by author, 11th Feb. 2009)

However, the maintenance of high-profile management and security and the creation of a 'safe' environment were identified by several interviewees representing property companies and residents as essential for the success of their Mixed Use developments (INT24, INT27, INT28, GP4). Wakefield (2005) argues that the phenomenon of 'publicly accessible spaces

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[25]It should be noted that this absence is not necessarily the case. The Mixed Use, commercial-led Gun Wharf development in Portsmouth, visited as part of the preliminary fieldwork for this research, has excellent public toilets.

controlled by private interests' is part of a deliberate governmental strategy for making non-public – and therefore non-accountable – agencies responsible for policing newly created places such as those described in the case studies, where the identity of public and private space is ambiguous and ostensive efforts to prevent crime may conceal wider issues of social control and civil liberties.

Evidence of 'interdictory space' (Flusty 2001) assumes additional significance in relation to Mixed Use because of the relationship the concept proposes between the built environment and an understanding of urbanity that encourages people to engage in informal and personalised, as opposed to institutionalised and controlled, social relationships (Gronlund 2007). To the extent that Mixed Use can be seen as having an ideological underpinning, it implies the type of 'right to the city', freedom of movement, diversity and spontaneity of association described by Lefebvre and Sennett. However, the case studies suggest that whether through commission or omission, Mixed Use developments are tending to produce cordons sanitaire, rather than vibrant, lively places.

**Four Key Discourses Revisited**

The four discourses discussed in Chapter 2 offer insights on the case studies from a broader theoretical perspective. It is four decades since the demolition of Pruitt-Igoe and Jencks' consignment of Modernist urbanism to history. It is, therefore, remarkable to find so many threads of the Modernist/Post-Modernist discourse running through the case studies, with one referring to the need to 'repair' the 1970s (British Street) and some interviewees juxtaposing Mixed Use to the practices of Modernism (INT30, INT37). In part, this could be interpreted as the enduring legacy of a built-environment perceived to have failed and the mobilisation of Mixed Use as an appropriate tool for remedying it. However, there are deeper resonances in the presumed fit between Mixed Use and the reconceptualisation of the city proposed by Post-Modernism, vividly illustrated by the redevelopment of large, former industrial areas such as Brindleyplace and Royal Arsenal, to create office space for the new service and finance economy or housing for those working in it. Referring to the regeneration of the Greenwich Peninsula, including GMV, one development agency states:

> 'The area that once epitomised 19th Century industry is now heralding 21st Century innovation.' (English Partnerships 2001)

Moreover, the conceptual fluidity and social transience that emerged from the case studies can be read as a reflection of the more dynamic, footloose metropolis described by Post-Modernism, compared to a monolithic image of homogeneous, decaying council estates and obsolete factory sites, an idea vividly expressed by a Brindleyplace resident in relation to new residents of central Birmingham:

> 'They might be here for two years, they're from all around the world and they don't' know if they're going to Tokyo or Los Angeles next, but they want to live in a city.' (INT29)

The second key discourse explores the enduring influence of Utopian thought and practice within urban policy. Despite Lefebvre's attempts to rehabilitate the concept (Lefebvre 1996), suggestions of Utopianism remain generally pejorative, but are strongly indicated by the case studies as providing a covert ideological underpinning for new property developments, evidenced in a variety of sources that imply the creation of an idealised place through the agency of Mixed Use. This claim is made or suggested by a range of actors in the development process, for example, Brindleyplace has been described as 'a model for the city of the future' (Latham and Swenarton 1999) and promotional material from the public-private consortium behind GMV describes the creation of a place offering 'a better and more intelligent way of life' and 'a blueprint for how life will be lived in the future' (GMVL 2000) and a planner refers to GMV as 'an opportunity to do something special' (INT21), while a sense of pioneering optimism was evoked by the Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, when linking GMV, as an example of 'urban villages' (Franklin and Tait 2002, Biddulph 2003), to a national strategy for 'sustainable growth'[26] (The Guardian 5th February 2003), particularly by utilising the type of deindustrialised, brownfield sites that feature in the case studies (Brindleyplace, Charter Quay, GMV, Royal Arsenal), suggesting the 'tabula rasa' epithet that runs through the history of Utopian urbanism (Darley 1975). The Utopian spirit was echoed by residents of new Mixed Use developments, such as those from Royal Arsenal (GP4) who described 'building a community' with the implication that this was being done from scratch, with little regard for the history of the area prior to their arrival, beyond an appreciation of historic buildings, but with a direct suggestion that middle class residents were needed to

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[26]Speech to the House of Commons unveiling the Sustainable Communities Plan.

improve the area, but that in order for this new settlement to be successful and avoid 'isolation', it was necessary for the in-coming, affluent population to enjoy a suitable range of local, Mixed Use services and amenities. However, claims of altruistic 'community building' motives should be tempered by statements on the part of several residents interviewed for the case studies that they moved into Mixed Use developments because they thought it was a sound financial investment (GP4, GP6, INT8).

