

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON
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**REGENERATION ON THE WATERFRONT:
THE PROCESSES AND EFFECTS**

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Being a Report submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of the MSc Spatial Planning at University College London:

I declare that this Report is entirely my own work and that ideas, data and images, and well as direct quotations, drawn from elsewhere are identified and referenced.

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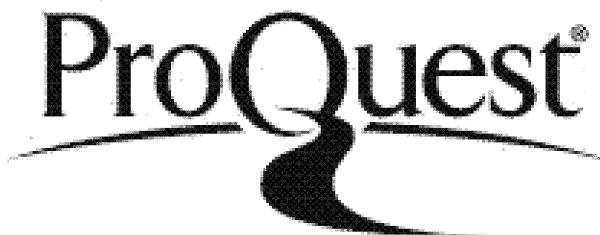


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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my family and friends for their support over the course of this study, and particularly: Matthew Baker for his ongoing support and encouragement; Pratima Ahuja for her help and good humour throughout the shared experience of balancing postgraduate dissertations with some very busy periods at work; Ajit Matharu for proof reading; and Margaret Howe for her supportive and timely prompting to get on with it!

I would also like to thank Claire Colomb for her invaluable advice and pointers. Finally, thank you to everyone who participated in the interviews. Without their time and interest this study would not have been possible.

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Abstract

This study explores the processes and effects of regeneration in two waterfront areas of London. It does this by examining ideas of community involvement, inclusion and exclusion, and partnerships, and by looking at whether gentrification has occurred and the effects of this. It brings together an array of literature relating to these various facets of the study and then adopts a qualitative approach to explore the differing experiences of regeneration in the case study areas.

The findings of the study point to a lack of meaningful community involvement. They also uncover a diversity of impacts of regeneration experienced by local residents, with regard to gentrification, which are intrinsically linked to the processes (and deficiencies) of community involvement. The study highlights the complexities of regeneration in both its processes and effects, which perhaps go beyond current definitions and descriptions of gentrification.

Word count : 11,000 (approximately).

1. Introduction

This study aims to examine the processes and effects of regeneration in two waterfront areas of London. The processes (Objective 1) are taken forward by exploring ideas of community involvement, inclusion and exclusion, partnerships and leadership in redevelopment. The effects (Objective 2) are investigated by looking at how the social make up of the case study areas has changed as a result of regeneration, and whether gentrification has occurred.

The objectives and sub-objectives of the study are as follows:

Objective 1. What role do local residents play and what influence have they had in the regeneration of urban waterfront areas?

Sub-objectives:

- A. Do local residents feel they have been involved, or sufficiently involved, in waterfront redevelopment?
- B. Have networks or partnerships evolved through the development process?
- C. i. Have certain people or groups been included or excluded from the engagement process?
ii. Have there been barriers to certain groups in networks or partnerships, and if so why?
- D. Who has led or spearheaded regeneration and how has this worked?

Objective 2. What are the main impacts of regeneration on communities and the social make-up of waterfront areas?

Sub-objectives:

- E. Has gentrification occurred and if so, to what extent?
- F. Has the waterfront been sanitised?
 - i. has the waterfront been cleansed of a working environment and working classes?
 - ii. who has been included and excluded through this process?

The particular aesthetic, environmental and property value and potential of waterfront areas (Wood and Handley, 1999, Jones, 1998) provides a specific context from which to examine the processes and effects of regeneration. This focus will provide an opportunity to make links between the experience of gentrification and a waterfront setting. However, it should be acknowledged that the effects of regeneration discussed are by no means exclusive to waterfront areas.

A qualitative approach is adopted in order to explore the different experiences of regeneration in the case study areas, and to take account of the socio-economic and lifestyle positions of respondents.

2. Literature Review

In this section I bring together a variety of background literature to link together the various facets of this study. I will start by looking at patterns of spatial inequality and the process of gentrification resulting from urban change and regeneration. I will then move on to focus on change in waterfront settings, both in terms of physical environment and social make-up. This will provide a background to exploring the extent to which gentrification has occurred in two of London's waterfront areas. I will also provide a brief background on literature relating to partnerships and communicative planning.

Background to spatial inequalities in urban areas

“Social inequality is inherent within capitalist societies” (Savage, Warde and Ward, 2003, p70) and translates into spatial inequalities within urban areas. Harrison highlights the segregation of British cities by class,

“No laws of apartheid are needed to enforce this separation; it occurs as naturally as oil divides from water, by the play of unequal incomes in the housing market” (Harrison, in Hamnett, 2003, p130).

This is based on the role of private housing in market economies as “a commodity produced, sold and exchanged for profit”, where allocation is based on price and ability to pay (Hamnett, 2003, p129). This groups people spatially, based on the quality and location of housing they can afford. Although this is not something that I am going to explore in detail, it should be highlighted as a fundamental idea underlying processes of urban change and inequalities.

Sassen (2001) discusses how London is one of the leading global cities, following a shift since the 1960s from manufacturing to service-based industry and a proliferation and concentration of post-industrial production, such as

services and finance. An increasingly professional and higher income population has emerged, working particularly in finance and the creative industries, linking to the changing socio-economic class structures of the capital. This has been accompanied by an increasing divide and polarisation of housing in London (Hamnett, 2003).

Gentrification

Gentrification can be seen as a recent manifestation of a long history of spatial inequality, inherently intertwined with wider economic processes such as boom and bust cycles (Smith, 1996). The influence of economic change and restructuring on shifting patterns of location of different social classes and groups in the city ties gentrification to wider urban and sociological processes. Gentrification sees the reversal of suburbanisation for some of the middle class, although it should be understood that the two processes occur simultaneously for different groups of people in urban areas.

Gentrification is not a new process, emerging with this socio-economic change in the 1960s, and since then it has burgeoned, as has the literature about it (Smith, 1996). It was coined by Ruth Glass based on her observations of 1950s Inner London, where she saw middle class households moving into traditionally deprived, working class neighbourhoods. She refers to 'invasions' of middle classes starting the process of gentrification that "goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed" (Glass, 1963, in Hamnett, 2003, p160).

A common definition of gentrification is "the rehabilitation of working-class derelict housing and the consequent transformation of the area into a middle-class neighbourhood" (Smith and Williams, 1981, in Atkinson, 2004, p108). It should be pointed out that gentrification could be argued to be spatial representation of the wider force of capitalism that "is based precisely on its

ability to displace the working class in all sorts of situations" (Smith and LeFaivre, 1984, p60, in Atkinson, 2000, p149)

This shows transformation of both the social make-up and physical landscape of the city, indicative of the post-industrial shift, and ties to the comprehensive description of gentrification as a coincidence of four processes:

1. resettlement and social concentration entailing the displacement of one group of residents with another of higher status;
2. transformation in the built environment exhibiting some distinctive aesthetic features and the emergence of new local services;
3. the gathering together of persons with a putatively shared culture and lifestyle, or at least with shared, class related consumer preferences;
4. economic re-ordering of property values, a commercial opportunity of the construction industry, and often an extension of the system of private ownership of domestic property

(Ward, 1991, in Savage, Warde and Ward, 2003, pp87-88).

In the literature there has been a debate between authors who attribute varying weights to these processes in accounting for gentrification. These centre on the relative significance of economic and cultural factors, and hence supply versus demand led explanations. Smith has led one side of this argument, contending that gentrification represents "a back to the city movement by capital, not people" (Smith, 1979, in Hamnett, 2003, p168). He puts forward the 'rent gap' explanation, relating to the disparity between property values and land values in inner city areas, which can make it profitable to invest (Hamnett, 2003; Savage et al. 2003). However, it has been argued that Smith's 'rent-gap' argument is more applicable in the USA than the UK, where gentrification is more often characterised by the "informal social movement of individual purchasers" renovating their newly bought property (Savage et al. 2003, p89).

The opposing side of the gentrification debate presents an argument based on cultural factors, and is backed by authors such as Ley, Zukin, Butler, Bondi, Warde and Hamnett. The ‘new’ or expanded middle class (as a counter-culture to suburbanisation) paired with changing working patterns and lifestyles create preferences to live in inner areas of the city, near work, cultural and entertainment facilities (Hamnett, 2003). As mentioned, individual and collective action (as opposed to capital) by the middle classes is put forward as a driver of gentrification in the UK (Butler and Robson, 2001, in Hamnett, 2003) | zef. ?

Gentrification is located most strongly in cities where the “economy is at full tilt” (Atkinson, 2004, p115) and which have advanced service based economies (Hamnett, 2003). Hence, the increasingly professional nature of a population paired with inequalities of wealth can lead to gentrification (Atkinson, 2000).

Gentrification: Heterogeneous and locally distinct?

Gentrification is often conceptualised as a homogenous process in terms of the groups of people who move to the inner city and their reasons for doing so. Authors such as Savage et al (2003), Hamnett (2003) and Zukin (1988) | zef. acknowledge the different waves of gentrification (e.g. artists/ higher income professionals) but perhaps generalise “gentriflers” as liberal minded and politically left-leaning. Although this is fair to a certain extent, Butler and Robson (2001; 2003) highlight the variation of gentrification processes and the middle class groups that constitute ‘gentrifliers’ in their London-based studies. They contrast Battersea, as a highly bounded and inward-looking enclave, and Brixton, where ‘gentrifliers’ value the ‘frisson’ of the diverse social environment, as an alternative to more ‘middle class’ social norms. This shows varying forms of interaction and relations with existing local communities (Butler and Robson, 2001; 2003).

Lees (2000) highlights the importance of gender, race and sexual preference in gentrification, and brings forth the subjectivity involved in the experience and impact of gentrification (Lees, 2000 and Lees, 2003, in Atkinson, 2004). These points are pertinent as they provide background to the complexities of gentrification, explored in the Methodology and Discussion of Findings sections.

Gentrification: Is there a positive side?

This brings forth the general argument that gentrification is socially harmful as it displaces existing communities and dismantles social networks (stemming from Glass's initial observations). Feelings of resentment and exclusion are problems where residents are priced out of housing in an area, leading to a loss of a sense of home (Atkinson, 2000 and 2004, Smith, 1993) and can make residents hostile to incomers and to regeneration efforts that they feel will push them out and threaten the existing social mix and social networks in an area (Unsworth and Nathan, 2006). Affordability of housing and the impact it can have in excluding certain groups can also be seen as a key issue leading to social unrest in the lower east side in New York (Smith, 1993).

This provides background to the recent drive to deliver affordable housing as part of regeneration strategies. Unsworth and Nathan (2006) highlight the importance of providing adequate affordable housing, together with careful consultation, to avoid displacement and community tensions.

Despite the more prevalent research highlighting the negative impacts of gentrification, largely due to the 'common sense' identification of displacement as a problem (Atkinson, 2004), there is a significantly smaller body of research that shows positive impacts of gentrification. Atkinson states that "the 'damage' that gentrification has been alleged to cause has not been unpicked in great detail" (Atkinson, 2004, p109) and is something that this study will explore.

Cameron (2003) explores the idea of ‘positive gentrification’, challenging some of the traditional evaluations of gentrification. Benefits of gentrification include renewal and revitalisation of the physical environment, bringing “new people and life but also helps the original population by improving local schools and services and removing the stigma attached to their neighbourhoods” (Cameron, 2003, p2379). However, lower income residents may be unable to access these improvements, which may act to exclude them from certain areas and activities.

A key point is that gentrification can make the social profile of an area’s population more mixed, deconcentrate poverty (Atkinson, 2004) and reduce neighbourhood problems (Atkinson, 2000). This has been key to the concept of mixed communities coming through the Urban Renaissance agenda and subsequent planning and regeneration policy, and is examined by Cameron (2003) in relation to the Housing Market Renewal (HMRs) Pathfinder in Newcastle. This regeneration policy aims to tackle deprivation and ‘rebalance’ the composition of populations by changing tenures and types of dwellings. However, implementation of this policy paired with inadequate consultation, led to local protests where there was a perception of social cleansing of the working class (Cameron, 2003).

It is important to highlight the differences between examples from the North of England, where due to failed housing markets regeneration is needed to bring a mix of socio-economic groups into inner cities, and the South and in particular London. It shows that displacement can dually be an implication of a strong economy and housing market, and of certain regeneration policies.

Do regeneration agendas and policies promote gentrification?

In many cases, a significant cause of gentrification is instigated either deliberately or as a by-product of state led regeneration and public policy (Cameron, 2003). This can be seen widely in the USA and also through the UK's regeneration policy going back to the 1970s.

This leads to the classic example of London Docklands where the Thatcher government's Urban Development Corporation encouraged a market-led response to regeneration of the declining docks. This met the needs of the private sector and its employees, creating a new financial centre and arguably boosting London's position in the global economy, but doing little to meet the needs of the area's existing, and disproportionately deprived, population (Bird, 1993, Jones, 1998, Hoyle, 1988).

This would be expected of a government such as Thatcher's, but it is interesting to note the unintended effects of gentrification created by housing rehabilitation grants in 1970s (Hamnett, 1973 in Atkinson, 2004) and also the potential impacts of the New Labour Urban Renaissance and Sustainable Communities agenda. Lees contends that the envisioned Urban Renaissance "is remarkably similar to visions of gentrification" (Lees, 2003 in Atkinson, 2004, p120). Atkinson develops on this to argue that the government's current policy direction "embraces middle class futures for the city instead of encompassing a wider social base" and contains a sub-text of gentrification where "inner-city revitalisation is the promotion of gentrification by the back door (Atkinson, 2004, p122).

I would argue that New Labour's Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) which is faced with writing and implementing policy, is not naïve to the potential impacts of its particular regeneration agenda, due to its focus on evidence based policy. In this light, there are two possible responses:

firstly that the government sees the impacts of gentrification resulting from Urban Renaissance policies as a necessary evil and one worth tolerating; and secondly that it has not adequately considered the full impacts of its Urban Renaissance agenda (as suggested by Atkinson, 2004).

However, the latter would be inconsistent with the aim of addressing regeneration in a holistic and strategic way to ensure that poorer groups have a better chance of competing in the current economic climate. This can be seen to be happening through the New Deal for Communities programme which relies on developing skills, community participation, and ownership from existing communities (Atkinson, 2004) to equip people in accessing opportunities brought in with regeneration. This is part of a wider shift, as part of an effort to promote 'social inclusion', and joined up working between diverse sectors such as crime, housing, education and employment (Colomb, 2007)

Gentrification and regeneration on the waterfront

Taking the ideas and arguments about gentrification down to the spaces in which this study will focus, it is important to acknowledge "the almost wholesale gentrification of London" (Butler, 2003, in Atkinson, 2004, p121). This gradual outward shift of gentrification from inner city areas, where literature on gentrification tends to focus, to outer areas of London suggests there is scope for studying gentrification in outer areas of London.

Waterfronts and port areas show long term dynamism connected to the wider economic climate of city, national and global economies (Hilling, 1988). Large port cities have developed large financial complexes based upon banking, insurance, commodity trading and producer services, originally tied to port activities (Norcliffe et al, 1996) but have adapted and flourished well beyond them.

Associated with this is a history of socio-economic disparities in port cities. Docks and the waterfront environment became the home and work place of poorer communities, with nearby city areas seeing the growth of prosperous urban society and culture, based of the wealth gained through this trade. This created two very different (port and city) elements of urban areas (Norcliffe et al, 1996) such as London.

Redevelopment of waterfront areas over the last 30 or so years has changed the divides of the urban rich and poor. Waterfront areas hold a specific desirability in terms of their potential environment and amenity value. This makes them attractive to developers, local and national government for new investment (Wood and Handley, 1999, Jones, 1998) and the concept of a "waterfront renaissance" has developed with more and more regeneration taking place in these settings (Jones, 1998, p436).

The financial profitability in waterfront locations links back to Smith's (1996) idea of the rent gap. In waterfront areas the gap between potential property values and land values is high, stimulating financial investment. This provides backing to Smith's argument that the Urban Renaissance has been triggered more by economic than cultural forces and the reason that some areas are "profitable to redevelop while others are not" (Smith, 1996 p57).

The post-industrial waterfront

Redevelopment and the transformation from the old industrial landscapes of waterfronts exemplifies post-industrial change (Hamnett, 2003). The existing production function of warehouses, wharves and other dockside buildings has been transformed through redevelopment. In many areas such as London Docklands and Bristol's Temple Quays, production has not disappeared but has evolved to serve the growing finance and service based economy, with the built form changing to offices.

However, other ‘new’ uses on the waterfront suggest a shift from production to consumption in these areas and may be considered as expressions of postmodernism (Norcliffe et al. 1996). This is where cultural arguments for gentrification can be seen to play out.¹

Norcliffe et al. (1996) sees postmodern consumer culture as concerned not so much with quantity but with quality and distinctiveness. This links to housing in redeveloped areas, which can fulfil a particular consumer niche and become a cultural product or commodity. The potential quality of waterfront environments encourages new investment and also attracts people to live, work and undertake leisure pursuits (Wood and Handley, 1999). To enable this, there was a need to transform perceptions of waterfronts from the traditional dirtier “working waterfront” by utilising marketing strategies to promote an image (Jones, 1998, p437-438) of luxurious waterfront living, in essence re-making places to appeal to consumers. The changes that accompanied this can be seen to sanitise out “traditional working and living waterfront practices” (Jones, 1998, p438).

The cultural commodity of a place links with values that some socio-economic groups (eg creative industry workers) associate with settings, where the specific and distinctive ‘look and feel’ of places or sites contributes to a sense of place, together with history or meanings connected to a site (Hutton, 2006). This highlights an interesting paradox for waterfront areas, as for new residents

¹ It is worth mentioning that the term ‘postmodernism’ is contentious, and Harvey (in Bird et al, 1993) argues that through its evolution as a term in opposition to modernism, it often obscures rather than reveals fundamental issues. He also highlights that it is of little importance to most people. Harvey describes it as

“coming to terms with the facts of fragmentation, difference and otherness which have long been a feature of capitalist political economy and culture” (Harvey, in Bird et al, 1993, p25).

It seems that its meaning in various areas literature differs and is frequently vague. In literature on geography, planning and the built environment it is often linked to ideas of post-industrialism and post-Fordism, and the changes in cultures and ways of thinking associated with this. It is worth being aware of this where the term is used in the review of literature, and wider study.

a sense of place and history may be important whilst negating underlying stories of displacement of former, less wealthy inhabitants.

Other postindustrial uses on the waterfront are recreation, leisure and heritage. This may be evidence of “the postmodern waterfront” as a “place where the new middle classes play” (Norcliffe et al. 1996, p131). There are also passive forms of recreation (eg walking, cycling) which may be practiced by “the waterfront *flaneur* – who enjoys the fashions, fictions and fantasies of the postmodern urban waterfront” (Norcliffe et al. p131). This borrows from Baudelaire’s conception of the flaneur (in Berman, 1983) and will be interesting to look at in terms of experiences of waterfront living.