The Utopian discourse is also suggested through references in the case studies to its dystopian opposite, although these may be articulated in oblique forms such as in the widely understood, but sometimes coded language of Anti-Social Behaviour, for example, one resident group discussed at length problems with noise, alcohol and 'outsiders' with one commenting:

> 'If you were to replace 'Slug and Lettuce' with a decent restaurant, that would pretty much deal with the Charter Quay generated problems.' (GP6)

Perceptions of people from outside the case study developments were repeatedly cited by residents as indicating the quality of their own environment in comparison with those of others, such as one resident of Brindleyplace who said:

> '(In Broad Street) what I do get tired of is seeing people urinating in corners. But Brindleyplace is very well maintained and has security guards. One hassle of living in the centre is you can walk down Broad Street and be accosted by at least three beggars, but you don't get any in Brindleyplace.' (INT39)

However, views that disturb the Utopian possibilities of Mixed Use developments were also directed towards those living within them, but in different housing tenures. These were particularly graphically expressed by the 'GMV Sucks' website and by one GMV resident who described aspirations of creating a successful, sustainable, 'mixed' community at GMV as 'a load of crap' (INT20), while residents of Royal Arsenal Riverside discussed the contrasting values of social housing tenants and the need for private property owners to 'maintain social standards' (GP4).

The coherence of the four key discourses is also evident in the tension between planned and organic models of urban development apparent in the case studies. The planning and design narratives for creating Mixed Use places allude to a naturalistic, 'bottom up' approach offering flexibility and nuance instead of the rigidity of hierarchical plans. A more collaborative approach is most clearly expressed by Ralph Erskine in describing GMV as an exercise in 'organic town planning' and the fulfilment of the 'democratic right for people to be involved in the planning of their homes' ('Building' 24.04.98), but is also suggested by Healey (1999) in her endorsement of Brindleyplace. Suggestions that Mixed Use places are more responsive to fluid, consensual interpretations of urban space were also articulated by developers, one of whom argued that Charter Quay provided 'what the community want' (INT24) and another discussing the need to form 'alliances' in order to obtain planning permission (INT23). The joint-chief executive of Argent PLC recalled his early vision for Brindleyplace:

'We walked around places and cycled around places, we sat and observed what was going on and asked ourselves 'what would we want?' (INT42)

However, the paradox suggested in Chapter 2 of an allegedly organic morphology being achieved through instrumental planning methods is reinforced in the case studies. While varying in scale, each of the places examined results from a significant, planned urban intervention comprising the marshalling of legal powers, in the form of government policy and pan-regional spatial plans such as the Thames Gateway: bureaucratic machinery, in the form of national, local and quasi-governmental administration and commercial and financial resources in the form of the property industry, all of which are deployed at a level and force that negates claims of genuine organic development.

Finally, the case studies corroborate the relationship between Mixed Use and Third Way Urbanism. At the most direct level, this arises from the policy framework described in Chapter 3 which, while not unique to a particular government, was significantly reinforced by New Labour because it supported some key Third Way motifs by placing environmental concerns at the rhetorical heart of strategies presumed able to reshape the 21$^{st}$ century city in the context of global socio-economic and political change. Thus, the case studies invoke 'sustainability', 'mix', 'newness', 'regeneration' and 'renaissance' as trigger-phrases to denote the type of places where innovation has replaced the outmoded urbanism associated,

inter alia, with mono-functional land use so, for example, the anticipated results of the Watney Street development are stated as 'growth and diversification of the local economy', a 'much needed catalyst' for regeneration, improving 'visual amenity', providing a 'landmark building' and the creation of 'a more mixed and balanced community' with these benefits juxtaposed by the image of a concentration of 'lower income households and social housing' (Toynbee Housing Association 2004).

The case studies also confirm that the influence of the Third Way is reflected not just in the physical form of Mixed Use places, but in their underlying relationship to reforming the Keynesian Welfare State through reorganising and reordering public services, particularly in relation to housing where all six case studies present a bias in favour of owner-occupation and a corresponding demotion of 'social' renting, but in some instances with an effort to assuage this dichotomy through the medium of 'mixed tenure' housing, in turn justified by the aspiration of creating 'mixed communities'. The utilisation of Mixed Use as a mechanism for the diminution of council housing, a stated New Labour policy and one with direct links to a remodelled Welfare State (Ginsburg 2005, Malpass 2005, Pawson H and Mullins D 2010) is most starkly illustrated at Watney Street, where two blocks of council flats were demolished to make way for the new Mixed Use development, but is also evidenced by building private apartments on former council estates (British Street), the omission of any affordable housing within a scheme (Brindleyplace, Charter Quay) or, at a more subtle level, by using the allegedly deleterious social effects of council housing as justification for new development, such as the 'collar of social housing surrounding Woolwich town centre' used by planners – and echoed by a local politician (INT30) - to extol the virtues of Royal Arsenal Riverside (INT17 and INT18). It is not suggested that the case studies demonstrate a causal link to what some critics regard as the essentially neo-liberal character of the Third Way (Brenner and Theodore 2002), but rather that they illustrate the deployment of Mixed Use as a concept capable of shaping the physical and spatial content of contemporary UK urbanism and the terms of the debate around it, in favour of Third Way thinking.