Heritage is another ‘new’ use in waterfront settings (and broader settings) and is imbued with meanings connected with an idea of historic authenticity, a desire to preserve (Norcliffe et al. 1996) and a sense of nostalgia for an idealised past (Marshall, 2001). This has been connected to a “search for self” and one’s roots (Norcliffe et al. 1996 p132). Marshall suggests that heritage and other new leisure industries could be termed “the experience economy” (Marshall, 2001, p80) and commodified to become an industry (Hewison, 1987, in Norcliffe et al. p132), showing them as a means of both postindustrial production and consumption.

Waterfront regeneration and leadership: two contrasting examples

The conflict of profit orientated development and social equity (Tunbridge, 1998 in Jones, 1998) for existing but also new communities is highlighted by two waterfront examples in London: London Docklands and Coal Street on the South Bank (discussed in detail in Appendix 1). Redevelopment of London Docklands has been explored by various authors and shows a free market approach to regeneration, which removed power from local authorities and people, and ignored local needs (Bird, 1993, Dunn and Leeson, 1993). It re-

imaged the docks to attract business, service and finance sector jobs and middle class workers and residents. Only “a minimal proportion of jobs [were] made available to local residents” (Bird, 1993, p127) and the development created segregation and a sense of alienation between new and existing communities (Bird, 1993, Dunn and Leeson, 1993)

In contrast, Coin Street (Brindley, 2000) was developed, following a struggle between private developers and community groups, by the Coin Street Community Builders (CSCB), with initial support from the Labour controlled GLC (radicalised in opposition to Thatcherism) in the early 1980s. The development included low cost housing, workspace, social uses and public space built in several phases. It shows proactive local groups leading development to address local needs, and is described as “an alternative route to regeneration” (Brindley, 2000, p365). These two examples show actors leading regeneration with levels of local connection and ownership at different ends of the scale. This has led to diverse effects relating to the degree that the two developments have addressed local issues and created segregation between new and existing residents, which is something this study will explore further.

Partnerships in regeneration and planning

The CSCB has become part of a wider partnership which evolved during the 1990s, when a shift to multi-sector “partnership planning” became the vessel for forwarding regeneration (Brindley, 2000, p372). This is part of a strategic and holistic approach to regeneration, outlined by Carter (2000) which describes various types of partnership. This approach, of integrating diverse sectors and promoting cross-sectoral working, is also a key element of spatial planning (Tewdwr-Jones, 2004). On the South Bank, this brought together a broad range of groups, who had often been divided in their interests, from local authorities, the South Bank Residents Forum, a range of companies making up the South

Bank Employers' Group and the various bodies of the Cross River Partnership (eg Government Office for London, London Tourist Board, Railtrack and the Port of London Authority).

Carter categorises different types of partnerships and places Coin Street as a development trust: a form of community based-regeneration and independent from public bodies (Carter, 2000, p46 after Bailey, 1995 and Boyle, 1993). However, it may be fair to say that this has developed into something with the potential to be a strategic partnership (Carter, 2000, p46) due to the diversity of partners involved and its function as an umbrella organisation that aims to direct a broad strategy for growth and development.

Various authors have looked at the role of partnerships in waterfront regeneration. This includes North American examples of Toronto, Vancouver and Baltimore (Hoyle, 2000) and Cape Town, Amsterdam and Portsmouth as, with Barcelona highlighted as a leader in such partnerships (Jones, 1998). Problems were encountered relating to new forms of governance, local participation in planning and multi-sector partnerships in Copenhagen's waterfront redevelopment, resulting in segregation of waterfront neighbourhoods (Desfor and Jorgenson, 2004).

Bassett, Griffiths and Smith's (2002) article on the development of multi-sector partnerships in planning for Bristol's waterfront redevelopment further highlights the difficulties and conflicts in building a city wide consensus through 'community dialogue' (Bassett, Griffiths and Smith, 2002, p1771). The article details the interplay of private sector, community, local media and political interests in this dialogue. It highlights the strength of highly skilled, vocal middle classes through the local Civic Society, conservation and residents groups which can be seen as partial voices. The article concludes that in future partnership structures will need to become more open and inclusive, to legitimate their workings (Bassett, Griffiths and Smith, 2002).

It is useful to introduce the idea of community networks as part of wider partnerships. Networks are made up through relationships between individuals over shared concerns or values (Skelcher et al. 1996), showing similarities to “communities of interest” (Dunn and Leeson, 1993, p142). These are based around the sharing of common meanings, activities and purposes, with codes of inclusion and exclusion, which may attach themselves to particular places in certain circumstances, such as an area undergoing major redevelopment (Dunn and Leeson, 1993). It should be noted that with regard to advancing their particular interests, networks or communities of interest may end up excluding others (Skelcher et al. 1996).

The ‘communicative turn’ in planning

This brings forth the idea of a ‘communicative turn’ in planning (Neill, 2004; Healey, 2006) and the idea, based on Habermasian communicative planning theory, that “problems to democracy are best solved through argument” (Neill, 2004, p223). Looking outside of planning, the idea of democracy is key and needs to be based upon dialogue and debate leading to an articulation of a “civic perspective of enlarge community” (Benhabib, 2000,13, in Neill, p223). In practice, this shows a shift from the state taking charge of development, spatial and environmental decisions, to a communicative approach that fosters “collaborative, consensus-building practices” with governance systems designed to forward this (Healey, 2006, p5). This is based on the idea that there are a range of stakes that people have in local environments and that power and decision-making needs to be shared to enable these stakeholders to have a voice, to take forward the idea of participation and democracy (Healey, 2006).

Summary

This review of literature has highlighted the broad areas of background work relevant to the study. It covers a plethora of writing on gentrification which, in the main, shows the process to be a negative and divisive force for urban populations. It discusses past and current government policy, where underpinning concepts (such as 'mixed communities') seem poorly evaluated as to their affects. Further to this, the review explores literature on waterfront regeneration in terms of broader concepts of gentrification. It also links the changing landscapes and uses of the waterfront with ideas of economic change and explanations of post-industrialism. It briefly draws on literature on partnerships and the ideal of collaborative planning, which examples illustrate has been far from easy to achieve.

The study aims to bring together these various areas of literature, and explore ideas of community involvement, partnerships and redevelopment within two waterfront settings. This will help to take forward how ideas of collaborative planning have been taken on in recent redevelopment. The study specifically examines the interplay of the processes and effects of regeneration in a waterfront setting (particularly in outer areas of London, where there has been less research) and will provide a different context to look at if and how gentrification has been experienced, and whether it has had a positive or negative impact. It will also explore the 'sanitising effect' (Jones, 1998) to see whether this is experienced as an additional impact of regeneration. Through this, the study will explore (albeit in a small way) how the current urban regeneration agenda plays out on the ground, as called for by Colomb (2007).

3. Methodology

The Methodological Approach

The methodology of this study needs to aptly fit with its objectives. Through the objectives and sub-questions, I aim to unpack different experiences of regeneration in the two case study areas. There are some points from the literature that are key to the methodological approach chosen.

Lees (2003, in Atkinson, 2004) succinctly raises the question “is one person’s neighbourhood renewal another’s gentrification?”. This highlights that the process and outcomes of regeneration can be seen very differently depending on the background but also current position of the person who experiences it. This may relate to socio-economic status, gender, and ethnicity but also to lifestyle situations and choices. This links to the idea that the city can only ever be known “partially and from multiple places” (Haraway, 1995, in Thrift, 2000, p246).

The way in which knowledge is constructed is therefore significant and Lees (2000) contends that in relation to studies of gentrification, this has largely been ignored. Lees states that “different methodological frameworks obviously produce quite different accounts of gentrification” and it is clear that methodology, and the use of qualitative or quantitative methods, influences the views given and findings of a study (Lees, 2000, p404).

These ideas originate from the broad waves of feminist, postcolonial and post-Marxist theory that challenged the long esteemed idea of objectivity and scientific inquiry, where ‘facts’ were simply waiting to be discovered. The idea that knowledge is socially constructed through interactive, communicative processes, and that social context influences individual’s preferences lies behind communicative or interpretative planning theory, which has developed

since the 1970s (Healey, 1996). Knowledge is seen to be ‘marked by its origins’, and constitutes ‘situated’ or ‘partial’ knowledges (Rose, 1997, p307). Planning itself can be seen as a social process “embedded in its context of social relations” and day to day practices, and has the “capacity to challenge and change” these relations and practices (Healey, 1996, p30).

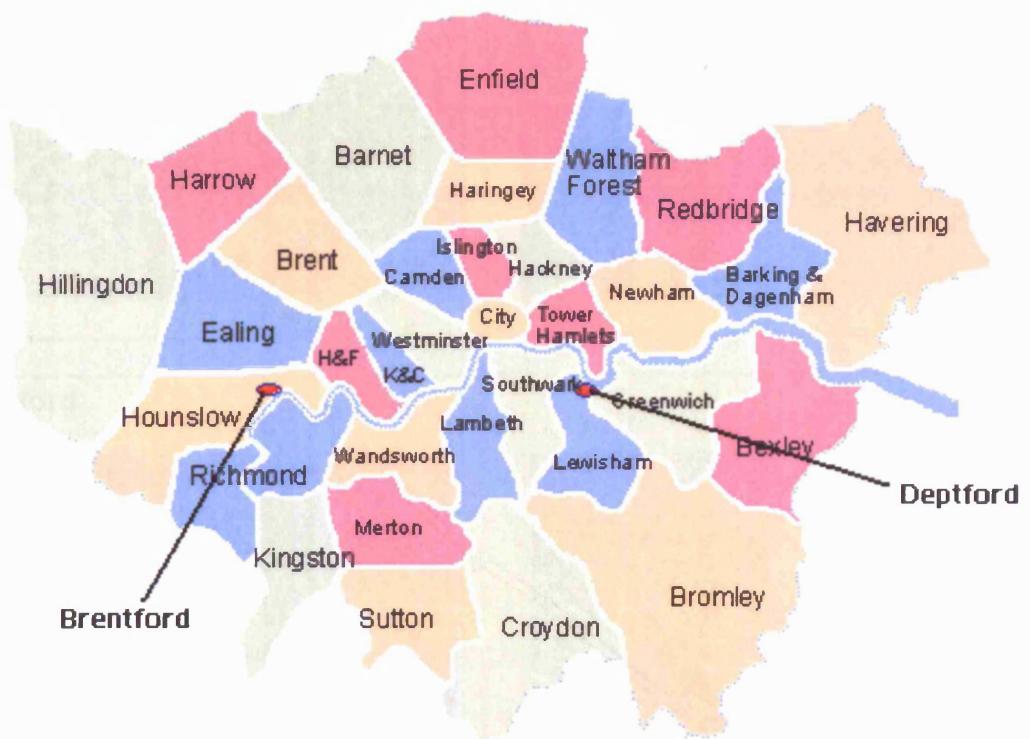
In this study I adopt a qualitative approach to produce findings that provide detail, specificity and subjectivity of individual experiences, and a diversity of responses. This means that I am not aiming to generalise my findings or attempting to make objective ‘false claims to universally applicable knowledge’ (Rose, 1997, p307). Attempting to provide a comprehensive picture of regeneration from the case study areas would in any case be difficult as the case studies are not chosen with the aim of being representative, and the number of respondents is limited due to the length of the study.

Case Studies

The aim of using case studies is to focus the issues and questions of the study down to, this case, two local areas. This fits the qualitative approach and should provide for an in-depth exploration of the experiences of regeneration, taking into account specific contexts of the case study areas.

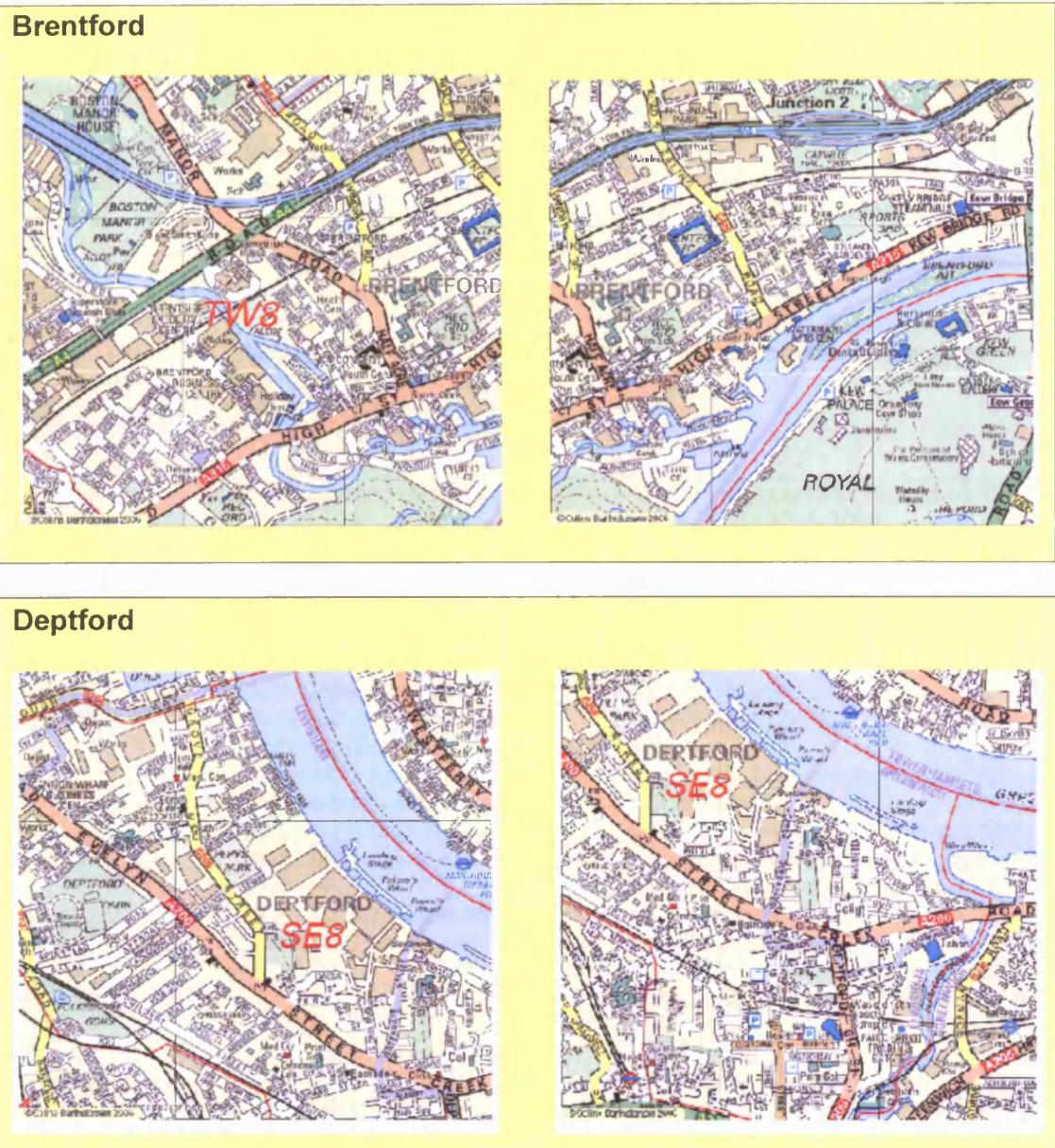
The two case studies I have chosen are Brentford, in west London in the London Borough of Hounslow, and Deptford Creek, in south east London on the border between the London Boroughs of Lewisham and Greenwich. The London focus is acknowledged as a specificity of the study, with both areas being effected by the strength of the London economy, housing market and recent and projected population growth, both taking account of natural increase but also population increase due to new development.

Figure 1. Location of the case study areas within London



(Map from London Drug and Alcohol Network, 2007)

Figure 2. Location of the case study areas at a more local level



(Maps from www.streetmap.co.uk)

The case study areas provide a number of similarities which will make them suitable to compare, as summarised in the table below.

Figure 3. Background information for Brentford and Deptford

	Brentford	Deptford
Location	West London. Thames confluence with the Grand Union Canal / River Brent	South-East London. Thames confluence with Deptford Creek / River Ravensbourne
Predominant uses in the past	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Industrial area. - Boat building (continues) - River/ canal transport hub, with large railway hub (built by Isambard Kingdom Brunel) at Brentford Dock - British Gas Works site - Thames Water site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Industrial area, engineering firms. - Power Station - Royal Victoria Victualling Yard - Royal Navy provisions site since 1742.
Past regeneration funding	Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) 1995-2001	Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) 1995-2001, 2001-2006
Redevelopment so far	<p><u>1960s</u> - Town Centre 'modernised'</p> <p><u>1970s</u> - Brentford Dock residential development built on dockyards and railyard. GLC development, with opposition from local authority.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Green Dragon and Brentford Lea Council estates built <u>2000s</u> - Holland Gardens residential development on Gas Works site - Ferry Quays – old dockyards - Brentford Lock – old dockyards 	<p><u>1960s</u> – Pepys Estate built on Royal Victoria Victualling Yard</p> <p><u>1960s/70s</u> – other large Council estates built</p> <p><u>1990s</u> – Millennium Quay development built on Power Station site</p> <p>Late 90s – redevelopments on Pepys Estate begin</p> <p><u>2000s</u> – Laban Centre opens (2002)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aragon Tower (previous Pepys Estate Tower block) sold to and redeveloped by Barratt Homes – completed 2005. - Musical Musuem redeveloped and improvements to the Steam Musuem
Future development and plans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brentford Area Action Plan (submitted to Secretary of State, July 2007) outlines numerous sites in Brentford that are likely to see future development. - Ongoing appeal following Council refusal of an application for nearly 1000 residential units at Commerce Road (currently a functioning industrial area), by the Grand Union Canal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A number of sites in the Deptford Area outlined in Lewisham Council's Core Strategy Preferred Options consultation, including Site Allocations. - A Deptford Creekside Supplementary Planning Document is planned to be jointly produced by Lewisham and Greenwich, with estimated adoption in 2009. - Convoys Wharf development, including 3,500 residential units, 73000sqm employment floorspace, retail and cultural facilities –outline planning consent (Lewisham Council, 2005)

Both areas have seen large scale redevelopment, mainly from industrial, warehouse or utilities uses to residential, which goes back to the 1960s. However, a large amount of redevelopment has been completed over the last decade, with more under construction and planned for the future. In Deptford there has been a focus of major cultural regeneration projects (Hamnett, 2003) with the development of the iconic Laban dance centre, together with a large amount of residential uses. In Brentford, the cultural angle to regeneration has been on a smaller scale, including redevelopment of a musical museum and relaunch of a steam museum, but development has been more focused on residential use.