**Revised Mixed Use Typology**

The case studies broadly support the basic and more detailed typologies illustrated on pages 45 and 50 suggesting that Mixed Use can be best understood as a multi-dimensional

phenomenon that responds to and reflects a variety of over-lapping policy stimuli and concerns. Charter Quay, for instance, illustrates the redevelopment of an abandoned brownfield site in the form of a high-density, waterside development that promotes town centre revival and heritage tourism, while enabling the creation of a cultural amenity and stimulation of the night-time economy. At GMV, Mixed Use was allied to the Urban Village concept as part of the wider regeneration of a former industrial zone where a model of 'sustainable' development was mobilised through an attempt to establish a new community that was 'mixed' in terms of housing tenure, income and land use. The case studies also confirm that broad categorisations of Mixed Use types are possible (see pp 51 – 55), but that they cannot take account of the nuance of any particular locality, the specificities of which are a key determinant of how Mixed Use policy is interpreted and applied. So, while British Street, Charter Quay and Watney Street may all fit the typological description of 'Urban Infill', in terms of their broadly similar physical characteristics (e.g. scale), spatial characteristics (e.g. brownfield sites), policy drivers (e.g. regeneration) and social qualities (e.g. animation), they also exhibit significant differences where, respectively, a Tesco Express, a theatre and a high-rise apartment block are the most visible and perhaps key representations of how Mixed Use space has been interpreted and implemented.

However, while it could be concluded that a defining characteristic of Mixed Use is typological divergence, the case studies also suggest an alternative reading that could equally present an image of convergence. Thus, a Brindleyplace planner refers to Mixed Use meeting 'a combination' of concerns (INT25), a British Street developer describes the scheme 'plugging in' to the urban context (INT23), the lead-planner of Charter Quay recalls the emergence of Mixed Use policy as a solution to a previously stalled project (INT22), a politician and resident of GMV endorses the development's 'exemplary' social and functional mix (INT32), pan-regional planners describe Royal Arsenal Riverside as addressing a 'moving policy target' (INT 17 and 18) and a ward councillor sees Watney Street as an attempt to resolve 'a mess' (INT5b). Just as Ebenezer Howard imagined the multi-faceted appeal of the garden city (Howard 1902, p46), so Mixed Use can be depicted as providing a magnetic attraction for the host of urban policies and issues described in the original typology.

Fig. 47   The 'Four Magnets' of Mixed Use (original design, John Wallett).

## Chapter 8: Conclusions

### Introduction

The previous chapter specifically relates the case studies and fieldwork to the research questions, key discourses and typology introduced in chapters 1 and 2. This chapter reflects, first, on the extent to which the thesis establishes the relationship between Mixed Use and Walter Benjamin's Arcade Project, secondly, considers the abiding influence of Jane Jacobs over Mixed Use policy in light of the research findings, thirdly, revisits the discursive themes in the evolution of the Mixed Use phenomenon in order to synthesise the main conclusions and finally, considers the future of Mixed Use.

### The Arcades and Mixed Use

In Chapter 1 it is proposed that Benjamin's presentation of the Arcades as symbolic of the early 19th century city is mirrored by Mixed Use as a representation of the early 21st. Both are spatial artefacts that transcend their built form to become invested with some of the key motifs of their time. Like Mixed Use developments, the Arcades offered a range of activities and services in a concentrated urban environment, with an expectation that ancillary socio-economic benefits would result from this specific arrangement of urban space. For Benjamin, the Arcades expressed the power of a new age of capitalist Modernity through an ornate, innovative design that became a global architectural style reproduced in a wide range of urban contexts (Buck Morss 1989). Likewise, Mixed Use developments, as alleged exemplars of sustainable urbanism, have assumed global ubiquity (Estates Gazette 14th May 2005, Herndon and Drummond 2011) and as this research shows, have been applied in a multitude of settings.

However, Benjamin's pioneering insight was to read city space in psychological and philosophical terms directly related to social class. The Arcades appealed to the material and aesthetic sensibilities of an emerging urban bourgeoisie through providing a controlled space for new patterns of consumption and behaviour, facilitating an escape from potentially uncomfortable social inter-actions by entering a rarefied, cloistered environment while remaining within the city's glittering embrace. Similarly, the case studies in this thesis suggest places reflecting the overt and covert concerns of an urban middle-class remaking the

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city in its own image, reflected in the underlying planning rationale of 'improving' the urban experience through the creation of Mixed Use space and the promotion of a particular 'lifestyle' associated with it as reflected, for example, in glossy advertising for luxury apartments within Mixed Use developments (see fig. 40, p264) conjuring images of pioneering, sophisticated, confident young urbanites enjoying new styles of city living (Butler 2007).

Benjamin views the Arcades as highly complex social constructs providing camouflage for commercialised, privileged lifestyles in which the differences between interior and exterior realms are sharply delineated. In a society of increasingly complex social relations, for Benjamin the Arcades formed representations of norms, style and behaviour in newly conceived urban space that provided cues to belonging. Harvey uses a Baudelaire poem to illustrate this fractured, circumscribed and contested terrain of 'insiders' and 'outsiders':

'The café is not exactly a private space either: a selected public is allowed in for commercial and consumption purposes. The poor family sees it as a space of exclusion, internalizing the gold that has been taken from them.' (Harvey, 2006, p221)

The Mixed Use developments examined in this thesis present very similar characteristics in terms of their subtle, multiple meanings, spatial contradictions and demarcation of 'inside' and 'outside'. Mixed Use is promoted as the epitome of the post-industrial city and the acme of sustainable design for it, where naked commercialism, reflected in a profusion of private housing and corporate offices and retail outlets, is protected by a fig-leaf of environmental sensitivity and presumed urbanity, but concealing latent tensions around issues such as local services, availability of affordable housing, or control and use of public space, themes repeatedly referred to in interviews with residents expressing sharp contrasts between the modes of behaviour of different sections of the local population, mediated by social class, housing tenure and/or relationship to a self-defining 'community'.

However, Benjamin also discerned in the Arcades an appeal to an instinctive sense of Utopian communitarianism based on the collective experience of shared space, albeit one based on the creation of an artificial milieu. For Benjamin, this 'world in miniature' embodied a nostalgic historicism that appeared to contradict the individualistic spirit of the Modernist age. The

policy and rhetorical narrative supporting Mixed Use suggests a similar conceptual anomaly. Alongside a relentless marketisation of urban space driven by the property development industry stands an appeal to envisage the creation of new, diverse and active communities. The communitarian ideal has been widely absorbed into the lexicon of urban regeneration (Levitas 2000, Cochrane 2012a) and is deeply inscribed in the Mixed Use narrative which promises the creation of places where people share and inter-act in an explicit evocation of an idealised sociability such as, for example, the conviviality associated with Erskine's modelling of the GMV public realm to create 'gossip groups', or the aspiration of Royal Arsenal Riverside residents to 'build' a community predicated on the virtues of Mixed Use (GP4). As with the Arcades, Mixed Use developments may vary in physical form, but symbolise consistent underlying messages of tantalising urbanity, such as Charter Quay's enticing blend of cultural, ecological and hedonistic pleasures, but in their execution serve to frustrate any attempt to unify the urban experience, an objective that was clearly at the heart of Jane Jacobs manifesto for city planning.

**The Legacy of Jane Jacobs and Mixed Use**

This thesis argues that contemporary Mixed Use policy is the product of multifarious influences, but that the work of Jane Jacobs can be singled out as having particular significance (Roberts and Lloyd-Jones 1997). In setting out the pre-conditions for 'successful' urban neighbourhoods, Jacobs provides a blue-print within which functional diversity is pivotal and Mixed Use has become axiomatic in planning policy discourses that seek to reverse damaging, monolithic patterns of urban development (Grant and Perrott 2010). While the research found references to Jacobs' theories that were predominantly implicit and inferred, there is nonetheless sufficient evidence to corroborate the view that Jacobs' work remains the conceptual inspiration for Mixed Use (Brandes Gratz 2010). The most direct indication of Jacobs' legacy is her influence over the New Urbanism movement (Calthorpe 1994) and other examples of 'smart growth' that advocate Mixed Use as fundamental to more naturalistic, organic 'place making' strategies in terms that have become embedded in the Mixed Use policy narrative and are a repeated feature of the case studies in this research. For instance, references to Brindleyplace being developed 'within the fabric of the city' (Chatwin 1997), an expectation that the regeneration of the British Street estate would generate the types of activities that 'increase surveillance, improve security and reduce crime' (Leaside Regeneration 2006a, p18, para. 7.3) and a description of Royal Arsenal

Riverside 'seamlessly fusing the old with the new' (Berkeley Homes website) can all be read as endorsements of Jacobs' arguments.

However, as Zukin (2010) notes, Jacobs' work has also been subject to a degree of 'perversion' in its interpretation, something that Jacobs herself was conscious of, voicing concern about the superficiality of some New Urbanist-inspired places (Steigerwald 2001), a suggestion of the 'hollow sceneography' (Dutton 1989) evidenced in this research by disjointed morphologies where genuine social encounter appeared rare, reflected in under-used public places and sometimes sterile streetscapes.. Certainly the multiple requirements that Jacobs regarded as inter-dependent for places to achieve the physical and social diversity necessary for success are not evident in any of the case studies examined here. On the contrary, it appears that in some circumstances, Mixed Use may act to reinforce socio-spatial rigidity and segregation. Just as Jacobs suggests that the inappropriate co-location of different uses might undermine diverse neighbourhoods, so the case studies found shops and services that do not meet local needs (British Street), separation between Mixed Use developments and the communities around them (Royal Arsenal Riverside) and an uneasy relationship between residents living in the same place, but different tenures (GMV). In one case study (Brindleyplace) there was physical separation between the housing and non-residential elements, but despite this dilution of Jacobs' precepts, the development is still hailed as a paragon of Mixed Use virtue (Healey 1999, Barber 2002). As noted in the previous chapter, Jacobs' original arguments are also rendered moot by the profusion of external security measures recorded in the case studies, in the form of CCTV, controlled access and uniformed patrols, in an apparent negation of the informal, community-regulated surveillance advocated by Jacobs.