Figure 4. The Laban Dance Centre, Deptford



(Millennium Quays development in the background)

In terms of local authority plans relating to the case studies, sites within both areas are identified for redevelopment through current Unitary Development Plans (Hounslow Council 2003, Lewisham Council 2004, Greenwich Council, 2006). These allocate housing and a mix of other uses, such as town centre regeneration and expansion, and employment uses. These designations and

proposals are taken forward in both cases in emerging Local Development Frameworks, which is detailed further in the Discussion of Findings section of the study.

However, when looking at the regional spatial strategy, the London Plan, there is a significant difference in the focus given to the two case studies in terms of policy impetus for regeneration and growth. Brentford receives little attention in the London Plan, as a struggling but fast becoming popular locality in economically buoyant West London. Its recent popularity can be linked to the booming housing market and its proximity to wealthy suburbs such as Chiswick, Ealing and Kew. Contrasting Brentford, Deptford is part of the Thames Gateway, earmarked for a vast scale of regeneration and growth (DCLG, 2007). The shift of strategic growth and regeneration priority to the east of London is core in the London Plan, as part of a much wider central government growth strategy. As well as being part of the Thames Gateway growth area, Deptford is also designated within the London Plan (GLA, 2004) as:

- an Area for Regeneration, as it is within the 20% most deprived wards in London (Policy 2A.4, map 2A.2);
- an Opportunity Area (Policy 2A.2, map 2A.1);
- an emerging creative industry cluster (Policy 3B.9 and para 3.139).

Despite a number of similarities, the differing emphasis of regional policy is interesting in relation to the pace, scale, quantity and quality (both in terms of the local participation in the development process and the finished product) of growth in the two case study areas. The role of regional, and also national policy objectives, will be highlighted within the Discussion of Findings section. However, this will be considered whilst taking into account the significant (perhaps overwhelming, in relation to regeneration and planning policy)

contribution of the London economy and housing market in spurring regeneration.

A qualitative approach to interviewing

In this study I will carry out interviews with residents, community groups and local government in the case study areas. A qualitative approach to interviews aims to give importance to the perspective and views of those being studied. The concept of 'situated knowledges' applies to researchers, who need be self-reflexive and write their own position, as well as that of their research participants, into research practice (Rose, 1997, p305).

As Miller and Glassner (1997) outline, it is neither desirable or feasible to see an interview as 'pure' and taking place in a sterilised context, as put forward in a more traditional, positivist approach. A qualitative approach stresses that there are no neutral or non-social situations to discover a 'true opinion'. The 'active' approach to interviewing takes the interview as an 'unavoidably collaborative' process. Experiences are pieced together, mediated and modified by both the interviewee and interviewer, which becomes an 'active' process in constructing meanings. A qualitative approach to interviewing is no less rigorous than traditional interviewing as it requires sensitivity to the context, process and the substance of knowledge produced, and acknowledges the interrelatedness of these (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997).

Arranging interviews

Interviewees were primarily found through searching the internet for residents associations and community organisations in each area, and using email addresses on these websites to contact potential interviewees. In three instances, an email address on residents association websites distributed my email to every member of the group, which proved an effective way of finding

interviewees. Further to this, the Chairs / leaders of two residents associations posted my email on their notice boards. The text of the initial communication, posted on a residents association's website noticeboard, can be found in Appendix 2.

When responses were received from interviewees a convenient time and place to meet was arranged. Interviewees were informed in advance about the amount of time the interview would take (generally between 20 and 30 minutes) and were prepared for this. Interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder.

Another method of finding interviewees was to approach people when I was out in the case study areas. Only two of the interviews (both in Deptford) were initiated in this manner. These interviews often had to be tailored quite dramatically from the standard research template (see Appendix 4) eg for an interviewee who had lived in the area as a child, and another interview with two teenagers.

At the start of the interviews I outlined the purpose of the interview and study, making clear that the information given would be used solely for the purposes of my dissertation. This was particularly pertinent in Brentford, where my role in the Planning Policy section at the Council needed to be clearly separated from the purpose of the interviews and the study.

Thirteen interviews were carried out (six in Brentford and seven in Deptford) with a total of fifteen respondents, as two interviews were with two respondents. There was also a brief discussion with a Planning Officer at Lewisham Council. The split between newer and older residents was approximately half-half. Appendix 5 shows respondents' details, including where they live within the case study area and for how long they have lived there.

Respondents were a mix of home owners and Council tenants, although in Brentford respondents were predominantly home owners, with a more even split in Deptford. From what I could gather from the interviews, none of the respondents were private renters, a point to be aware of in the study.

Approximately 50% of respondents were actively involved in neighbourhood and community initiatives. About another four respondents were generally aware of local development issues, partly through their residents associations but had not necessarily played an active part in these. This indicates a limitation in the methods used to engage interviewees, due to its reliance on contacting respondents through residents associations. Residents without these links, and with little engagement in or awareness of local issues (possibly private renters) are under represented in the study. However, it should be noted that the two interviews initiated on site in Deptford were with people (teenagers, Morrison and James, and Lorraine) with no previous involvement in local development issues. The points above should be acknowledged as influencing the responses gathered and the findings.

The interview questions and analysis

The questions in the interview were created with the aim to make clear links to the study's objectives (shown in Appendix 3), therefore directing interviews to maximise their relevance to the study. To analyse the interviews, I transcribed the majority of each into response tables (Appendix 6a). I was then able to highlight key issues and, due to the original link between objectives and the questions, consider them in relation to the study's objectives. For each interviewee I collated background information in a table (Appendix 5). The outcomes are discussed in the following section.

Other sources

I also collated information from planning and regeneration documents relevant to the case study areas, referred to above and also incorporated in the Discussion of Findings section.

4. Discussion of Findings

In this section I will link interview responses back to the objectives, and where possible relate them to the background literature. To re-cap, there are two main objectives of the study, the first of which explores the role that local residents play in regeneration in their areas. The second examines the impact of regeneration on communities and the social make up of the case study areas. For each main objective there are a number of sub-objectives linking to questions asked in the interviews. I will draw out pertinent points and excerpts from the interviews to provide a robust analysis and also discuss differences between the two case study areas.

The background of each respondent can be found in Appendix 5, and a detailed write up of each response in Appendix 6. In this section I will refer to respondents by their name and case study area.

Objective 1.

What role do local residents play and what influence have they had in the regeneration of urban waterfront areas?

Sub-objective A. Do local residents feel they have been involved, or sufficiently involved, in waterfront redevelopment?

This question invoked a number of interesting and diverse responses. Some respondents felt they had been made sufficiently aware of redevelopment, although they had not directly responded to consultation,

Beryl (Deptford): In recent years the Council have written to people in the area, when anything big or major is going on... the really big one they consulted on was the Convoys Wharf.

In Brentford, following a conscious effort to consult on urban design as part of the emerging Brentford Area Action Plan (BAAP, Hounslow Council, 2007) Lesley Anne and Jan highlighted a lack of clear direction in terms of what would happen next,

Jan (Brentford): your views are taken in but the people who take them in have no sanction to do anything with them, so they simply collate all this information and then it comes to a stop.

A general feeling coming from a number of respondents was the lack of difference that their responses to consultation appeared to make. The feeling that 'You're consulted on something that's already decided' (Malcolm, Deptford) was particularly apparent on the Pepys Estate in Deptford, where fundamental decisions, such as the transfer of Council housing to an Arms Length Management Organisation (ALMO), Hyde Homes, were taken by the local authority without consultation and "we had to fight to be consulted in the first place with Hyde" (Jessica, Deptford). When challenged by local residents at a Council meeting to "to hold a vote of local authority tenants in this area...[the Council] decided there would be no vote" (Jessica, Deptford). A similar situation appeared to be the case with the sell-off of Aragon Tower, on Pepys Estate to private developers (its redevelopment being the subject of the current BBC documentary, The Tower).

Figure 5. Pepys Estate and its different housing types and styles (Aragon Tower in background, one of Hyde Homes' developments on right)



This approach created friction as local people felt excluded from the decision making process. Through interviews with Malcolm and Jessica of the Pepys Community Forum (PCF) there was a feeling that regeneration has been imposed on the estate from outside,

Malcolm (Deptford): Its just an imposition on people, saying we're going to change it. No matter what you think we're going to change it.

It seems that the failure of genuine engagement had also led to local people's views about the physical appearance and design of their area being disregarded,

Malcolm (Deptford): You have to argue with very keen wide eyed architects... they think they know how to design and plan things better than has been done before. And they think you're mad if

you talk about what was good in the past... they see everything here as being crap, as being bad, as being run down. What they're going to do is going to be good, and new and for the future...

This imposition of other people's ideas and design, and disregard for local views "makes people feel powerless, that it's not worth talking to the Council because they're going to do what they're going to do anyway". This makes it "difficult to sustain support [as a community group] because you keep on losing, all the way through" (Malcolm). This highlights a sense of fatigue and a gradual wearing down of enthusiasm, despite commitment and strong residents action groups in the area.

However, Malcolm acknowledges the group has made "a very small difference" and has "managed to make them [the Council] think and go through all the democratic procedures they possibly could have gone through". This shows evidence of Hoyle's (2000) idea that community groups influence the pace and pattern of change, providing views that, to a small extent in this case, modify and restrain development.

In Brentford, despite concerns about consultation not making much difference, respondents felt they had on the whole been consulted and largely appeared to welcome regeneration as a method of improving the area.

To summarise, it seems most interviewees felt involved in redevelopment in their areas to some extent but questioned whether their involvement made any difference. On the Pepys Estate in Deptford, residents lack of involvement in fundamental decisions about the future of their area had caused disenfranchisement with the consultation process.

Sub-objective B. Have networks or partnerships evolved through the development process?

In both case study areas it seems that local residents have come together to form groups relating to major redevelopment. Matthew, from the Brentford Community Council (BCC) highlights “what usually happens is when a development threatens an area then everybody gets excited, and gets together and forms a residents group or re-invents one that was there before”.

The BCC is “the umbrella organisation for residents groups in Brentford” (Matthew, Brentford) originally set up by Hounslow Council in 1989 as part of the planning consultation process but replaced by area planning committees, with a heavier presence of local Councillors and Council officers. The BCC is lead by a “hardcore” of locals and Matthew admits it has “a slightly odd status”. On its website the BCC describes itself as “a vocal watchdog of local development plans” and has a role in supporting residents groups to “builds group’s skills and ability to influence development” (BCC, 2007).

The BCC plays a role in disseminating information to residents associations in the area, and this appeared to be how two residents were aware of local development issues. The actual level of involvement of local residents at the BCC fluctuates,

Matthew (Brentford): Attendance at the meetings has varied wildly, so on one occasion we had 50 people and on another we had 5. It depends what's on the agenda. So people turn up to the meetings that are of interest to them.

The BCC may be seen as a “community of interest” (described by Dunn and Leeson, 1993, p142) which is no way static but comes together over shared concerns (Skelcher et al. 1996) relating to place focused redevelopment

issues.

However, Neil in Brentford expresses frustration over the apathy and lack of local action of people living around him,

Neil (Brentford): We have a rubbish residents association here, which I tried to reform some years ago...They want to do nothing political...

It seems that in this instance the lack of a local issues-based residents association acts as a barrier to the BCC network. This may be the case for many residents in Brentford, where there is not a residents association or where residents are not involved in it.

The BCC has been in continual contact with the local authority and developers over planning applications and have had “a fair amount of input” (Matthew) in the Brentford Area Action Plan (BAAP). In their opinion, “the Council were at least exhaustive in seeking opinions from everybody”. However, the actual level of working with the Council and other delivery bodies is minimal, and the BCC appears to be a group that responds to development, rather than taking an active role in directing it. Due to this the ideal of ‘partnership’ is questionable, and the BCC may be seen as a fairly loose network of local voices.

In Deptford, the Millennium Quays Residents Association was active in responding to planning applications. However, it seemed to represent the views of the few individuals running it. Another resident at Millennium Quays states that “quite often people [at Millennium Quays] say ‘oh, I’m not having this’ ... but I’m generally in favour of regeneration” (David, Deptford) showing an awareness that the resounding view coming from the residents association did not represent all of the development’s residents. This indicates that there is not an undisputed direction for redevelopment, that no one community group “can legitimately claim to represent an entire urban community” and that some

groups may be seen as “narrowly focused or elitist in approach” (Hoyle, 2000, p407).

On the Pepys Estate in Deptford local action began as a “campaign to stop” demolition of Council housing stock (Jessica, Deptford), where ownership was to be transferred to Hyde Homes and a private developer. This action was led by a core of a few individuals including Jessica and Malcolm (both interview respondents). This group developed into the Pepys Community Forum (PCF) and gained Single Regeneration Budget funding to run projects, particularly to build skills and capacity of residents on the estate. The focus on community-based regeneration, independent from the public sector shows the PCF to possess the characteristics of a development trust (a type of partnership defined by Carter, 2000, after Bailey, 1995 and Boyle, 1993) and echoes the PCF’s (2007) self-definition as a “community development trust”.

The PCF’s development work on the Pepys Estate has been described as an “alternative model of local economic development” (Centre for Urban and Community Research, 2007). The PCF is the same type of partnership as Coin Street (Carter, 2000, after Bailey, 1995 and Boyle, 1993) which Brindley (2000, p365) similarly refers to as “an alternative route to regeneration”, showing commonalities in relation to the core goals and community focus of their work. However, their ability to influence in development has differed radically, due largely to their contrasting levels of power in local decision making processes (effected by the different political climates in which they operated).

The PCF’s independence is not all positive, as Jessica outlines “its not about a partnership with the community, whereby local authority and community come together to look at what is the future”. It is evident that joint working and a more collaborative approach (as described by Healey, 2006) is needed, and this something that would help empower the PCF and integrate them in

development process, as opposed to the current situation where they lead a separate strand of community focused regeneration.

This shows that localised networks have developed in both case study areas as a result of large scale development. There are differences both within and between the case study areas, with residents associations providing a means of networking and links to wider networks (ie the BCC). In both areas there were individuals who were not involved in a network, or did not share the views forwarded by existing networks.

The only real example of a partnership was the PCF, which despite leading locally based, people focused regeneration, did not seem sufficiently involved in strategic level decision making in Deptford. There appeared to be lack of joined up working and “collaborative, consensus-building practices” (Healey, 2006, p5) creating a gap between local views and needs, and development on the Pepys Estate.

Sub-objective C. i. Have certain people or groups been included or excluded from the engagement process?

ii. Have there been barriers to certain groups in networks or partnerships, and if so why?

The discussion of this sub-objective is tied to sub-objective B. As outlined, those who are most involved are those with a specific interest and also the skills to organise local groups and articulate their views.

Malcolm (Deptford): the more experienced people are less afraid
to speak up and they've got some time to put into it.

Several respondents highlight young people, young families and the elderly as groups that are not usually involved in (or even aware of) consultation. Two

boys (aged 14 and 15) interviewed in Deptford felt uninvolved in redevelopment, and had a very negative perception of the local authority and government,

Morrison (Deptford): there's a lot to do... but they're not doing nothing".

Other groups highlighted were "people who have English as their second language" (Jessica, Deptford). Jessica expands that she doesn't "think the local authority really understands how to get amongst them" showing difficulties in enabling involvement, and indicating that specific mechanisms are needed to achieve wider community engagement.

However, examples are given where new approaches to consultation have involved groups that are harder to reach, including a 'Planning for Real' exercise in Deptford. In Brentford, consultation on the Brentford Area Action Plan and High Street regeneration,

Matthew (Brentford): quite consciously went out and were more proactive in trying to get people who wouldn't normally be involved, so they went out to old people's homes, into schools and were more successful than we've been.

This is interesting as the last part shows an awareness that the Brentford Community Council, which Matthew is actively involved in, does not necessarily involve these groups. This raises the point that local groups do not necessarily represent the views of a diverse local community (Brindley 2000, Hoyle, 2000).

Another interesting point brought up by a resident (who is Chair of the Residents Association) on a private development in Deptford thinks that "residents generally" are not involved enough, mainly because "the planning process doesn't require it" (Richard, Deptford). He feels that consultation is lacking and needs to be much wider.

Confusion about the planning process is brought up, with changes to the planning system meaning “you don’t really know what the situation is” (Beryl, Deptford). This is expanded on in relation to consultation on the Brentford Area Action Plan,

Matthew (Deptford): The business of having different stages of options to comment on was actually quite confusing to people, unless they have some experience of how planning works. So for the average person on the street it wasn’t very helpful.

This shows that how the consultation process, as followed in the production of Local Development Framework documents, perhaps complicates consultation to the point where it creates a barrier to participation to many people. This may contradict, or at least detract from, its specific purpose of widening community participation.

Sub-objective D. Who has led or spearheaded regeneration and how has this worked?

The questions relating to this sub-objective invoked responses which varied significantly between Brentford and Deptford. In Brentford, all respondents felt that development was led by the private sector and developers “out to make money” (Carl, Brentford). New development in Brentford had “been suffering from a lack of planning guidance for too long” (Matthew, Brentford). Matthew expresses that “one of our worries about the action plan is that it’s taken so long to get together that a lot of development it could have steered will already have happened”. This indicates that the Council is lagging behind the private sector, and is perhaps reacting to development pressures rather than actively leading them. The production of the Area Action Plan is, however, constrained by the length of time it takes to produce such a plan, and should help to steer future development.

In Deptford there was a mix of views with about leadership of regeneration. Despite one person at Millennium Quays stating that “none of them are driven by the Council” (Richard, Deptford) other respondents highlighted a mix of actors who led development. For the “the different organisations involved, the motivation differs” (Jessica, Deptford). However, the reasons behind local authority driven development on Pepys Estate were not free from being finance-driven,

Lorraine: ...its just all about money... some boroughs are in a lot of trouble financially, so if it makes them money...

The local authority is viewed as distant and “not really knowing what’s going on in an area (Beryl, Deptford). The Council are also seen as “lacking a sense of vision” and a “basic drive to transform lives or provide more than the statutory requirements” (Jessica, Deptford).

Jessica (Deptford): at a local level I don’t think the housing department made the decision to bring Hyde [the housing association] in to redevelop the properties.. but they were following that drift and weren’t able to stand up.

This is seen as a lack of leadership from the Council, who are following a wider government policy lead that has a “complete loss in confidence in the provision of housing by local authorities” (Jessica, Deptford). This has resulted in decisions and development in Deptford which is not seen to benefit poorer residents.

Housing need is identified as a driver for redevelopment by many respondents. Two respondents (David from Millennium Quay and Malcolm from the Pepys Estate) identify the Thames Gateway as a driver of development. David also mentions the influence of London Plan designations of an Opportunity Area and

creative industry cluster. However, this is paired with the “incredible amount of land” (David, Deptford) and the location of Deptford “right next to Canary Wharf, with some incredibly rich people in it who need houses, and I think there’s an incentive for developers” (David, Deptford). This shows a combination of factors driving regeneration in this particular part of London.