**Discursive Themes Revisited**

The Mixed Use revival calls for a return to the norm of human settlement patterns and a reaction against the anomaly of rigid land use separation and utilitarian design inspired by the orthodoxy of state-led 20th century Modernism, exemplified by the post-war UK New Towns (Alexander 2009). Drawing on heterogeneous and at times tangled theoretical roots, explicit policies to encourage Mixed Use are posited as a solution to a dystopian, socially ossified and ultimately unsustainable city, while propounding an image of a more urbane, dynamic, diverse, communitarian and environmentally sensitive metropolis. However, as Hubbard

(1995) has suggested, urban design strategies that may make a positive contribution in one area of policy 'can equally serve to distract from more pressing social issues'. The policy framework for Mixed Use has been buttressed by a distinctive narrative that links it to a wider understanding of how we might 'live better' in cities, but these ideas are in turn related to reconfigurations of socio-spatial relations indicative of a range of other urban interventions and conflicts. Thus the strategic restructuring of housing tenure patterns, the promotion of more socially mixed populations and the privatisation of hitherto public services is accompanied by an 'active repackaging' of urban space to reflect underlying neoliberal policy objectives, but with a veneer of civility (Whitehead 2003). However, as Cochrane and Ward (2012) note, the adoption and application of universal, 'iconic' policy templates, such as Mixed Use, for area-based regeneration are problemetised by their failure to take account of local circumstances, an issue that is suggested in the case studies where discontents around plan-led redevelopment are expressed by residents feeling 'left out' of the planning process.

In addressing and understanding the multiple issues involved, this thesis has proposed a typology for identifying the key features (Lupala 2002) of Mixed Use developments (pp 44 – 60 above). Given the almost infinite possible permutations of Mixed Use space, precise classification is difficult, but one of the enduring criticisms of the concept is that it has lacked clarity of definition and so it has been valuable for this research to have some sense of comparative scales, contexts and policy drivers and thus avoid the suggestion that Mixed Use is a 'catch all'. The case studies clearly illustrate that different Mixed Use places are influenced and shaped by a host of factors, as indicated in fig. 6 (p50) and this is reflected in the contrasting experiences of the actors involved. So, for example, the task of planners executing a project with the size and complexity of Royal Arsenal Riverside, with potentially up to 3.700 new homes as part of a pan-regional spatial strategy, is substantially different to that of a relatively small (221 homes), discreet project like Watney Street. Likewise, the experience of residents living in locations with significantly different characteristics is reflected in the interview findings. For example, people living in a 'new piece of the city' (e.g. Royal Arsenal Riverside) appeared more likely to have a sense of commitment to an ethos of pioneering place making than those where Mixed Use took the form of 'urban infill' (e.g. Watney Street) where new development took place within the fabric of an existing morphology, although it is interesting to note that anxieties about over-development were held by residents from all scales of development. Finally, another key finding of this research is the extent to which the narrative of justification around Mixed Use exhibits commonalities,

irrespective of other differences, hence the presentation of the concept as a *pole of magnetic attraction*, provided in the revised typology on page 295.

It is against this complex background that individual Mixed Use property developments need to be considered and the fieldwork for this research suggest a significant degree of divergence between the ostensive policy justifications for and the reality of Mixed Use places. This policy-practice gap is emphasised by a significant degree of hyperbole underpinning the policy-making dynamic between the development industry (including architects), planners and elected politicians, leading to the case studies suggesting echoes of Benjamin's 'wish images', manifested in the seductive language and iconography accompanying the promotion of Mixed Use developments described in this thesis, ranging from cricket pitches in urban villages to computer-generated graphics of animated piazzas (see p537) that contrast sharply with observed reality.

This research suggests there are some specific issues around which the fractured delivery of Mixed Use policy collects. The 'ambiguous concept, simplistic analysis and wishful thinking' identified by Rowley in 1996 are still present in 2013. The wide range of responses elicited from interviews with planners, developers and politicians about Mixed Use suggest that there remains little consensus about the nature and application of the concept. While there appears to be some retreat from the Stand Alone convenience store with flats above model (PLA10) and a growing awareness of Mixed Use as part of 'place shaping' (PLA2), the research found little to suggest that such strategies are being implemented in a fashion able to generate the multiple benefits associated with the concept by its advocates. This conclusion was suggested by observations of public space where patterns of pedestrian movement did not indicate the type of vitality and animation that might be anticipated by theoretical expositions of Mixed Use or by the design, promotional and planning material that form the narrative of justification for particular Mixed Use developments. The findings also question the extent to which, where Mixed Use is deployed in the context of creating a new neighbourhood or piece of the city, it can successfully dissolve existing or latent social divisions and foster the communitarian ethos that has been linked with a more physically integrated urban landscape. In places where Mixed Use has been explicitly related to policies for producing 'mixed communities', for example British Street and Greenwich Millennium Village, interviews with residents have yielded expressions of doubt that the possibility of

sharing non-residential space can compensate for socio-economic inequalities, particularly in relation to housing.