However, the “government agenda” (Malcolm, Deptford) of the Thames Gateway is more problematic for Malcolm, who sees Deptford’s inclusion in it as misplaced as “it’s not the Gateway to London, it is London”. The reason underlying this links to a lack of participation in regeneration policy making,

Malcolm (Deptford): So there’s broad government policies that you as local people are not on the committees [for], you’ve not got a voice in those policies.

This shows the problem of local implementation of a central government driven regeneration agenda, which “always seems to be someone else’s policy” Malcolm (Deptford).

Together with this, the private sector are viewed as “someone else” who,

Malcolm (Deptford): has got more to gain. Property speculation... speculators flying around [in helicopters] looking at the area thinking ‘we can make a nice big profit here’.

This brings forth the feeling of the area being watched, but also that regeneration decisions are being made (by both government policy and the private developers) from above, and have lacked local participation.

Objective 2.

What are the main impacts of regeneration on communities and social make-up of waterfront areas?

Sub-objective E. Has gentrification occurred and if so, to what extent?

To begin with it is useful to explore the factors that drew people to new developments in the case study areas. A waterfront location did not appear to be a particular factor for the majority of respondents. Practical considerations and affordability, together with the potential to make money from purchasing new property off plan were greater factors. In this sense, the need for affordable, appropriately sized housing was the primary draw to the case study areas, although the setting and “look and feel” (Hutton, 2006) of a riverside location is something respondents thought contributed to both the amenity and financial value of their homes once they had moved in.

Brentford

However, in Brentford two sets of respondents did identify the waterside location, and presence of a marina within their development (Brentford Lock, built in the 1970s)) and associated boat club as being an attractive pull factor.

Lesley-Anne (Brentford): we like the communal facilities and the cruising association , which is probably one of the better things here...we've done the London ring [Thames and canal network route around London] several times, sometimes as part of a flotilla of three or four cruise club boats...

Neil (Brentford): I'm pleased I came here. Mainly because of the river...
I like canals and things, and I go out on the river.

This water-related recreational pursuit can be seen as evidence of a 'new culture' (Norcliffe et al. 1996, p131) practised by middle class residents, built in the place of an old commercial dockyard, which along with housing development has physically transformed the Brentford's built environment.

Brentford) and is generally increasing or changing in the chosen sites. There

Figure 6. Brentford Dock marina



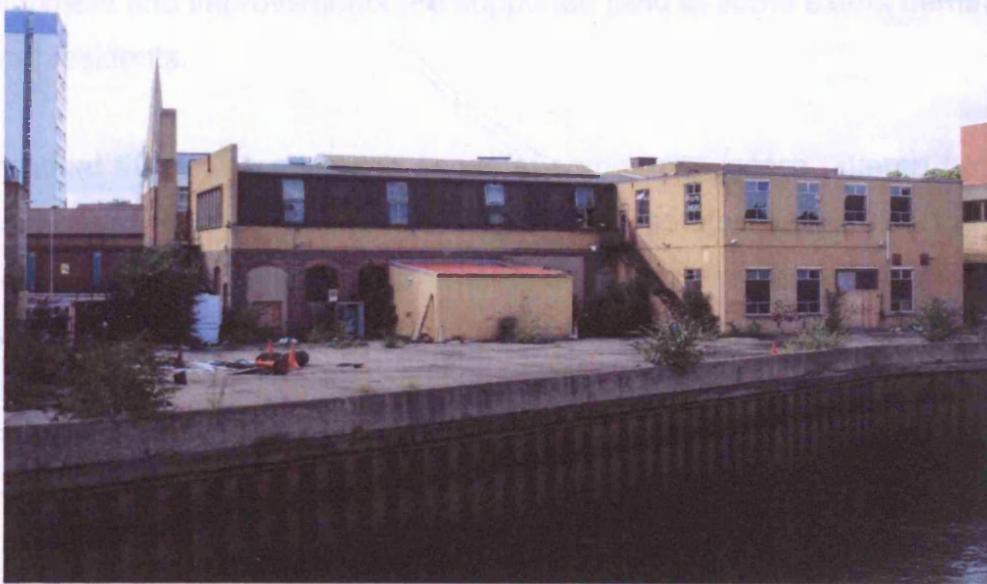
In Brentford there is a feeling from residents of rapid population growth, based on recent and future population and development projections in the Brentford Area Action Plan,

"Large brownfield sites have been redeveloped for a variety of uses and have resulted in a 40% growth in population over the past 15 years. It is likely that over the plan period the population of the Action Area could have increased by another 45%. Large sites ripe for redevelopment still remain in the area and the primary task is to develop them in such a way that maximises their regeneration effect whilst ensuring that they deliver development that is sustainable and responsive to the needs of the local community" (Hounslow Council, 2007).

Respondents seemed to indicate that these aims have not, so far, been fulfilled. They raised concerns about implementation of regeneration and the ability of local services and infrastructure to support an expanding population, which is not "of the same demographic as they were 10 years ago" (Matthew, Brentford) and is generally made up of younger middle classes residents.

An issue mentioned by many residents was the negative environmental impact of derelict sites still in Brentford that have "been sitting there for decades and no changes, they've just deteriorated" (Lesley-Anne, Brentford). Residents felt something needed to be done to improve this.

Figure 7. Derelict industrial site by Brentford Lock



Alison moved to Brentford five years ago and comments that there is a lot of "high end housing" but a lack of infrastructure to go with it. Several respondents commented on the lack and poor quality of shopping facilities on Brentford High Street, which is seen as run down and as having "no heart" (Alison, Brentford) and does not meet their needs and aspirations. These residents went to nearby

centres of Chiswick, Richmond and into central London for shopping and entertainment. Interestingly, Alison mentions that less advantaged residents in Brentford are “stuck with low quality shops” (Alison, Brentford) and services, where they may not be so easily able to travel to areas with better services, and shows an awareness of the disadvantage of some groups in the area.

There was evidence that restaurants and bars surrounding new waterside public spaces were beginning to open, together with a new health centre, seen as a positive aspect of new development that benefited the wider community. However, many residents believed these improvements were insufficient, particularly the quality or variety of local shops and services. It therefore seems that the benefits of regeneration, outlined by Atkinson (2004) have not been maximised. The area is still in a period of fairly major change, and further development and improvements are supported (and to some extent demanded) by local residents.

In Brentford there was a varying sense of community, which differed between but was based around particular developments or estates, rather than the wider Brentford area. Residents at the Holland Gardens development (completed a few years ago) felt that there was a sense of community to the extent that “you know your neighbours” (Rebecca, Brentford). Interestingly, a respondent from the Butts (an area of larger Victoria housing) felt there was “a rather strong sense of community” (Matthew, Brentford). However,

Matthew (Brentford): it's rather self-conscious. It's very strongly pushed and guarded, so it occasionally feels slightly unnatural.
But there is a sense of community mainly because people are striving very hard to make it so.

This is interesting as it indicates a notion of community which is seen as an ideal, and which local residents strive to promote and protect. This may be of particular importance in a rapidly changing locality.

This links to a respondent at Brentford Dock's view,

Neil (Brentford): I suppose it's friendlier than if I just lived on a street somewhere, but it's difficult to get community spirit...

Although he acknowledges some sense of community, Neil outlines his aspiration that the development would have "a villagey atmosphere which it didn't really live up to because it's a bit of a dormitory place now" (Neil, Brentford) perhaps showing the impact of a greater professional population in the area. There is an awareness that community has to be built by local people, and that "it's not something that someone can bustle in and do" (Jan, Brentford).

Figure 8. Ferry Quays and the Grand Union Canal (looking out to the Thames)



In Brentford all respondents felt that there had not been much mixing between newer and existing residents, although there had been some effort to facilitate this between the residents associations at the new Ferry Quays development and at Brentford Dock (completed in the late 1970s). There was an awareness of the idea of social background and interests were behind social mixing and formation of communities (as discussed by Dunn and Leeson, 1993), where “you get a split of people from an age thing, from a social thing, from an educational thing and from the jobs people do” (Jan, Brentford). This perhaps shows a notion of community that is not necessarily tied to place and has perhaps become less so with the changing population in Brentford.

Another point to raise is that regeneration and changes to the population are not new in Brentford. Neil describes the middle class people who bought good value Victorian cottages in Brentford during the 1980s and 1990s, rather than in expensive neighbouring Chiswick, as being “sensible rather than fashionable... so there were always, I wouldn’t call them trendy but sophisticated people in Brentford” (Neil, Brentford). This may point to an earlier period of gentrification, but without further evidence it is difficult to take this any further.

An interesting point raised by residents was the separation within developments, between private and affordable housing. This was seen to create a divide within development, accentuated by different management, and created a bit of an “us and them” (Lesley-Anne, Brentford) situation. Although particular problems are not mentioned it seems that this physical separation created a feeling that “the flats are rather polarised, they’re either affordable housing or they’re rather expensive” (Matthew, Brentford). This raises issues in relation to the design of development, and different affordabilities, tenures and management arrangements. It perhaps points to the uncertainties associated with the concept of mixed communities, where detail or explanation of ‘social mix’ is absent (Colomb, 2007) and leads to problems in implementation. This is something that needs to be clarified at a national level of policy to ensure that

different levels of affordability within new housing development are better integrated.

None of the respondents interviewed in Brentford felt there were tensions relating to new groups of people in the area and different groups of people went to the local pubs. There was a sense that new residents came to the area to make money from new housing, but this seems to be balanced by the idea that "it did need to change because it was all derelict and no one... came to Brentford" (Carl, Brentford).

Neil (Brentford): ...it's very good now, there is a trendy set, whereas
Brentford wasn't particularly trendy.

The changing population of the area is perceived as positive step, and as a way to improve both the environment and image of the area, with existing residents liking the fact that their area was becoming more valued and attractive.

There was no mention in the interviews of any feeling of displacement of existing residents². This shows evidence of Hoyle's (1998) assertion that in waterfront areas, new housing development typically takes place on non-residential land, either through new build or renovation of industrial or commercial buildings previously associated with the docks. In Brentford, this has meant existing residents have not been directly displaced as the result of redevelopment. It could be argued that this sort of redevelopment constitutes gentrification as its effects can be very similar, with house price rises and changes to the area's social constitution, but this was not identified as a particular problem.

² It should be noted that this is based on the residents interviewed in Brentford, where respondents (both new and older) tended to be more middle class.

To summarise, in this case study area large scale redevelopment has changed the industrial and dockside uses of the area to ‘postindustrial’ waterfront uses (Norcliffe et al. 1996) and brought with it younger and more middle class social groups, which fits with part of the description of gentrification. However, ‘displacement of one group of residents with another of higher status’ (Ward, 1991, in Savage, Warde and Ward, 2003, p87) and the pushing out of working classes as described as an innate feature of Glass’s original description of gentrification (Glass, 1963, in Hamnett, 2003) does not appear to have occurred. If this is a fundamental feature of the process, then despite some of the elements of gentrification being evident, it may be argued that the regeneration of Brentford has occurred without gentrification. This can perhaps be partly attributed to redevelopment taking place on non-residential land, paired with a general support for redevelopment and change from local residents.

Deptford

Some of the strongest responses on issues relating to gentrification came from residents of the Pepys Estate. The lack of involvement in decision making (discussed in earlier sub-objectives) is key to these responses. The idea of regeneration happening for other social groups is highlighted,

Malcolm (Deptford): [We] don't want someone coming in and saying
your area's rubbish, we're going to change it and make it superb. But
we're going to push you out because you're also bad people, we don't
want you here, we want someone else to come in and enjoy the new
superb conditions.

The existing residents were “always offered somewhere else in Lewisham or in other parts of the country. They were never given the offer to come back”. There is a sense that the existing residents were not valued, that “they’d been slung out of the tower block, told you’re no good, you can’t live around here

anymore, you can't enjoy the river views... you can't enjoy living in Deptford" (Malcolm, Deptford). This provides a stark link to the idea that regeneration tends to be directed to areas "valued more for their land-use value than the communities they contain" (Atkinson, 2004, p126). Pepys Estate highlights the potential desirability of a waterfront location immediately opposite Canary Wharf paired with a lack of value and power associated with its existing population (as highlighted by Bird, 2003, in relation to London Docklands, and showing similarities between the two).

Figure 9. The Thames and Pepys Estate. Aragon Tower (centre), and the two other tower blocks (still in Council ownership) on the Pepys Estate (left)



The process of displacement televised in the BBC documentary 'The Tower' is seen as "so sad" (Lorraine, Deptford). The view that the area was being remade for another social group, and that redevelopment was a method of 'fixing' the social composition of Pepys Estate links to Cameron's (2003) discussion of social cleansing perceived by existing residents in Newcastle's Housing Market Renewal Areas. It points to a manifestation of the "contradiction between the rhetoric of 'mixing' and that of 'cleansing'" as part of the regeneration direction emanating from the Urban Renaissance Agenda (Bannister, et al, 2006, in Colomb, 2007, p17).

Residents of the Pepys Estate describe a strong sense of community which makes "people quite passionate about being here once they've been here for a while" (Malcolm, Deptford). They describe it as "a beautifully designed estate" where every window "overlooks some kind of greenery" (Jessica, Deptford).

Figure 10. A playground on Pepys Estate (looking across the Thames to Canary Wharf)



However, these positive opinions of the estate are not shared by "other people [who] are seeing it as some kind of hellhole" (Jessica, Deptford). Jessica discusses that the outside perception of the estate and wider area is lagging behind regeneration but that this "hard" inner city image is perceived as part of a mix of motivations attracting new residents,

Jessica (Deptford): They seem to be motivated by a sense that they might make lots of money, and they seem to be hoping or believing that somehow this is the start of a process that will transform us away... They are both excited and titillated by the prospect of living next

to something that's raw and inner city, and yet at the same time the way they keep on talking about how the area's regenerating... I'm interpreting that to mean somehow that we will all go away, and more of what they are and they represent will come in.

The inner city quality of the area (above quote) is an interesting point, although whether it is the raw inner city image that draws in new residents, as opposed to its location and relative affordability, probably varies between residents.

The PCF are playing a pragmatic role in trying to include and integrate new residents (of developments they originally opposed) into the community organisation,

Malcolm (Deptford): we'd like the Aragon Tower residents to be on our committee

They are aiming to "make some joint structures that everyone's involved in so there won't be a separation" (Malcolm, Deptford). However, this didn't seem to have been achieved so far, and whether this inclusionary aim is matched by new residents of the Aragon Tower is questionable³.

One of the newer residents in Deptford sees a different lifestyle emerging with new development and a "completely different population" (David, Deptford) that has moved to the area. David feels there is a lack of a sense of community within his development (Millennium Quays) but that around Deptford High Street, and the Laban Centre,

David (Deptford): there's quite a good sense of community between people.

There's quite a lot of cultural bohemian people there, I think that's sort of expected.

² Unfortunately, I was unable to find any means of contacting residents of Aragon Tower.

This shows an image of the early wave of middle class gentrifiers who appear to be making the area attractive, fashionable (Zukin, 1988) and a “funky place” (David, Deptford) to live for younger new residents.

Another resident living at Millennium Quay (the Chair of the Residents Association) Richard felt there was a sense of community “especially among the residents association and management” but that it existed because “we’ve made an effort to create one” (Richard, Deptford). This is perhaps similar to “rather self-conscious” community (Matthew, Brentford) at the Butts in Brentford.

A lack of mixing between newer and existing residents was highlighted, with David stating “there’s no real opportunity to do it [mix]”. He explains that,

David (Deptford): There’s a pub right next to Millennium Quays but it’s...
like, a locals pub. There’s a sort of barrier there.

This is interesting as it shows David perception of himself as a newcomer to the area, and not a local, suggesting he doesn’t feel comfortable in a local, probably working class pub. The only useful shops or services created with development were a small health centre and a newsagent, and Greenwich was identified as the place to shop and go out. The positive aspects of new development (Atkinson, 2004) such as services and shops appeared to be lagging behind large scale housing development in Deptford, but there was also a perception (from a Pepys Estate resident) that new residents “don’t shop on Evelyn Street” (Jessica, Deptford) and a feeling that this local shopping parade was below their standard.

Figure 11. Local pub and southern-most part of Millennium Quays



As part of the development of Millennium Quays, a public space was created by the river and improved the physical environment. However, two teenage boys interviewed within about 300 metres of the public space were unaware of it, or of any real improvements that benefited them.

In relation to social mixing, Richard explains that older residents in the area "object to what they would call 'gentrification'". This awareness of the process, and of his own position within it as a new resident is interesting, and is discussed further under sub-objective F. Again it is highlighted that people socialised "within their own little groupings of professionals or whatever" (Richard, Deptford).

No obvious tensions are highlighted by newer residents (although more concealed tensions are discussed under sub-objective F), but crime is brought up by both residents at Millennium Quays. Neither see this as being against them particularly as new residents, but that,

Richard (Deptford): with any new development it's just rich pickings, isn't it.

You've got new stuff and they come in, and we had a hugely high burglary rate that we had to tackle. So there are issues like that, but that's just social issues, that's not a particular vendetta.

Although this can not sensibly be attributed to new development itself, it could be seen as wider effect of social polarisation and the incoming of large numbers of wealthier residents (and their material possessions) to an area.

A problem highlighted by two residents in Deptford was that of buy to let properties, whose owners "have no sense of community because they don't live" in their properties and whose residents "are not there for the long term" (Beryl, Deptford). This also creates a problem by inflating property values and causing "a shortage of housing for people trying to get on the property ladder" (Richard, Deptford). This may be seen as additional impact of gentrification, and the incoming of a more mobile population.

In the case of Deptford Park, an area of Victorian housing, a change "where developers are buying up the housing, making them multiple occupation and

“putting in tenants” (Beryl, Deptford) is seen to create problems with noise and anti-social behaviour in a neighbourhood of mainly middle class owner occupiers. This is interesting as it shows the impact of an increased demand for housing by a younger population in the area. This does not seem to be widespread but shows an effect different to that of typical gentrification (as discussed by Ward, 1991, in Savage, Warde and Ward, 2003) with a younger, probably less well off population changing the character of an established middle class neighbourhood.

To summarise, within Deptford the process of gentrification is starkly evident on Pepys Estate where a significant number of Council housing tenants were displaced and moved out of the area as a result of new development. This resulted from local government decisions made in response to the current central government regeneration and housing policy agenda. However, due to the scale of Pepys Estate and the concentration of other Council estates in Deptford this represents a localised scale of gentrification, although it appears to be indicative of some wider changes in the area.

The building of Millennium Quays on previously industrial land had meant that direct displacement has not occurred, although other attributes of the gentrification process were evident. The residents on new development are aware that they inhabit “parallel worlds” (David, Deptford) to the working class residents around them, and seems to be evidence that residents in Deptford

"move within their own social world", as experienced in Docklands (Eade, 1997, p134).

At Millennium Quays a lack of opportunity or structures to encourage greater mixing is highlighted. Conversely, on the Pepys Estate the local community forum has been leading a move to create links and foster integration of the new residents, although this is something that, if successful, will take time to develop.

Deptford presents an interesting case study as it displays the complexities of changes in social composition in an area resulting from regeneration. It displays a diversity of people who may be seen as 'gentrifiers' living in one area, but also of residents who had lived in the area for a longer time, with a mixture of working and middle classes. This perhaps challenges the assumption of homogenous working class inner city communities as the 'original' residents, which seems to be made in much of the literature on gentrification. However, it may also be evidence that these communities have long since disintegrated and moved away.

Sub-objective F. Has the waterfront been sanitised?

- i. has the waterfront been cleansed of a working environment and working classes?
- ii. who has been included and excluded through this process?

In both case study areas residents talk about the loss of dockside and industrial uses in the 1970s and 80s,

Beryl (Deptford): We used to have the docks, we used to have a lot of industry in the area, we had engineering companies, we had manufacturing companies... all of those industries, all of it's gone.

Figure 12. Convoys Wharf



Convoys Wharf – Deptford's last working wharf. Proposed for large scale mixed use development, including 3,500 residential units (Lewisham Council, 2005).

An enormous change has occurred to Deptford's role as working docks and an industrial area, when it "used to be self-sufficient in terms of the employment" (Malcolm, Deptford). Respondents identify that much of the population travels out of the area to work, highlighted by a workforce flow diagram (in Appendix 7) that shows only 31% of Lewisham residents are employed within the Borough.

Both areas still have a fair amount of economic activity and in Brentford manufacturing industry has been replaced by "office industries and telecommunication industries" (Jan, Brentford). This highlights a post-industrial change to the working environment (in terms of type and scale of industry) rather than its disappearance.

The role of small businesses is highlighted in both case study areas and is taken forward in emerging local plans. In Deptford, space for small businesses, creative industries and artists studios are identified in Lewisham's (2007) Development Policies and Site Allocations (Preferred Options) which follows the London Plan's identification of an emerging creative cluster in Deptford (Policy 3B.9 and para 3.139, GLA 2004). In Brentford a number of residents raise boat building and repair activity as being central to the character and "water heritage" (Neil, Brentford) of the area, brought up as a key issue in consultation on the Brentford Area Action Plan. The emerging Area Action Plan (Hounslow Council, 2007) now contains a policy to ensure that regeneration respects and enhances small scale waterside industry, with the explicit aim that it should not be sanitised out with new development. This shows that in both areas the local authorities recognise the importance of working uses and seek to ensure they are included in future plans.

There are different perceptions of industrial decline and shift to post-industrial uses on the waterfront. Millennium Quays had been the site of an old power station and one of its residents states that "I would rather have these houses than some crumbling old power station" (Richard, Deptford). This highlights the

need to use derelict industrial land, a concern also expressed in Brentford where residents would like old industrial sites "to be less derelict" (Lesley-Anne, Brentford).

Figure 13. Deptford Power Station (1982) and Millennium Quays (2007)



Marshall, (1982). Creek & Deptford Power Station Creek Rd, Deptford.



Industrial decline and associated loss of employment in the area is perceived to have dismantled communities, which were "broken down, not by the regeneration but because a lot of the industries all closed down, unemployment probably would have broken it" (David, Deptford). Despite this, and regeneration, Deptford is still a deprived part of London, and wider benefits associated with new development have not generally been dispersed into the wider area. The original tenants of Aragon Tower on the Pepys Estate are obvious reminders of those excluded from a shiny new riverside development. However, the concentration of working class residents on the estate and in the wider area should not be forgotten, and therefore these social groups can not, at this point in time, be seen to be sanitised out of the area.

In terms of recent redevelopment, an interesting issue emerged relating to access to public spaces.

Malcolm (Deptford): We've constantly argued that they should all be permeable and should be accessible to everybody, and that's what we've achieved... despite plans to try and segregate some people away from others.

This shows the desire that public spaces are accessible to everyone. It differs vastly to the view expressed by the Millennium Quay Residents Association Chair, Richard. He discusses the physical separation between the private and social housing sections of the development, the latter being where "all the problem residents in the area end up" (Richard, Deptford).

Figure 14. Social (foreground) and private housing at Millennium Quays



The two parts of the development seem like different developments altogether and the only connection between the two is a gate, allowing residents of the social housing access to the public areas and riverside in the rest of Millennium Quays. Richard's perception is that "everything that's stolen from here [the private part of the development] pretty much ends up" in the affordable part of the development. He has been having an ongoing argument with the Council about closing the gate,

Richard (Deptford): the Council is saying we can't close this gate, because in their view we can't create gated communities. I don't want a gated community, because I think that's wrong, but we have to protect ourselves. You can't force people to mix just by putting them next to each other. It doesn't work... its nonsense

Although Richard grounds his argument around what he perceives to be a need to protect Millennium Quay residents from crime, his mistrust of (lower class) residents of social housing seems to run deeper. It again brings up issues about delivery of mixed communities (discussed under sub-objective E). His desire to physically shut lower class residents, and prevent access to public spaces is exactly what Malcolm was striving to avoid (in a different part of Deptford).

This points to the idea that larger scale regeneration can lead to isolated high income enclaves (Cameron, 2003) that contributes to "the increasing segregation of upwardly mobile urbanites (Pinder and Hoyle, 1992 in Norcliffe et al. 1996, p131). This highlights the difficulties in building a sense of community, or at least of sharing public areas, between different social groups. The concept of Harvey's "voodoo" cities (in Norcliffe et al. 1996, p131) comes to mind, implying a sense of unfairness and unreality, which in this case can be seen as an underlying desire to detach from the wider social setting and barricade out lower social classes.

A minority of newer residents see certain groups of people as being outside the image of what fits into their smart, regenerated riverside, where public spaces were created to enable access to the riverside for the wider community. At Millennium Quays, Richard highlights "some of the issue we have with people who do use it [the public space]. We have some difficulty with some youths coming down there [and drinking]". This shows the Residents Association sees itself as the guardian of the space. In Brentford, one respondent brings up the issue of "dodgy people" hanging out in a small riverside park (Rebecca,

Brentford). This negative image of some of the space's users threatens her to the extent that she feels it unsafe to take her two young children to play there. This shows that certain people are seen as undesirable (highlighted in Colomb et al. 2007) and unwelcome, bringing forth issues about whether these are genuinely public spaces for the benefit of the wider community, or for the residents of new development.

Figure 15. Riverside public space at Millennium Quays



In both areas, networks had formed that dealt with displacement issues, generally based around resident associations or groups of voluntary associations. However, the links that networks showed to their community did not represent the diversity of urban communities (Hoyle 2009), was particularly evident, and not everyone was involved in or around with the issue, but funded by existing institutions. Young people, the elderly and people who do not speak English as their first language were identified as groups who had not been engaged. Although some attempts had been made to involve these groups it seems their input was still marginal in consultation processes, and that further efforts and institutional structures need to be developed to address this.

5. Conclusion

To conclude, this study has shown some of the interconnections between the processes and effects of regeneration.

I will look firstly at the processes of regeneration and the role and influence of residents in regeneration (as explored by Objective 1 and its sub-objectives). The study has shown local involvement to varying extents in the case study areas. However, in both areas, respondents questioned whether their involvement had made any real difference, and raised concerns about the lack of clarity about the consultation process and how views expressed in consultation would be taken forward. In Deptford there was a strong feeling that fundamental decisions on regeneration were made elsewhere and were "not really in the hands of the local community" (Malcolm, Deptford) which had led to conflict between residents of the estate and the Council, who were leading regeneration. In Brentford, issues about local infrastructure and services were raised but local support for regeneration, as a way to improve the area, appeared to contribute to general agreement about the principal of current and future development.

In both areas, networks had formed that dealt with development issues, generally based around residents associations or groups of residents associations. However, the idea that networks forward particular views and can not represent the diversity of urban communities (Hoyle, 2000) was particularly evident, and not everyone was involved in or agreed with the views put forward by existing networks. Young people, the elderly and people who did not speak English as their first language were identified as groups who had not been engaged. Although some attempts had been made to involve these groups it seems their input was still marginal in consultation processes, and that further efforts and institutional structures need to be developed to address this.

Despite involvement, a lack of real influence of local people in regeneration was evident in both case study areas. This was particularly so on the Pepys Estate in Deptford, where a group initially formed in resistance to changes imposed on the estate had grown into a development trust, a type of partnership that forwards community based regeneration (defined by Carter, 2000, after Bailey, 1995 and Boyle, 1993). It became evident that this group was not sufficiently involved in strategic level decision making about the area's regeneration, and the lack of "collaborative, consensus-building practices" (Healey, 2006, p5) was problematic. This meant that two strands of regeneration appeared to be occurring simultaneously but separately, without a link between community based and physical regeneration.

Problems occurred where those leading regeneration did not involve local people in decisions, presenting a particular difficulty where national level policy was driving local decisions on regeneration, and thus limiting the scope for local participation and influence. There seems to be no easy answer to this, as strategic policy is needed but should perhaps allow for greater flexibility at the local level.

To move on to make some concluding remarks about the effects of regeneration (Objective 2 and its sub-objectives) it seems that in Brentford, the key element of displacement in the gentrification process (Glass, 1963, in Hamnett, 2003, Savage, Warde and Ward, 2003) was missing. This is linked to the previous industrial land use of regenerated sites (Hoyle, 1998) and lack of resulting direct, or indirect, displacement. However, even if gentrification has not occurred, the potential advantages of regeneration have not been maximised, seen by this rapidly growing locality lacking an appropriate town centre. This raises concerns about a holistic approach to planning (Carter, 2000) and the timing of various facets of regeneration where the local authority is playing a catch up game, in relation to private developers who are leading redevelopment, with the production of the Brentford Area Action Plan

(Hounslow Council, 2007). It should be noted that this plan proposes further large scale development, and careful planning and implementation is needed to avoid negative impacts arising from gentrification in future.

In Deptford, the process of gentrification is starkly evident on Pepys Estate and links back to the lack of involvement of local people in development decisions made by the local authority. There was a sense of powerlessness from residents on the estate, who had felt they had had a very small impact on development, and a perception that Council tenants were not good enough to continue living in this waterfront setting. Despite recent developments, Deptford is still a fairly working class area and therefore the gentrification experienced, without wanting to diminish its importance, should be seen as a localised at present.

A divide between newer and older residents (highlighted by both) is evident and brings forth problems of segregation of social classes, showing problems with the concepts underlying the Urban Renaissance agenda (Atkinson, 2004, Colomb, 2007). This is also displayed by the issues of access to riverside public space, which illuminates the shaky, and to some extent distrustful, relations between different groups of residents.

The provision of affordable housing in new development is not a simple answer and the study shows problems of polarisation between the residents of affordable and private sector housing within developments. Although this calls for better integration in design and clarification from central government on details of mixed communities, it is also telling about the British psyche on social classes, based on the history socio-spatial inequalities and segregation in British (and more widely capitalist) cities (Hamnett, 2003, Savage, Warde and Ward, 2003).

In both areas, the industrial uses had mainly gone but, in general working uses had changed dramatically rather than disappeared. Steps were being made by local authorities to incorporate working uses relevant to the areas and the wider post-industrial economic climate into future plans. The large presence of working classes in the areas is also a factor, and although their role in relation to local employment opportunities has obviously changed (and with that communities have altered) they have not been sanitised away either. The skills deficit to enable local people to access higher skilled work is something that organisations such as the Pepys Community Forum have been trying to tackle.

The qualitative nature of this study means that its findings can not be directly inferred to other areas, but it does point to some general issues and possible ways of overcoming them, as discussed, which may be of use elsewhere. It seems to show that although consultation is happening, it needs to be given greater importance and, if possible, involve local residents in more fundamental and strategic issues and decisions. Pairing this local empowerment with changes to an area that bring "new people and life but also helps the original population by improving local schools and services and removing the stigma so long attached to their neighbourhoods" would be part of a 'win-win' situation (Cameron, 2003, p2379) and one that represents a positive outcome of regeneration, which essentially balances the needs of existing communities with the need for change.

The study shows the complexity of processes and effects of new development seen within the two case study areas. It points towards the deficiencies of current definitions of gentrification, which do amply describe what is going on. Further attention needs to be given to a number of factors raised in this study, firstly relating to the diversity of both longer term and newer residents which seems to defy the assumption of 'original' homogenous working class areas or communities. This may be an outcome of the study's focus in outer areas of London and/or the effect of successive waves of regeneration and possible

gentrification, the latter of which should be looked into further. However, the role of “an older group of affluent urbanites, [who] have played a decisive role in shaping the new urban waterfront” (Norcliffe et al. p130) should also be explored, together with changes involving displacement by different social groups, as opposed to just those of a higher social status.

An outcome of this study is an awareness that processes and effects of regeneration appear to be most pronounced at a very local, or neighbourhood level - a scale smaller than that of the case study areas. This micro-scale work is needed and should involve a far greater number of respondents to build a more comprehensive picture of localities, and provide further insight into the processes and effects of regeneration.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix 1

Waterfront regeneration: two contrasting examples from the literature.

i. London Docklands and the free market approach to regeneration

The conflict of developers profit orientated development in waterfront settings and social equity for existing but also new communities is something that has been explored by various authors. London Docklands is probably the most commonly discussed in the literature, as an example of central government led urban renewal policy based on an ideology of bolstering the free market (with the supposed, but now disproven, 'trickle down effect') with little consideration given to assisting the area's existing population.

The redevelopment of London Docklands can be seen as a visual expression of a free market economy (Bird, 1993) and was spurred by a tax free Enterprise Zone, low cost land and 'relaxed' planning and consultation processes. The redevelopment process removed power from democratically elected local authorities (with the mid-eighties abolition of the GLC removing the power to challenge this) and gave it to an unelected quango, the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) and the private sector. This disenfranchised local people and discounted their needs and viewpoints (Bird, 1993, Dunn and Leeson, 1993). A report produced by the Docklands Consultative Committee, made up of borough representatives and community groups, in 1988 assessed the impacts of development was ignored by the LDDC. It showed "the real beneficiaries were service-sector industries and employees, with only a minimal proportion of jobs being made available to local residents" (Bird, 1993, p127).

The development brought in new groups of people to the area; "a migrant army of executive, managerial and office staff" with associated services and lifestyle provision eg restaurants, shops and a yacht club at St. Katherine's Dock (Bird, 1993, p126). Bird highlights the proximity of new Docklands luxury flats and high rise Council housing, showing the "juxtaposition of private affluence with public deprivation" and a sense of exclusion and alienation (Bird, 1993, p125-6).

The experiences of London Docklands is explored by many other authors. Dunn and Leeson (1993) are artists who worked with local people on a poster project, 'The Art of Change', with the central theme of exploring how the transformation of the urban environment impacted quality of life. They also explored the concepts of 'community' and cultural identity. They define 'community' as being related to interest, and take it back to it being a process of communication where groups share common meanings, activities and purposes, with codes of inclusion and exclusion. "Communities of interest" may attach themselves to particular places in certain circumstances, as can be seen in an area undergoing major redevelopment (Dunn and Leeson, 1993, p142).

This work is interesting as the artists found that there were quite developed networks of campaign and action groups in the area. They found ignored and silenced experiences of struggle and resistance associated with the area's change, uncovering the idea that different groups in the area were not speaking "the same language" (Dunn and Leeson, 1993, p147): This shows a fragmentation of both communication and communities in the area.

Eade (1997) discusses the advertising hype and construction of a new image for the area that accompanied redevelopment of London Docklands. This marketing strategy worked to make safe the dangerous 'Other' of the local working class population by promoting an image of friendly 'Eastenders', in order to sell the location to global investors, corporate office occupiers and middle class settlers. The study showed that despite living very close by, each socio-economic group tended to "move within their own social world" (Eade, 1997, p134). It seems that local estate agents but also the wider LDDC marketing teams took little interest in the local Bangladeshi community, and showing them to be outside the constructed image of the East End (Eade, 1997).

It is also interesting to note here of the diversity of gentrification as a process (discussed earlier). Butler (1997, in Lees, 2000) explains that London Docklands may be seen as a distinct "logic of capital" form of gentrification "based less around trying to recreate some sense of communal" than in other areas eg Stoke Newington (Butler, 1997, p162, in Lees, 2000, p397) with implications relating to the "much less deeply rooted relationship" of this type of gentrifiers to the area (Lees, 2000, p402).

Despite this Riley and Shurmer-Smith (1988) controversially state that gentrification brings new life to waterfront areas whilst acknowledging Tweedale's and Church's work (from the same book) which shows foresight of the impacts of Docklands' redevelopment from a point in time before it was completed. This highlights the displacement of existing "problem" populations to other areas and the lack of benefits (eg jobs, housing) for existing populations, which "accentuates the capitalism problem" rather than solving it (Tweedale, 1988, p197). Church concludes that "if waterfront or dockland redevelopment is to play a major role in tackling the social and economic problems of urban areas, the experience of London indicates that it must be more than just a large-scale physical redevelopment process" (Church, 1988, p220).

ii. Coin Street: "an alternative route to regeneration" (Brindley, 2000, p365). A very different form of regeneration in a waterfront setting is explored by Brindley (2000) who looks at the changing role of communities and the development of new partnerships in regeneration of the Coin Street area on London's South Bank. This can be seen as an "alternative route to regeneration" (Brindley, 2000, p365). Following a struggle between community groups and private developers, who proposed radically different developments

which both gained planning permission in 1982, the community groups gained control of the site. They were assisted by the Labour controlled GLC who bought out the private sector's interests in the land and resold it at a substantially lower cost, to the community groups who became known as the Coin Street Community Builders (CSCB). The proposal for the site included low cost housing, workspace, social uses and public space (the private developers had proposed a commercial office development) (Brindley, 2000).

The Coin Street development was completed in several stages in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, with flats sold or rented as part of a cooperative, as well as cafes, bars, a roof top restaurant, small shops and workshop units. This accompanied high profile development such as the Tate Modern and Globe Theatre on the South Bank, which became a focal point for regeneration in the capital in the 1990s (Brindley, 2000).

Therefore the original impetus behind the CSCB can be seen as two-fold, from the increasingly active, and in this case proactive, role of community groups in local planning from the 1970s (Brindley, 2000) paired with the GLC's political and financial backing. It is interesting to consider the specificity of this development, made possible by the political climate of the early eighties, when the GLC (radicalised in opposition to Thatcherism) had enough power and finance to enable such a scheme. Coin Street was backed by the GLC as a 'demonstration project' (Brindley, 2000, p373). Following the abolition of the GLC in 1988, it was the ownership of land that protected the CSCB from potentially disasterous effects on the scheme (Brindley, 2000).