The social qualities of Mixed Use places are further affected by the residential transience that every case study records as a mitigating factor against the successful promotion of a sense of place and community. Interviewees repeatedly refer to a high turnover of short-term private sector tenants leading to difficulties in forming relationships between neighbours, frustrating attempts to promote communal activities and on occasion leading to types of behaviour that were attributed to residents not having a significant long-term investment in their neighbourhood, as expressed in the following reflections of a British Street resident who also raises wider concerns about the threat to local communities from global flows of capital:

> 'A lot of the new homes have been bought by investors, particularly from Hong Kong. So they rent it out and some of the tenants are terrible. They make noise, have parties, throw rubbish – and they're all youngsters. They're all on six month tenancies...We let the new residents know what we're doing here at the community hall and one or two have shown an interest, but overall they know they're only here for six months and it's a problem.' (INT38)

Other scholarship has examined the adverse social effects of 'coming and going' (Saville-Smith and James 2003, Gasper et al 2009), but this has not been specifically related to Mixed Use and the wider 'sustainable communities' policy agenda with which it has been associated, particularly by the 1997 – 2010 New Labour government. High residential turnover appears in diametric opposition to the kind of stable, cohesive, sustainable places that are envisaged as resulting from Mixed Use and other New Urbanist inspired development patterns. On the contrary, residential transience reinforces the finding of Unsworth (2007) that residents of housing developments forming part of reurbanisation strategies such as the Urban Renaissance constitute 'a collection of people' rather than a 'community'. Such rootlessness has been spurred by the Buy to Let market and short-term speculative property investment patterns (Lambert and Boddy 2010) that are alluded to in this research and are further indicated by the high proportion of one and two bedroom homes in Mixed Use developments (e.g. 82% at GMV, 80% at Royal Arsenal Riverside, 80% at Watney Street) which deter long-term residence by families with children. These findings appear to reflect wider social concerns. A national survey of attitudes to the Buy to Let

market (Ipsos MORI 2007) found that a quarter of respondents in the UK felt that it was having a negative effect on where they lived and may be detrimental to 'a sense of community', an issue that calls for more research to explore the implications of residential transience for the future of the city in general and Mixed Use in particular.

The myriad, cross-cutting frustrations that some residents and policy makers experience with Mixed Use development are summarised by a local councillor:

'There have been some problems, but they all get blamed on the social housing tenants which isn't fair. Another problem is with people who sub-let from absent landlords and hold late night parties. I'm very unhappy that we haven't seen the community facilities provided that could have given teenagers somewhere to go, but we can't find a site for it, even though we have a budget to pay for it. The developers control the use of empty commercial space and the Housing and Communities Agency haven't helped. But in general, people here get along with each other although a lot of them are only here temporarily so don't have a long term commitment to the area and don't get involved in the residents organisation.' (INT26)

As high residential turnover compromises neighbourliness, diversity and communitarianism within Mixed Use developments, so the recurring problem of unlet commercial space undermines animation and environmentalism, the former because the 'active street frontages' intended by policy are not being achieved, the latter because empty space where a local shop was intended implies the failure of the 'pint of milk test[27]' proposed by advocates of walkable, compact, Mixed Use development (The Prince's Foundation 2007). While no comprehensive survey has been published since Giddings and Craine (2006) found 30% vacancy rates in Mixed Use developments, the case studies in this research record a significant incidence of empty space, including one example (GMV) where units previously allocated for commercial use were in the process of being converted to residential, a practice that may become more common as the housing shortage becomes more acute and which Morton and Ehrman (2011) argue should be made easier by reforming the UCO system.

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[27]The ability to buy a pint of milk from a local shop within a five minute walk of home.

Not all the problems with Mixed Use can be attributed to external socio-economic factors. This research suggests a number of key internal issues within the planning process that may be acting to widen the policy-practice gap. Alongside ambiguity in definition, the archival research and interviews with planners suggest procedural weaknesses in the application of Mixed Use policy. Perhaps the most surprising finding has been the vague and incomplete information that LPAs hold about Mixed Use developments for which they have given permission, one consequence of which can be divergence between the details of a project as stated in the planning documentation and the physical reality. Several examples of this were found, ranging from the non-provision of facilities that were never built (a community centre at GMV, a gym at Watney Street), to a lack of information about what had been built, including such fundamental information as the number of homes (GMV). The interviews with planners confirm that LPAs do not systematically collect information about Mixed Use projects and do not inspect completed developments to monitor if they comply with their stated objectives. Since the post-war UK planning system was established, LPAs have held significant enforcement powers, but as Prior (2000) notes, the use of these powers is discretionary, complex and has tended to have a 'chronically low level of priority', perhaps partly resulting from over-pressured, under-resourced departments unable to cope with the volume of development activity, a point that was specifically made by a property developer interviewed for this research who spoke of planners 'losing the plot' and projects being 'pushed through' without adequate scrutiny (INT10). Lai et al (2007) link the use of enforcement powers to the wider issue of the relationship between the planning system and 'the market' and suggest that a form of self-regulation is the best way to ensure that developers comply with planning conditions. However, as Turland (1990) has argued persuasively, it appears that 'an awful lot of effort (is) being wasted' if LPAs are not actively monitoring the results of approved development, an issue that assumes greater importance if the planning system is being expected to take a leading role in implementing policies for sustainable urbanism (Welbank 1996, Berke 2002 Biesbroek et al 2009). To the extent that Mixed Use is regarded as a potentially problematic and relatively innovative digression from more conventional forms of development (The Scottish Government 2009) it could be expected that LPAs would take more measures to supervise the results, but this appears not to be the case. A planning academic with extensive policy experience interviewed for this study (PLA23) believes that the rate of non-compliance with planning conditions is considerable and argues that theoretically ambiguous Mixed Use policies allow planners to abdicate responsibility for making more concrete decisions about land use, while pandering to the