As an organisation, the CSCB were unprecedented in their role as 'community developer', which remained locally tied in terms of where its directors lived and its consultative role (Brindley, 2000, p370). However, Brindley points out that conflict has sometimes occurred between the CSCB and other local community groups, showing that they do not represent a homogenous or undisputed community view or direction for the area. This would be expected in a diverse local community.

Hoyle (2000) discusses the value of community groups as providing ideas, influencing the pace and pattern of change and providing views that encourage, modify and restrain development. However, Hoyle points out that no one community group "can legitimately claim to represent an entire urban community" and that some groups may be seen as "narrowly focused or elitist in approach" (Hoyle, 2000, p407). This is important and Brindley (2000) discusses the weaker or silent voices in the South Bank, not represented by community groups. Understanding these groups and their relations to other stakeholders, in relation to the benefits (or disbenefits) resulting from regeneration is something that I aim to keep in mind in this study.

Appendix 2

Initial communication for interviews, displayed on the Brentford Dock website noticeboard.

Brentford Dock Residents' Notice Board 2006 - Mozilla Firefox

File Edit View Go Bookmarks Tools Help

File:///C:/Documents%20and%20Settings/Gill%20Bernardt/My%20Documents/UCL/Dissertation/notice-board-brentford-dock.asp.htm

Free Hotmail Tiscali Windows Media Windows

Site Last Updated: Wed 22nd Aug 07

Brentford Dock Notice Board

All opinions expressed on this site are those of their respective authors.
They are not necessarily those of the organiser of this site.

To post your message fill in the form on the [bottom of this page](#)

Received 2nd July 2007

Opinions on Effects of Brentford Regeneration Wanted

Dear Sir/Madam at Brentford Dock,

I am contacting you to ask for your assistance in a study I am carrying out, which will look at the varying experiences of regeneration in waterfront areas of London. This is for my Masters dissertation in Spatial Planning (a new term for urban planning), at University College London. I am undertaking this course part time, whilst working in planning at London Borough of Hounslow.

I have chosen to look at Brentford as one case study, due to the considerable amount of regeneration in the area over recent years. I aim to explore how this regeneration has effected different people in different ways in the area, and will be carrying out interviews with local residents and community groups.

As a local residents network, your views on regeneration in the Brentford area would be invaluable to the study. I would be very grateful if you could let me know if you would be willing to take part in the study, and also if there are other people in the area who may be interested in taking part. We can then arrange a convenient time and place to carry out the interview(s), which should take no longer than 45 minutes and will be informal in style.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,
Gillian Bernardt
Planning Policy Officer
Borough Planning Department
Hounslow Council
020 8583 5214

Received 8th March 2007

Parking on Brentford Dock

I would like to make the following suggestions regarding parking on the dock, which can often be a frustrating and even futile experience. To make it easier and fairer, I suggest the following:

1. Parking spaces outside the Spar shop and along the Marina (Justin Close) be marked with pavement paint according to an average vehicle width (outside Spar shop) and length (Justin Close). By doing this, we can be assured that the maximum amount of space most vehicles need is all that they get.
2. Motorcycles and Scooters be provided with off street parking in any area that is not used by pedestrians and won't interfere with automobile parking.
3. Commercial vehicle parking be restricted after 6PM.

If anyone has any ideas to improve parking, now would be a good time to make them public.

Jeff Birnberg, Numa Court

Done

start Dissertation Discussion - Microsoft... Document1 - Microsoft... Brentford Dock Resid... EN Desktop 17:01

[\(www.brentford-dock.net/notice-board-brentford-dock.asp\)](http://www.brentford-dock.net/notice-board-brentford-dock.asp)

Appendix 3

Linking Study Objectives and Interview Questions

Interview Questions

These questions give a broad structure to the interview, but are flexible in how they will be asked. They are not meant to be a rigidly stuck to.

Black text – **objective/ sub-objective**

Blue text – questions for interview

Introduction to the study –aims, use of responses and confidentiality

Preliminary questions:

How long have you lived in the area?

Where did you live before?

Family (children/ parents) - where do they live? (If relevant to respondent)

Objective 1. What role do residents play and what influence have they had in the regeneration of urban waterfronts?

Sub-objectives:

Do local residents feel they have been involved, or sufficiently involved, in waterfront redevelopment?

Question A

NB This question is focused towards residents who have lived in the area for a long time

A. Have you, or a group or individual representing you, been consulted or asked your opinion before major new developments are built in the area?

If yes: A1. do you think your views have been given consideration in the development process.

If no: A2. i. Would you like to have been involved in the process?

ii. Do you think your/ general community involvement would have made a difference?

Alternative for new residents

A. Since moving to the area, have you (or a group or individual representing you) been consulted or asked your opinion about any major new developments planned for the future?

If yes: A1. do you think your views have been, or will be, given consideration in the development process.

If no: A2. i. Would you like to be more involved in the process?

ii. How do you think your/ general community involvement should make a difference?

Have networks or partnerships evolved through the development process?

Question B

B. Are you a member of any local groups? Eg residents associations, community groups.

If yes: B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc

C. i. Have certain people or groups been included or excluded from engagement process?

ii. Have there been barriers to certain groups in these networks/partnerships, and if so why?

Question C

C. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc?

i. why do you think this might be?

Who has led or spearheaded regeneration?

Question D

D1. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in the area?

If appropriate, follow with: i. what do you think their/ developers aims are?

D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area.

i. Have you ever been made aware of this or been consulted on it?

ii. What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are trying to do?

Objective 2. What are the main impacts of regeneration on communities and the social make-up of waterfront areas?

Sub-objectives:

E. Has gentrification occurred and if so, to what extent?

This sub-question is to be explored through the following: How have new and existing residents in case study areas experienced regeneration? Questions to explore who the 'gentrifiers' are, their aspirations, what they want from the area/give to it Is there insularity/mixing of new residents with residents in the rest of area? Does the waterfront provide services, facilities or spaces that are beneficial to which members of the community?

Question E – this question will need to differ for older and new residents

E1. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development?

For residents who've been in the area a long time

- i. what are they like?
- ii. what do you think they want from the area/ like about it?
- iii. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?

For residents of new development

- i. what made you move to your current home?
- ii. What do you like about the area?
- iii. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?

E2. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?

Follow up questions depending on response

- i. Are there problems/ tensions in the area? What are they?
- ii. Is there, and do you think there ever has been, a sense of community in the area?

E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, is there housing, services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) or public spaces that you or your family benefit from?

F. Has the waterfront been sanitised?

- i. has it been cleansed of a working environment and working classes?
- ii. who has been included and excluded through this process?

Question F

F1. Need a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area – where do people work? Are there local employment opportunities / do you have to travel out of the area to work?

F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago?

Respondents can use scale below as a starting point but encourage a more detailed response.

Very good/ good/ satisfactory/ poor

Now 10-15 years ago

- i. Local character
- ii. Sense of community
- iii. Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)
- iv. Quality of housing
- v. Quality of services (eg health, education, community services)
- vi. Local employment opportunities

- vii. General satisfaction with the area
viii. Anything else you would like to comment on?

F3.i. Do you feel welcome in new places (eg public space, cafes, bars etc) created with new development?

ii. Do your children use these spaces? Do you think they feel welcome there?

Final question – how long do you plan to stay in the area?

• To what area(s)?

E2 (multiple responses) the following questions are aimed at identifying local residents who have lived here for a long time.

Follow up questions, depending on responses:

• How long have you lived here? (approximate answer)
• What are the main reasons for leaving the area? (approximate answer)

• House price having equal to local amenities (schools, parks, local facilities, shopping, local services, health facilities or public transport) been a key factor?

• Reasons why you left the area (approximate answer): SA can be used to elicit more information if respondents listing many points may be overwhelmed by choice.

F1. This question looks at the types and changes to the services available in the area. Failure to respond to P1, where do people work / do you have to travel out of the area to work / Are there local employment opportunities? SA notes that the characteristic of the place is changing from a rural area to a more urbanised area.

F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago? Also asking of behaviour has changed over time. SA says it is better to ask about behaviour, rather than asking about local services, as respondents can use local services as a distracter and encourage a more detailed response.

• Local character and atmosphere (approximate answer): SA notes that this is a good follow up after asking for a change in the area over 10-15 years ago.

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Appendix 4

4a

Interview Questions – Newer Residents

These questions give a broad structure to the interview, but are flexible in how they will be asked. They are not meant to be a rigidly stuck to.

Introduction to the study –aims, use of responses and confidentiality

Preliminary questions:

How long have you lived in the area?

Where did you live before?

Family (children/ parents) - where do they live? (If relevant to respondent)

Question A

A. Since moving to the area, have you (or a group or individual representing you) been consulted or asked your opinion about any major new developments planned for the future?

If yes: A1. do you think your views have been, or will be, given consideration in the development process.

If no: A2. i. Would you like to be more involved in the process?

ii. How do you think your/ general community involvement should make a difference?

Question B

B. Are you a member of any local groups? Eg residents associations, community groups.

If yes: B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc

Question C

C. i. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc?

ii. why do you think this might be?

Question D

D1. i. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in the area?

If appropriate, follow with: ii. what do you think their/ developers aims are?

D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area.

i. Have you ever been made aware of this or been consulted on it?

- ii. What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are trying to do?

Question E – this question will need to differ for older and new residents

E1.

- I. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development?
- II. what made you move to your current home?
- III. What do you like about the area?
- IV. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?

E2. i. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?

Follow up questions depending on response

- ii. Are there problems/ tensions in the area? What are they?
- iii. Is there, and do you think there ever has been, a sense of community in the area?

E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, is there housing, services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) or public spaces that you or your family benefit from?

Question F

F1. Ask a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area –tailor to respondent. Where do people work / do you have to travel out of the area to work? Are there local employment opportunities? How has this changed over time?

F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago?

Respondents can use scale below as a starting point but encourage a more detailed response.

Very good/ good/ satisfactory/ poor

	Now	10-15 years ago
i. Local character		
ii. Sense of community		
iii. Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)		
iv. Quality of housing		
v. Quality of services (eg health, education, community services)		
vi. Local employment opportunities		
vii. General satisfaction with the area		
viii. Anything else you would like to comment on?		

May not be relevant

F3.i. Do you feel welcome in new places (eg public space, cafes, bars etc) created with new development?

ii. Do your children use these spaces? Do you think they feel welcome there?

Final question – how long do you plan to stay in the area?

4b

Interview Questions – Existing Residents

These questions give a broad structure to the interview, but are flexible in how they will be asked. They are not meant to be a rigidly stuck to.

Introduction to the study – aims, use of responses and confidentiality

Preliminary questions:

How long have you lived in the area?

Where did you live before?

Family (children/ parents) - where do they live? (If relevant to respondent)

Question A

A. Have you, or a group or individual representing you, been consulted or asked your opinion before major new developments are built in the area?

If yes: A1. do you think your views have been given consideration in the development process.

If no: A2. i. Would you like to have been involved in the process?

ii. Do you think your/ general community involvement would have made a difference?

Question B

B. Are you a member of any local groups? Eg residents associations, community groups.

If yes: B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc

Question C

C. i. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc?

ii. why do you think this might be?

Question D

D1. i. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in the area?

If appropriate, follow with: ii. what do you think their/ developers aims are?

D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area.

- i. Have you ever been made aware of this or been consulted on it?
- ii. What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are trying to do?

Question E

E1

- I. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development?
- II. what are they like?
- III. what do you think they want from the area/ like about it?
- IV. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?

E2. i. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?

Follow up questions depending on response

ii. Are there problems/ tensions in the area? What are they?

iii. Is there, and has there ever been, a sense of community in the area?

E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, is there housing, services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) or public spaces that you or your family benefit from?

Question F

F1. Ask a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area –tailor to respondent. Where do people work / do you have to travel out of the area to work? Are there local employment opportunities? How has this changed over time?

F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago?

Respondents can use scale below as a starting point but encourage a more detailed response.

Very good/ good/ satisfactory/ poor

	Now	10-15 years ago
i. Local character		

- ii. Sense of community
- iii. Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)
- iv. Quality of housing
- v. Quality of services (eg health, education, community services)
- vi. Local employment opportunities
- vii. General satisfaction with the area
- viii. Anything else you would like to comment on?

F.i. Do you feel welcome in new places (eg public space, cafes, bars etc) created with new development?

ii. Do your children use these spaces? Do you think they feel welcome there?

Final question – how long do you plan to stay in the area?

4c

Interview Questions - Brentford Community Council

These questions give a broad structure to the interview, but are flexible in how they will be asked. They are not meant to be a rigidly stuck to.

Introduction to the study –aims, use of responses and confidentiality

Preliminary questions:

Do you live in Brentford? For how long?

Where did you live before?

Question A

- A. In terms of the Brentford Area Action Plan, what would you say are the key points that your group responded to?

If yes: A1. do you think your views have been, or will be, given consideration in the development process.

- has it made a difference?

A2. Who makes up the Brentford Community Council?

A3. Is information disseminated to other local groups in Brentford?

If so

- i. How is this done?
- ii. Is input for other groups sought on responses to local planning issues?

Question B

B1. Are you a member of any other local groups? Eg residents associations, community groups.

B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc

Question C

C. i. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc?

ii. why do you think this might be?

Question D

D1. i. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in the area?

If appropriate, follow with: ii. what do you think their/ developers aims are?

D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area.

i. What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are trying to do?

Question E – this question will need to differ for older and new residents

E1.

- i. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development?
- ii. What do you think attracted them to the area?
- iii. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?

E2. i. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?

Follow up questions depending on response

ii. Are there problems/ tensions in the area? What are they?

iii. Is there, and do you think there ever has been, a sense of community in the area?

E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, have new services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) accompanied them?

Question F

F1. Ask a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area –tailor to respondent. Where do people work / do you have to travel out of the area to work? Are there local employment opportunities? How has this changed over time?

F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago?

Respondents can use scale below as a starting point but encourage a more detailed response.

Very good/ good/ satisfactory/ poor

	Now	10-15 years ago
i.	Local character	
ii.	Sense of community	
iii.	Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)	
iv.	Quality of housing	
v.	Quality of services (eg health, education, community services)	
vi.	Local employment opportunities	
vii.	General satisfaction with the area	
viii.	Anything else you would like to comment on?	

Final question – how long do you plan to stay in the area?

Appendix 5

Interviewees: background details

Brentford

Name, and role if applicable	Age	Family	Work and likely socio-economic status	Ethnicity	Where they currently live	For how long?	Where they lived before	Interview location, time and date
Alison	Late 30s	Married, no children	Professional at Visit Britain. Middle class.	White British	Holland Gardens development, High Street	5 years	Rural north Essex. Grew up in Yorkshire.	Waterman's Arts Centre bar, 18:00, 09/07/07
Rebecca	Early 30s	Married, two young children under 5	Middle class, housewife	Chinese-British	Holland Gardens development, High Street	4 years	Ladbroke Grove, West London	Waterman's Arts Centre bar, 19:00, 09/07/07
Neil, runs Brentford Dock residents website	70s	None – sister and her family in USA	Retired	White British	Otho Court, Brentford Dock	Since 1978	Chiswick, West London	In gardens outside his home. 17:30, 13/07/07
Lesley-Anne and Jan	60s	Married couple, no children	Retired	White British	Julius Court, Brentford Dock	4 years	Mortlake, South West London	At their home, 18:15 13/07/07
Carl	40s	Married, 3 children	Working class. Works in a printing company in Chiswick.	White British	Green Dragon Estate – terraced house	Since 1991	Acton, West London	In a small green area near his home, 14:00 27/07/07
Matthew, Brentford Community Council	40s		Middle class	White British	Marketplace, The Butts, Brentford	6 years	Chiswick, West London	At his office in Mortlake, 16:30 09/08/07

Deptford

Name, and role if applicable.	Age	Family	Work and likely socio-economic status	Ethnicity	Where they currently live	For how long?	Where they lived before	Interview location, time and date
Malcolm, Chair Pepys Community Forum (PCF)	50s	Single	Self identifies as working class. From outside appears lower middle class. Very active in local community, unsure re paid employment	White British	Pepys Estate	Over 22 years	South London, moved further east	Community Centre, Pepys Estate. 10:00, 16/07/07
Beryl	69	Single	Retired, middle class	White British	Owns house in Deptford Park area. Lived there all her life –was the family home.	69 years	Lived here all her life. Parents were from Rotherhithe.	Community Centre, Pepys Estate. 12:00, 16/07/07
Lorraine	40s	Married, two children (aged 9 and 20).	Working class	White British	Hornchurch, Essex.	Lived on Pepys Estate 1968-75.	Bow, where the rest of the family came from Bow. Only them who lived in south London.	Riverside by Pepys Estate. 13:00, 16/07/07
Morrison and James	14/15	Live with parents	School children. Strong 'street' attitude noted in interview.	Afro-Caribbean/ African – British background	Deptford	Morrison: 9 years James: 7 years.		Albany Arts Centre café, off Deptford High Street 14:30

								16/07/07
Jessica, Programme Manager Pepys Community Forum	Late 30s	Partner and three children (aged 12- 16)	Self identifies as working class. From outside appears middle class. Community sector professional	White British	Pepys Estate	16 years	Elsewhere in London	Pepys Community Forum offices. 15:30, 16/07/07
David	Mid 20s	Single	Middle class, civil servant at the Cabinet	White British	Millennium Quay	1 year	At parents in Sutton, South London, for 2/3 years after leaving University	St James Park, 13:30 03/08/07
Richard Heaton, Chair Millennium Quay Residents Associations	Late 30s	Single	Middle class, IT professional. Works from home.	White British	Millennium Quay	7 years	Fulham, West London. Grew up in Kensington.	At his home, 16:00, 03/08/07

Louise Holland, Planning (Development Control) Officer at Lewisham Council gave specific comments relating to Pepys Estate and development in the Deptford area (Appendix 6b).