interests of private developers, thus leading to 'standardised development formulas' (Comunian 2011) which appear to characterise the application of Mixed Use policy in the UK. The finding that there is no robust process for evaluating Mixed Use presents a particular divergence from one of the key appeals of the Third Way: that policy should be based on evidence (Wilks Heeg 2003, Wells 2007, Krizek et al 2009) and this is compounded by other issues that shape the production and experience of Mixed Use space. The sometimes opaque nature of the development industry and the complexity of the planning process combine with imprecise project details to a point where clear categorisation of Mixed Use begins to dissolve, leading to precisely the amorphous application of the concept suggested by Rowley.

However, an evaluation of Mixed Use cannot be reduced to bureaucratic procedure, organisational culture, physical design and the prosaic of policy because the concept augurs much wider social significance. This thesis has proposed four key discourses that relate the Mixed Use revival to a broader understanding of the nature of the contemporary city and how it relates to the evolution of the urban experience. The staging of an exhibition about Post-Modernism at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Adamson and Pavitt 2011) implies a concept that has been consigned to history. Nonetheless, it is argued here that the Mixed Use phenomenon demonstrates that the Modernism/Post-Modernism debate endures, albeit expressed in different terms to those that accompanied Jencks' 1977 obituary for planned, State-sponsored urbanism based on mass housing. Persisting anxiety about the legacy of Modernist planning methods is evidenced in the case studies by the demolition of council housing at Watney Street and 'repairing of the 1970s' at British Street to make way for private apartments and by strategies to break-up Birmingham's central ring roads and Woolwich's 'collar of social housing' (INT17 and INT18) at Brindleyplace and Royal Arsenal Riverside respectively.

Like the issues around the Modernism/Post-Modernism discourse, the tension between Utopian and dystopian conceptions of the city continue to provide a sub-text to contemporary urbanism. Place-making motivated by Utopian thought is as old as antiquity and has inspired a wide range of settlements, but has assumed a new pertinence in the search for a sustainable 'new' urbanism capable of reversing or mitigating the dystopian spectre of the socially, economically and environmentally riven 21st century city. This research has repeatedly encountered the invocation of Utopian imagery, sometimes with an additional iconography of

the village to present Mixed Use development as a form of urban idyll (Hoskins and Tallon 2004). This was most noticeable in relation to Greenwich Millennium Village, but also discernable in the planning narrative of other case studies that suggested a form of tabula rasa thinking both in their idealistic conceptions of creating new settlements and their de facto erasure of pre-existing identities of place. As Goss (1996) has said of festival marketplaces, at Brindleyplace, Charter Quay, GMV and Royal Arsenal Riverside, any vestige of former uses has been obliterated, save for the occasional historic artefact or listed building, by post-industrial landscapes that proclaim their newness as intrinsic to the overall rationale of using Mixed Use to address a basket of urban concerns. During the course of this research, such urban anxieties were revived and heightened in the UK by the 2011 summer riots which Wallace (2012) has argued were a direct challenge to the communitarian politics and accompanying urban morphology that this thesis associates with the Third Way. More recently, widespread civil unrest in Turkey has been linked to the proposed 'mixed use' redevelopment of Taksim Square in Istanbul. Resistance to attempts to 'smooth out' a public space and build a shopping mall, private apartments and mosque have focussed 'clashing world views' (Kimmelman 2013) and reaffirmed that the wider social consequences of property market-led urban policy are worthy of further research.

The search for sustainable urban form calls heavily upon the perceived superiority of organic patterns of development, often expressed as an antithesis to the dead-hand of bureaucratised planning. As with Utopian allusions, the narrative of justification for Mixed Use, inherited from Unwin, Jacobs and Krier, repeatedly implies the value of more natural, less mechanical forms of human settlement from which multiple social, economic and environmental benefits will flow. However, as Less (2010) has argued, 'we cannot plan the unexpected' and herein lies a fundamental paradox for the Mixed Use concept. Complex patterns of social behaviour in public space do not easily submit themselves to prediction and yet the planning documentation in support of Mixed Use development leave little room for doubt that, in the words of one planner interviewed, 'if we build in a certain way, it will have certain social and economic outcomes' (PLA11). This planned/organic conundrum is addressed by Zukin (2010) who argues that the alignment of public-private development partnerships with shifts in the nature of the city from production to consumption, has produced an expectation that 'the corporate city' can also be 'a new urban village', producing what Zukin refers to as a 'crisis of authenticity' of the type evident in some Mixed Use places, manifested by such spatial incongruities as public space dominated by private commercial interests

(Brindleyplace), local shops replaced by a global supermarket chain (British Street), a theatre given priority over affordable housing (Charter Quay), an urban village next to a retail park (GMV), or a 'mixed community' segregated by housing tenure (Royal Arsenal Riverside and Watney Street). However, despite such apparent contradictions in planning terms, Mixed Use appears to have encouraged a belief that property developers can 'have it all' and build like Moses, 'with Jacobs in mind' (Burden 2006) or produce Barcelona using 'the methods of Canary Wharf' (Hatherley 2012).