Appendix 6

6a

Interview response tables

Brentford

Respondent Question	Neil	Lesley-Anne and Jan
SECTION A		
A. Have you, or a group or individual representing you, been consulted or asked your opinion before major new developments are built in the area?	<p>N: He has not been asked in person –no-one come to door to ask.</p> <p>"We have a rubbish residents association here, which I tried to reform some years ago. They want to do nothing political, they just want to go on outings, so you might as well call yourself an 'outings club'". So now residents association is an 'outings club'</p> <p>'No one here's going to do anything about getting rates down, or car parking, they won't do anything like that'</p> <p>'Well I run a website, which I used to call Apathy, as a term for Brentford Dock residents. I let that joke run for about 10 years'... 'it is apathetic here, but I have noticed from time to time there's been a notice posted about a meeting'</p> <p>GB: Would you like to be more involved?</p> <p>N: Well, I feel it's one of those things you need to know something about. People often sound off with silly ideas, like there should be a swimming pool there... but they don't actually research any of the stuff, so I think that questions means you need to be very involved in what's going on and know all the basic facts'... 'I suppose it's important to have opinions too...'</p>	<p>LA 'Well we went to that workshop [shows booklet from Urban Design workshop –led by Council Planning Policy], and we've been to another couple as well, and we've been to the Brentford Community Council, so yes we're reasonably aware of some of the things that have gone on'</p>
A1. Do you think your views have been given		<p>GB 'Have you given your own views?'</p> <p>LA 'Yes but I don't think they're identified as such'</p>

consideration in the development process?		<p>GB So you feel they haven't really been dealt with LA & J 'No, no'</p> <p>LA 'One of the questions we asked at the workshop was, all these desirable things that were discussed, y'know, what happens next and who has the power of decision? And there really wasn't a clear answer. We couldn't work out if it was the developers... or the Council, or Transport for London, or the Mayor or whoever, it was a bit of a muddle. It was very interesting but it didn't get anywhere'</p> <p>J 'I think that what happens is that your views are taken in but the people who take them in have no sanction to do anything with them, so they simply collate all this information and then it comes to a stop'</p> <p>LA 'You come out with all these findings of this and that and the other that should happen, but who makes them' Representative of developer at the workshop "but no indication of what might be the outcome".</p> <p>Sent comments into Council in on application for moorings on canal, LA 'One lot individually and one lot in conjunction with the Ferry Quays Residents Association'</p> <p>J Once you've put one lot of objections or comments to the Council then they keep you informed, they apparently have to tell you what's going on. That you feel something actually happened. They came back and reported that they didn't get their planning permission... we weren't anti everything they wanted to do, we thought the idea of having boats along there was not a bad idea but who was going to police it, wasn't said' Limitations to boat heights in permission but who would police and enforce that, in longer term. Doesn't think the Council would. Potential problems with rubbish.'</p>
SECTION B		
B. Are you a member of any local groups?	N: The boat club, owned a boat until a couple of years ago	<p>LA 'We signed up to the Brentford Community Council... we still get their emails, and the Brentford Dock Residents Association which is not that active, it's more social but possibly would be a focus for being consulted'</p>
B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc		

SECTION C		
C. i. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc? ii. Why do you think this might be?		
SECTION D		
D1. i. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in the area?		J: It's led by a developer. The Council might say 'we have got land to build on' but usually if that happens there are big notices saying 'in conjunction with x Council... are building homes with Bovis'
ii. What do you think their aims are?		
D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area. i.Have you ever been made aware of this or been consulted on it?		
ii.What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are trying to do?	N: 'Its ok, but what we've had is so many goes at these plans'... outlines a plan 10-11 years ago of a conference centre that never seemed to happen. 'Other than them buying up land not much is actually happening'	J: 'Well I don't know if local authorities should have a very big say in it because a lot of the people who stand for Councillors I don't really think have much of a clue on urban design or planning or architecture, and also they change every 4 or 5 years. So if a planner puts his plans and happens to know there's someone interested in architecture he might get something through which he might not get through at another time. I think it could be very much a personalised thing. So I think maybe get rid of the Councils as the planning authority and have a ... central government department so planning can be looked at over a much larger area, rather than just individual sites GB: Well I suppose that's what the Mayor of London does with the increase in planning powers J: Yes, well I'm afraid Ken Livingstone and I don't see eye to

		<p>eye. Not at all...</p> <p>LA: But it must be very difficult to get the balance between local involvement and strategic thinking'</p> <p>Talk about local and GLA power struggle</p> <p>J is mistrusting of GLA and Mayor due to handling of West London tram and leaflet sent out that he saw as 'Totally misleading and a good bit of spin'</p>
SECTION E		
E1.i. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development?	<p>GB: What is drawing them in?</p> <p>N: 'Obviously it's the new flats, they've got a view of the river, they're all water'. 'The one down on the other side of the high street used to be an old loading yard... and developers built the flats overlooking that water and people came to buy them, I guess they must have got the prices right, or got something right'</p>	
E1.iii.what do you think they want from the area/ like about it?		
E1.ii. what made you move to your current home?	<p>N: There was a little marina here. Obviously it was a new development and I thought we'd all make our own fun and amusement and it would be terrific, a villagey atmosphere, err, which it didn't really live up to because it's a bit of a dormitory place now. So that's why I came even though all around in Brentford there wasn't very much.'</p>	<p>J: Well we lived in East Sheen for 30 years, and had a house over in Ireland, and we didn't really need two 4 bedroom houses" ... "I spent my life dashing from one to the other cutting grass, so we decided to find somewhere where I didn't have to cut grass in one of them"</p> <p>They like the security when they're away, maintenance etc</p> <p>J: 'And we've got the greenery, the River and Kew Gardens</p> <p>LA: and the we like the communal facilities and the cruising association, which is probably one of the better things here'. And the shop, and there was a bar.</p> <p>"we've done the London ring (Thames and Canal network route around London) several times, sometimes as part of a flotilla of three or four cruise club boats", sometimes on their own – 3 day tour.</p>
E1.iv. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?	<p>N: I mean Brentford has been a dump for a long time... I used to cycle 20 or 30 years ago up from Chiswick up to RAF West Drayton where I was working, and I used come up here and cycle up the canal towpath. But Chiswick, every other shop is a restaurant... and then you can go to Twickenham and that's ok, but then you've got this Brentford bit and a bit of Isleworth which was just, there was a big gas works here umm' 'when I was a kid we used to go to my school playing fields in</p>	<p>LA: "Well, the dereliction."</p> <p>Discusses ideas in workshop such as leaving current "alleys to the river as holes in development. And one or two places have done that. And also there's the thing about flooding, and we might need to do things where the lower level is only parking</p>

	<p>Twickenham from my school was in Kensington, and we used to go 'poo' when we saw the gas works ... it did smell'</p> <p>N: 'The Green Dragon Lane, I mean 6 months ago there was shooting and murder...' 'they've had a bad drug problem in that block of flats'. Other estate near Isleworth "had a bad reputation as well, and the shopfronts there were being smashed up. But they've regenerated it now'.</p> <p>N: 'There are a few vacant places and we've had a few raves in one or two of them' (in warehouse by Brentford Lock) 'police came, someone fell into the water, had to get a lifeboat'</p>	
E2. i. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?	<p>N: 'I'm not the best person to ask on that because I've not been very mobile recently. I would say probably the answer is no from where I'm standing at the moment... But we're [Brentford Dock residents] in a bit of communication with Ferry Quays.' The guy there runs the Copacabana club, he's trying to run some kind of residents discount club, probably just with local restaurants 'round here. But one of the impacts is that we get a lot of parking down in Augustus Close'</p> <p>N: 'I went into the Woodman's Arms and there were people there who were obviously staying in hotels, having a meal there rather than in the hotels, so there's a bit of new people there'</p> <p>N: 'New element in the old Fire Station... I think its very good now, there is a trendy set, whereas Brentford wasn't particularly trendy.'</p> <p>People who bought the cottages near Brentford football ground, like ones in Chiswick and good value, 'and they were sensible rather than fashionable... so there were always, I wouldn't call them trendy but sophisticated people in Brentford..' 'instead of having to have a postcode'</p>	<p>LA: 'That's not our impression no. Brentford Dock itself to some extent, but then there's that end [gesturing] where there are Council tenants and older established, and this end, Julius and Markus, that I think were built later.. and they're all owned privately and a lot of them are owner occupied'</p> <p>GB: Its interesting that there are different blocks.</p> <p>LA Yes, yes. There have been suggestions of (didn't catch)</p> <p>J: But I think the mixing of old and new residents is something that hasn't happened vastly for 40 years.</p> <p>Talks about moving into East Sheen 40 years ago, and lack of a sense of mixing with neighbours then.</p> <p>J "and you didn't necessarily mix with people, and .. " we realised we don't know anybody, so we organised a street party, the three of us, our generation organised a street party'. Put tables in the road and 'about 150 people at it, and then it began to get a community feel. But that sort of thing has to be done by the people in the community, it's not something that someone can bustle in and do'.. 'So I think people do, but you get a split of people from an age thing, from a social thing, from an educational things and from the jobs people do'.</p> <p>'So you will actually get that sort of segregation'</p> <p>LA: But then there does seem to be 'us and them' between established population and for example Heron View, Ferry Quays. I think Brentford Dock was always a bit more of a mixture of social groupings'</p>
ii. Are there problems/tensions in the area? What are they?	<p>N: 'Don't actually know of any'.. 'didn't notice any tensions in the pubs/ bars' 'We've got a little pub here, the Brewery tap and all sorts of people go in there and I don't think there are any problems there. I mean you'd imagine that you'd find it somewhere but I can't think where'.</p>	

	Irritation due to traffic lights on Brentford High Street to let residents of new development out "but not traffic lights to let me out"	
iii. Is there, and has there ever been, a sense of community in the area?		
E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, is there housing, services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) or public spaces that you or your family benefit from?	N: 'With one of the developments they did build the new health centre, just on the High Street... and that I think is a very good deal'. The swimming pool decayed, leisure centre pool no good, "water comes to your knees, its pretty silly really". Would like more water facilities.	J: the transport system here (compared to East Sheen) is infinitely better. There's far more buses, they're more frequent and they go to useful places, which they didn't in Sheen Pleased with local medical centre Although, LA: they may be under a bit of pressure with the increase in population
SECTION F		
F1. Ask a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area – tailor to respondent. Where do people work / do you have to travel out of the area to work? Are there local employment opportunities? How has this changed over time?	N: 'within any bus ride you've got all those places on the Great West Road.. and all the places near to Heathrow'. 'But I think I would actually like to preserve the waterside boatyards... it would be an absolute disaster if someone filled in all the water... keep the water heritage in Brentford. Because that's what it was, all the boats came up here and they came in barges and they put them on trains here and shipped them off. This was designed by Brunel a couple of hundred years ago.'	J: Brentford is one of the last places to have any boat industry, which needs to be kept. And it mentions that in there [workshop booklet] and unfortunately one of the boatyards was evicted last month. LA: But we're not sure by whom, and I think the whole area of the ownership and the leasing of the land is a bit of a grey area, and there are appeals going for adjudication'... 'so that's another grotty area' GB: Are there still many industries locally J: Not relating to what the industries are here, not at all. 1930s A4 built and industries located there, such as Firestone welders, Trianco wiper blades, and that sort of industry has also gone. And now you've got office industries and telecommunications industries instead. So you haven't got a blue collar industry much around here, but you have got a white collar industry, hence the change in housing... but a limited amount and one does need housing for families LA: And a lot of flat dwellers will be commuting anyway. There was a suggestion at that workshop that they might try and get some small live/work unit... or even a bigger area that could be subdivided into units, and then the divisions could move' as needed. 'To ensure people didn't get lumbered with enormous rents for things they couldn't sustain'.
F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you	N: 'Much much better, in terms of local shops'. Used to be closed down shops, car dealers 'they had a bad feeling, they	J: 'We that's changed quite radically... from a working class industrial area to what it is now' Change from when he was a boy

<p>describe the area now and 10-15 years ago?</p> <p>i. Local character</p>	<p>looked bad'. 'Now we're beginning to get proper shops.. it's getting better, much better'.</p> <p>N: But I think I would actually like to preserve the waterside boatyards... it would be an absolute disaster if someone filled in all the water... keep the water heritage in Brentford. Because that's what it was, all the boats came up here and they came in barges and they put them on trains here and shipped them off. This was designed by Brunel a couple of hundred years ago.'</p>	<p>in mid 1950s travelling through Brentford, "and being a posh kid from Hammersmith... one kept one's head down.. otherwise you'd get beaten up by the Brentford lads'</p> <p>Didn't really know area 10-15 years ago.</p> <p>(Also relates to F2.iv) LA: 'But it's a mixture, the old bits where there's small scale activity, even if they're a bit scruffy are quite attractive... we like having the old boatyard on Dock Road, which we need to stay.. and also its continuing the character of the area, so it's mixture really, its got good and bad'</p>
<p>ii. Sense of community</p>	<p>N: 'Well I've been trying to get it here, and I suppose its friendlier than if I just lived on a street somewhere, but its difficult to get community spirit' Talks about boat trips he used to organise 'but nobody's done it since I stopped. You know, nobody seems to be busting their arse to develop any community here' 'There are people who go out ie stately homes in the country ...'</p>	<p>J: there is a sense of community here, now which I think is greater than it was where we did live'</p> <p>But doesn't know what it was like 10-15 years ago.</p>
<p>iii. Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)</p>	<p>N: Getting better, it really was a bit derelict, now things are opening up. It's getting more of a parky atmosphere, and they've opened up the riverfront... in front of Ferry Quays, and where the gas works were'</p> <p>'There are a few vacant places and we've had a few raves in one or two of them' (in warehouse by Brentford Lock) 'police came, someone fell into the water, had to get a lifeboat'</p>	<p>J: I'm quite happy with what we've got but I think we're sitting in probably one of the nicest parts of Brentford</p> <p>J: the problem is that the high street is due at some stage to be redeveloped, therefore people are not going to spend money on what's there... the Council has tried to put in flower beds, but.. they haven't got their heart in it'</p> <p>LA: Those places on the south side surely are on short leases and have uncertain futures</p> <p>LA: I think the new developments are quite short of public space inside them</p> <p>J: But they're lucky in as much as they can get across the river, they've got Kew Gardens, Syon Park, there's Osterley just up the road, so there's a lot of open space around.</p>
<p>iv. Quality of housing</p>	<p>In general smaller but more modern standard. But some colossally expensive eg the Butts. One of the reasons I came here was that there were reasonably sized rooms.</p>	<p>Don't like them, not impressed by them, internally. Quality and size. Outside they look ok.</p> <p>Concern about building large buildings on floodplain. Same problem in their development and some cracks, but advantage that foundations put down by Brunel and were 'overengineered 140 years ago'</p> <p>Discusses issues that've been in the news, re J: 'overbuilding of flats and underbuilding of family orientated units... and I think that is one of the reasons why they've found it difficult to sell'</p>

		<p>some of the things here'</p> <p>Word from Heron View that (LA) "some of the units had to be sold to housing associations and wider categories of purchasers than the original target'</p> <p>Regarding Ferry Quays (J) 'I find them not unattractive from where we are'</p> <p>LA 'the colours are not that bad'</p> <p>J I mean further in [in Ferry Quays] it's a bit of a concrete jungle because they've got no real green areas'</p> <p>Talk about views, differ within Ferry Quays development.</p> <p>Re Brentford Dock, J: whereas we've got quite big areas of greenery..</p> <p>LA: 27 acres altogether</p> <p>J: there's quite a lot of green and gardens, Ferry Quays has got a few planters but that's about all'</p>
iii. Quality of services (eg health, education, community services)	N: 'I think its ok'	<p>GB: What do you think about the current range of shops in the town centre?</p> <p>LA: (laughs) dreadful</p> <p>J: Basically we don't shop there. We go into Somerfield for milk or orange juice but otherwise I go to Waitrose</p> <p>LA: Or into Chiswick</p> <p>J: Or Twickenham sometimes</p>
iv. Local employment opportunities		
v. General satisfaction with the area	N: Well, I'm pleased I came here. Mainly because of the river... I like canals and things, and I go out on the river. So I'm pleased, generally its getting much, much better'	<p>J: I like it. I'm quite happy with it</p> <p>LA: I'd like it to be less derelict. I wish the bits that are really grim would either go away or would have something done, even if it was a short term thing it would make it much more cheerful'</p>
vi. Anything else you would like to comment on?		<p>LA: Its obviously a great shame to have so many derelict buildings along the High Street... and they've been sitting there for decades and no changes, they've just deteriorated. And of course its not even worth anybody pulling them down and have open spaces until they've decided, until they've decided to put something up, because that would cost money. Not in this Borough.</p>
F3.i. Do you feel welcome in new places (eg public space, cafes, bars etc) created with new development?	N: 'Yes. There's a nice Indian restaurant down there: Poppadoms'	

F3.II. Do your children use these spaces? Do you think they feel welcome there?		
F4. How long do you plan to stay in the area?	<p>N: 'For the immediate future... we pay quite high service charges here, that's always a bit of a bug.' 'But I don't know where I'd go really, I'm very happy here in general' I just wish things were more friendly, I mean they're not unfriendly but there's no central point' Used to be a bar on the marina that closed, struggled economically, not enough people went in. people going to healthclubs and pay £1,000 for that rather than the bar'</p>	<p>LA: Until our legs give up! J: I think probably, with any luck, about 15 years LA: But we only spend about a third of the year here. We have other places. We're in Ireland for probably 4 months of the year and we've also got a place in Spain... and we're travelling further afield to see anyone we can scrounge off! J: While we still can</p>

Further useful parts of interviews

Lesley Anne and Jan

Difference in development periods in Brentford – Victorian industry and housing, 60s town centre, Council estates, 70s Brentford Dock – strong opposition to development Brentford Dock to then residents of area, as a GLC development. Looked back at planning files and (J) telegrams being sent to the Minister for Housing trying to get it stopped", "I think that was coming mainly from the Council, because it was the GLC development" telegrams sent up to at the last minute... the whole of Brentford Dock was railway sidings because he couldn't get his trains down to London Dock, so he brought the Docks up to here and ran a railway line. And I think there was a thing of 'it's our industrial docks, we must keep them we must keep them.. we don't want fast built on it, despite the fact that no-one was interested and you couldn't get a modern boat up here anyway was immaterial'"That was the Council"

LA they wanted to do it themselves rather than have the GLC plan imposed on them. In effect it seems to have worked out

J: Anyway, it was whipped away from the GLC almost immediately and sold off

LA: Hounslow have leased a couple of blocks at the other end (for Council tenants). About 30% flats on the Dock are rented out, to varying degrees of ...'