The implicit tensions and contradictions to be found in the three preceding discourses crystallise in the fourth. Indeed, the prospectus for the Third Way offered a means for resolving the transition from Modernism to Post-Modernism in the form of a new social democratic compact that would replace obsolescent Keynesian welfarism and provide a solution to the dystopian city informed not by Utopianism, but by a blend of idealism and pragmatism, within which the 'hybrid planner' (Sehested 2009) would play a particular role as a mediator between commercial and community interests of which Mixed Use is a product. While Peck and Tickell (2002) argue that the sine qua non of Third Way urbanism is the production of neo-liberal space and Bridge et al (2012) that it is 'gentrification by stealth', this thesis concludes that a more subtle, but equally revealing, hallmark of the Third Way - and one that has survived New Labour - is the promotion of Mixed Use as a spatial metaphor that captures the attempt to ride and tame the tiger of the property development industry, while producing a range of presumed social benefits that cut against the accumulation logic of capitalism. In order to achieve this aim, Mixed Use has assumed a portmanteau quality, availing itself to a variety of definitions and interpretations capable of being attached to a range of seductive ancillary policy drivers (as proposed in the Mixed Use typology, p50) and strongly identified with the Third Way, such as urban regeneration, mixed communities and sustainability, but concealing the latent conflicts that lie within these aspirations.

**The Future of Mixed Use**

Notwithstanding the issues raised in this thesis and by other critics, it appears unlikely there will be any fundamental review of the extent to which two decades of largely unquestioned Mixed Use policy has succeeded in delivering the multiple benefits envisaged by the concept's supporters. Furthermore, the absence of theoretical rigour or systematic academic research suggests that the acceptance of Mixed Use as received wisdom, identified by

Rowley in 1996, seems set to continue, without the evidence base necessary to justify its continued widespread application. Nonetheless, policies for improving the urban experience are becoming more urgent. Cities in the UK are facing potentially transformational changes in the context of unprecedented economic conditions exerting multiple pressures with direct implications for Mixed Use including a severe contraction of the retail sector, a crisis of housing supply, deep cuts in public services and attacks on welfare benefits that are threatening to displace low and medium income households, thereby destabilising the communities that Mixed Use is expected to nurture and reinforcing the recolonisation of inner-cities by the middle classes (Atkinson and Bridge 2005). Against the background of an increasing number of empty shops and the liquidation of several prominent high street brands, questions have been asked about the entire future of traditional retail areas, the diversity, design and animation of which have been an important reference point for the Mixed Use revival. Thus, a government commissioned report urges the need to 'start a conversation' about the future of the high street, particularly in response to competition from out-of-town retail parks and on-line shopping (Portas 2011). However, the strategies proposed for reviving local retail areas enlist a familiar lexicon of 'lively, exciting and dynamic' places 'at the heart' of communities, precisely the type of romanticised, vacuous nostrums this thesis reveals in relation to Mixed Use. The future of the high street and the future of Mixed Use should be part of the same 'conversation', but this research suggests that attempts to foster a truly sustainable city cannot be based on the promotion of new exclusive landscapes of consumption.

It is therefore suggested that future research directions could build on the premise of this thesis that the Mixed Use concept must be deconstructed to be fully understood and thus avoid the multiple dangers of being taken at face value. Of equal importance is to see Mixed Use in its wider socio-economic and political context. Abstracting the concept from the Byzantine process and ruthless commercialism of the property development industry or the complexity of policy making can only lead to a superficial reading of an urban form that will certainly continue to be a feature of the 21$^{st}$ century city, but by its very nature, is susceptible to distortion and manipulation in interpretation. Further enquiry is needed based on a more rigorous, evidence-based, appraisal of the environmental claims of Mixed Use, but with the latter linked to an exploration of social and economic factors that do not silence the voices of local residents. For Mixed Use development to genuinely meet the needs and expectations of urban communities, it must take into account the views of those who still, almost half a

century after Davidoff's appeal for a more collaborative approach, find themselves excluded and/or overwhelmed by the planning system. Exploring the relationship between future city form and the real lives of people who live in them is essential if we are to avoid the type of disappointment and alienation that has surfaced during this research in response to Mixed Use development based on pre-meditated notions of what works. Within a debate about 'what works?' we need a discussion about who it works for.

When asked to reflect on the experience of designing what has been hailed as a model of Mixed Use, sustainable urbanism for the 21$^{st}$ century, the lead architect (MSC2) described it as 'paradise lost'. This thesis illustrates how a legitimate approach to improving our cities can become distorted and ultimately discredited by the abstraction of grand designs, overblown rhetoric, mechanical policy implementation and the relentless search for profit. As Benjamin observed in relation to the Arcades, a built form that nurtures the collective experience of the metropolis appeals to the innate sociability of humankind, but no amount of spatial engineering can address deeper socio-economic cleavages and those that profess to do so are reduced to pastiche and phantasmagoria.

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