Respondent Question	Alison NB: this interview took place without a voice recorder and is based on notes.	Rebecca NB: this interview took place without a voice recorder and is based on notes.	Carl
SECTION A			
A. Since moving to the area, have you (or a group or individual representing you) been consulted or asked your opinion about any major new developments planned for the future?	Residents committee keeps them informed about local development. Website has updates, has a secretary who disseminates information. Filled in BAAP questionnaire. Thought length and style of it would have put many people off. Difficult to know who it is who	Residents committee keeps people involved, but she's not involved herself	C: No-one's come and asked me face to face. But there was a residents association meeting and they were talking about all the development

	doesn't get involved		
A1. Do you think your views have been given consideration in the development process.			
SECTION B			
B. Are you a member of any local groups?		Not a member of any other local groups	C: No, just the Residents Association
B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc			C: They discussed it and lots of people gave their views but I don't know if anything got sent off. I haven't heard anything since.
SECTION C			
C. i. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc? ii. Why do you think this might be?			C: Young people don't get involved because they're not interested. Also people who don't speak much English... So there are groups of people [on the estate] who are new to the area and they don't know what's going on around here'
SECTION D			
D1. i. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in the area?	Builders and developers behind development, and also public housebuilders		Property developers, "out to make money"
ii. What do you think their aims are?	Lots of "high end housing" but lack of infrastructure to go with it. Expectations re shops/ facilities not met. Realises that certain less advantaged groups are 'stuck with low quality shops' and services. Not able to travel easily to areas with better offer.		C: They see the profit that's there to make from old derelict sites. It's just sitting there. C: And being right next to the river and canal makes a big difference because they can sell the flats as... like luxury river view flats

D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area. i.Have you ever been made aware of this or been consulted on it?		She feels the Council does consult, but vague/ hadn't been involved	Only through the residents association, as in Question A.
ii.What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are trying to do?		New build flats, lack of recreation.	C: I think they're trying to improve the area but they've been trying to do this since we moved here... there's been lots of new flash, expensive flats but not really a lot else
SECTION E			
E1.i. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development?		New flats have brought people in.	C: Yes GB: (Question E1.iii. for existing residents) what do you think they want from the area/ like about it? Housing –discusses need C: they want smart new homes that they can show off... make a few bob, and sell the place on again when the market's right... It's still cheaper than lots of other areas 'round here
E1.ii. what made you move to your current home?	Convenience for work (in Hammersmith) Price Parking included Like development, including its size (170 flats). Waterfront location not a particular factor in decision to move to area	Husband's choice to move to Brentford – flat as a good investment. Good value as bought off plan, before completion.	C: We were offered a Council house here when the kids were young... with a little garden at the back... we were lucky
E1.iii. What do you like about the area?	Proximity to the river Good bars and restaurants are starting to open. Ethnic mix However, disadvantages of the area	Feels its quite green, near to Kew Gardens, Syon Park. Good views of Kew from flat.	C: Yes it did need to change because it was all derelict and no one... came to Brentford... but someone needs to think about spending some money on the estate, because [mentions maintenance problems]

	outweigh the advantages		they're not going to do anything because they don't get any profit back on it
E1.iv. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?	<p>Redevelopment was needed. Derelict/ uncared for places attract graffiti and crime and 'bring down the area'</p> <p>Potential Kew Bridge development could make the area too crowded –it can't support that many more people</p>	<p>Not the same feel as Chiswick –Brentford High St run down. Shops in Chiswick, Cromwell Road, West end</p> <p>Area needs tidying up. Doesn't like the boarded up properties. No tempting restaurants / bars. Not much to do in the area – not enough variety (eg cinema)</p>	
E2. i. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?	<p>Not much mixing.</p> <p>More integration at Ferry Quays – due to restaurants/ bars.</p> <p>Gravitation to Chiswick and Kew</p>	<p>Not much mixing – 'there is a separation'</p> <p>In her development there is are allocated blocks for social housing – there is a divide within the development. Separate blocks for private and affordable housing. Management different for each – also in terms of residents association. Ownership different. It has created tensions between different groups</p>	C: No, not really... Well, you see different people in the pubs, sometimes you get business people or younger people, but that's never been a problem
ii. Are there problems/ tensions in the area? What are they?	Pressures due to shortage of doctors /schools		
iii. Is there, and do you think there ever been, a sense of community in the area?	Difficult to place the centre of Brentford, no real heart The Butts a community of its own – with its own character	There is a sense of community in the development – people are friendly. 'You know your neighbours'	C: 'Yes there is on the estate... round where we are on the estate we know most people and families, and my wife goes' and chats to 'the old people near us' 'But we don't really know many people in the tower blocks'
E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, is there housing, services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) or public spaces that you or your family benefit from?		Worried about needles/ poor quality environment in Waterman's Park, although it looks nice from the flat. Wouldn't even go there in the day, as 'dodgy people' hang out there.	C: there was a new health centre a few years ago... and we've used that particularly when their children were younger
SECTION F			

F1. Ask a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area – tailor to respondent. Where do people work / do you have to travel out of the area to work? Are there local employment opportunities? How has this changed over time?	Employment hub at Glaxo Smithkilne and A4	Lots of people get off the train at Kew Bridge station. Go to work in big firms on Great West Road	C: Well it used to be a very industrial area. My dad... used to work in Brentford in one of the old boatyards, its gone now... Over where the flats were built at Brentford Dock' ..I think there are still jobs but you need like... a degree to get them, and most people don't have that and there's not much else 'round here for them to do...unless they go out to Heathrow'
F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago? i. Local character	The Butts a community of its own – with its own character Generally no local character. Character 'eroded'	Likes the boats but needs tidying up. Nice churches, steam museum. Visibility/ proximity of Kew Gardens. In past – Holland Gardens used to be site of gas works – more industrial	C: 'Yes there is a local character' related to the industrial past 'there's still the Steam Musuem' and the river and boats
iv. Sense of community	'No heart'	There is a sense of community in the development	
iii. Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)	- Lack of green space - Some sites better and less industrial - Signposting a problem eg to bars in new development. People don't know what's there - Thames Path and waterside a mess	'Could be better' Worried about needles/ poor quality environment in Waterman's Park, although it looks nice from the flat. Wouldn't even go there in the day, as 'dodgy people' hang out there. Visibility/ proximity of Kew Gardens.	
iv. Quality of housing	New flats – not great for families, lack of green space	New build flats, lack of recreation. Size of the flats is good. More flats than houses. Needs more for her children to do.	C: It's not very good at all for lots of families on the estate... No one really maintains the properties so it's up to you to do it, to keep it ok.. or you have to keep pestering them when something really does need to be done'
v. Quality of services (eg health, education, community services)	Dreary shopping area. No heart or centre in Brentford. Gravitation to Chiswick and Kew.	She's never been to Brentford Fountain leisure centre – bad perception Gym in development – doesn't need to use Brentford Fountain / public leisure centres. Needs more for her children to do.	C: there was a new health centre a few years ago... and we've used that particularly when their children were younger C: there's not much for young people to do, or anything really going on for them. Waterman's [arts centre] is ok if you like

		<p>The choice of schools is limited –she sends her 4 year old son to school in Notting Hill. Healthcare generally good although problems getting GP appointments. It could become a problem.</p> <p>Not the same feel as Chiswick –Brentford High St run down. Shops in Chiswick, Cromwell Road and West End</p>	<p>more alternative type cinema but it doesn't show anything most people would want to watch... you have to go to Ealing, or up the West End for that'</p>
iv. Local employment opportunities	Less industrial Evening classes – cuts in less vocational courses at local college	In past – Holland Gardens used to be site of gas works – loss of industry recognised as reason for the development where she lives.	
v. General satisfaction with the area		Pleasant area	
vii. Anything else you would like to comment on?	Transport a big issue, traffic an issue, no real alternative to cars Lack of integration (re planning of area)	In the development there is are allocated blocks for social housing – there is a divide within the development. Separate blocks for private and affordable housing. Management different for each – also in terms of residents association. Ownership different. It has created tensions between different groups Children – need more for them to do.	
F3.i. Do you feel welcome in new places (eg public space, cafes, bars etc) created with new development?		Worried about needles/ poor quality environment in Waterman's Park, although it looks nice from the flat. Wouldn't even go there in the day, as 'dodgy people' hang out there.	C: Yeah, the part by the river, Waterman's {ark and also down by... Ferry Quays, that's quite nice now and they've got some good restaurants starting up there.
F3.II. Do your children use these spaces? Do you think they feel welcome there?			Yeah, me and my wife go down there sometimes, at the weekend or evenings if the weather's good.
F4. How long do you plan to stay in the area?	'I'll stay in the area as long as it's convenient'	Thinking of moving quite soon – in two years or so, linked to need to be nearer to school for son when he starts properly at primary school.	We're quite happy here... we'll be here for a while

Respondent	Matthew, Brentford Community Council NB: the first questions of this interview differed and were more focused, due to my prior knowledge of their involvement in development in Brentford
Question	
M: Are you aware of the history of it at all? GB: No Not really	M: It's quite an old organisation. It was set up about 15 years ago by Hounslow as a series of community Councils as part of the planning consultative process. And in each area there was a community council which was an umbrella for all the residents groups in that area. And they received a little bit of Council funding and a Council officer would come along and attend the meetings. It was superseded by the creation of area planning committees, so now they have area planning committees all the other ones [community councils] have stopped meeting so it's the only one left, and it has no longer any council support. But it still has the slightly odd status as the umbrella organisation for residents groups in Brentford... so most of the members are other residents groups [rather than individuals] so it covers a very wide area. Meets 'about once a month. The meetings are timed to be a fortnight before the Brentford Area Committee Planning Meetings. And we also get involved in Hounslow-wide things, for example the Employment Development Plan...'
SECTION A	
A. In terms of the Brentford Area Action Plan, what would you say are the key points that your group responded to?	M: We weren't very impressed by the formation of the action plan and the consultative process, which was quite messy. The business of having different stages of options to comment on was actually quite confusing to people, unless they have some experience of how planning works. So for the average person on the street it wasn't very helpful. As far as Brentford itself is concerned, it's been suffering from a lack of positive planning guidance for too long. So one of our worries about the action plan is that it's taken so long to get together that a lot of development it could have steered will already have happened. And some quite major developments have got planning permission... it's an example of how timing is important GB: So were there key factors in the action plan you thought were particularly problematic? M: On the whole we agreed with most of it but mostly because we've had a fair amount of input into the current form of it, so the Council were at least exhaustive in seeking opinions from everybody, so we can't complain... some of our comments were ignored but that's fair enough, there were lots of other people who commented...
A1. do you think your views have been, or will be, given consideration in the development process. - has it made a difference?	M: ...some of our comments were ignored but that's fair enough, there were lots of other people who commented... Couldn't remember any points that had fed into the submission (latest) version of the Brentford Area Action Plan
A2. Who makes up the Brentford Community Council?	As above – M: "the umbrella organisation for residents groups in Brentford"
A3. Is information disseminated to other local groups in Brentford? If so i.How is this done? ii.Is input for other groups sought on responses to local planning issues?	M: We ask people to come, the attendance at the meetings has varied wildly, so on one occasion we had 50 people and on another we had 5. It depends what's on the agenda. So people turn up to the meetings that are of interest to them... but there is the hardcore. Beyond that we send out the minutes to everybody by email, there's a big email circulation list... and bits of paper less often GB: And are a lot of residents groups actually involved in the planning group of the BCC? M: Yeah... what usually happens is when a development threatens an area then everybody gets

	excited, and gets together and forms a residents group or re-invents one that was there before
SECTION B	
B. Are you a member of any other local groups? Eg residents associations, community groups.	M: I personally am a member of a thing called the Butts Society, but that's where my house is. Which is partly involved with planning, but also more about local management issues'
B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc	
SECTION C	
C. i. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc? ii. Why do you think this might be?	M: It's interesting that the consultative series of meetings on the High Street proposals were organised a different way, and I think quite consciously went out and were more proactive in trying to get people who wouldn't normally be involved, so they went out to old people's homes, into schools and were more successful than we've been. Our standard meeting is that we announce the meeting and wait and see who turns up, and indeed it does require that people are interested to turn up
SECTION D	
D1. i. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in the area?	M: It's all the private sector... it depends how far back you want to go. There was of course the Brentford Regeneration Grant, and Hounslow was very successful with getting regeneration grants, much more so than many other boroughs. But that process has pretty much reached the end of its life
ii. What do you think their aims are?	
D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area. i.Have you ever been made aware of this or been consulted on it?	(Implicit that he, as part of the BCC, has – both myself and Matthew aware of this)
ii.What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are trying to do?	M: Better than many I think. I don't have a very good opinion of the planning process as a whole. I think it's unnecessarily convoluted... but Hounslow borough do their best within the system that they have to run. On the whole it's not too bad.
SECTION E	
E1.i. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development?	M: Yes... as a very rough guide the population of Brentford in about 5 years time will have doubled, over the last 10 or 15 years, so it's quite a big shift.
E1.iii.what do you think attracted them to the area?	M: The fact that there are flats and houses to live in. It's a function that any vaguely desirable place in West London... there's pressure for somewhere to live. So if it can be built then it will be occupied, on the whole
E1.ii. what made you move to your current home?	

E1.iv. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?	M: A lot of people would say no to that, because a lot of people distrust change... it had a lot of industrial and warehousing land, because of the junction of the Grand Union Canal, the Thames and the railway... which became redundant when everything changed over to be moved by truck, and you needed to be moved by motorway. But that's not completely, there are still some quite good industrial estates... but overall there has been an enormous shift in landuse, and therefore has thrown up the possibility for redevelopment for residential, to a much greater extent than anywhere else in West London
E2. i. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?	M: A little. Not as much as some people would say. It suffers from the usual thing that the established type of house is Victorian terraced housing, which therefore leaves someone like the Mayor to say, right we need more flats, we need accommodation for smaller households, but Brentford itself has had nearly all its new development in the form of flats... so as a small area it actually has an imbalance the other way... so unlike Hounslow as a whole, and West London, Brentford actually has too many flats at the moment... and the new people aren't of the same demographic as they were 10 years ago... the flats are rather polarized, they're either affordable housing or they're rather expensive
ii. Are there problems/ tensions in the area? What are they?	M: No, apart from people complaining about the lack of social cohesion. But there's no particular problems in terms of crime.
iii. Is there, and has there ever been, a sense of community in the area?	M: Yes, I'm sure there is a rather strong sense of community, it's just it's rather self-conscious. It's very strongly pushed and guarded, so it occasionally feels slightly unnatural. But there is a sense of community mostly because people are strving very hard to make it so.
E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, is there housing, services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) or public spaces that you or your family benefit from?	M: No, clearly evidently not. The Health Impact Study and the Transport Study all show it's quite inadequate. And not only is there not adequate provision for what's there now, but there's certainly not adequate provision for the number of people that there will be
SECTION F	
F1. Ask a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area – tailor to respondent. Where do people work / do you have to travel out of the area to work? Are there local employment opportunities? How has this changed over time?	GB: In terms of employment in the area, do you think there are many opportunities? M: Yes, unemployment is low-ish. It's lower than most other areas in Hounslow, and it's not a huge problem around here. Diversity of employment perhaps isn't quite as good, but the industrial estates do help that of course.
F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago? i. Local character	M: ... it had a lot of industrial and warehousing land, because of the junction of the Grand Union Canal, the Thames and the railway... which became redundant when everything changed over to be moved by truck, and you needed to be moved by motorway. But that's not completely, there are still some quite good industrial estates... but overall there has been an enormous shift in landuse, and therefore has thrown up the possibility for redevelopment for residential, to a much greater

	extent than anywhere else in West London M: Its local character has changed, because of the new development but that's not to say that it was brilliant before. Brentford High Street in particular was ruined by redevelopment of the 60s. So I can't weep too many tears over it. M: (from iv. below) the downside is that it's becoming less suburban and more urban so the feel of the built environment is now more of a city and less of a residential suburb, with tree-lined streets and gardens and so on
vi. Sense of community	M: It's difficult to say. I only knew Brentford as a visitor before. (Question E2.iii. for current sense of community)
iii. Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)	M: It's getting better. It used to be much more industrial... so in terms of somewhere to walk around it's a nicer place
iv. Quality of housing	M: Better. The new housing is built to higher standards than the housing that was there. And the Victorian housing is being gentrified and improved... the downside is that it's becoming less suburban and more urban so the feel of the built environment is now more of a city and less of a residential suburb, with tree-lined streets and gardens and so on
vii. Quality of services (eg health, education, community services)	M: Patchy... I think on the whole worse. I think that more shops and restaurants have left than have arrived. And I think the High Street itself... desperately needs the rescuing operation which is currently in hand
iv. Local employment opportunities	
v. General satisfaction with the area	M: I like it. I live there. I choose to live there. The particular little bit that I live in, the Butts, is perhaps not representative of the rest of it... so it's perhaps not a fair comparison, but I still like the rest of Brentford anyway, it is very quirky and has a big range of different sorts of feels to it
viii. Anything else you would like to comment on?	
F2. How long do you plan to stay in the area?	M: No particular plans for moving

Deptford

Respondent Question	Malcolm (Chair, Pepys Community Forum)	Jessica (Programme Manager, Pepys Community Forum)
SECTION A		
A. Have you, or a group or individual representing you,	M: 'Yes, yeah, it's called consultation but it's not really consultation. You're consulted on something that's been	J: Yeah, it was me and a mate... we started the campaign to stop.. the knocking down of the housing, by Hyde, and it's

been consulted or asked your opinion before major new developments are built in the area?

decided, there's a plan somewhere... and then it's promoted. You end up objecting to something all the way through that you've not been consulted on in the first place. There's no representation'

GB: 'So there's not enough scope to change things once they've been set out in a plan already, it's just tinkering..'
M: But it's not really in the hands of the local community to decide what they want to happen. Had the local community redeveloped this area, for example, there would have been a mixture of refurbishment and maybe new build. No one's against something new. But most people who live in an area value things that are there, and want to see them maintained and preserved, and enhanced... they don't want disruption. They particularly don't want someone else coming in and saying your area's rubbish, we're going to change it and make it superb. But we're going to push you out because you're also bad people, we don't want you here, we want someone else to come in and enjoy the new superb conditions.

Re new residents 'very few are local residents, they've come from all over South London. Some people who stuck it out have managed to stay on the estate, but it was very hard work. We supported them and helped them do that' When plan was going to go ahead "people were starting to leave, some people were staying and trying to fight it, trying to change it. They were always offered somewhere else in Lewisham or in other parts of the country. They were never given the offer to come back and have the first choice of the new building... which is entirely wrong"

Talk about aggravation that could have been avoided if people were housed somewhere else temporarily but could then return to the estate's new housing "and then people's distress would have been very, very small. In practice it's been a dramatic trauma where everyone's been slung out of the tower block, told you're no good, you can't live around here anymore, you can't enjoy the river views... you can't enjoy living in Deptford, you've got to go somewhere else... It's been such a brutal thing and way of going about it".

"But nobody knows about it because it's not in the public domain. The planning system is always very discretionary with the truth. They always put things in a way that they're doing something new and better"

through me and Sharon that Malcolm got involved... and then when that battle was lost, Malcolm began TAG which was more about supporting those who had to move rather than simply being a campaign group... so I didn't play a role in TAG, partly because I was uncomfortable with some of the attitudes... it very much appealed to the older residents, and there was a degree of racism... and a kind of anti-young people thing

'I'm very clear that housing, for me, low cost housing is part of the welfare state, that needs to be defended and understood from that point of view... and it was another one of those attacks on the welfare state that the Tories were very successful in putting forward ... I just don't accept this sort of change... but you get a group of 50 plus and the things they are uncomfortable with are probably not the things that somebody from a younger generation..

GB: So what sort of things are they?

J: "oh, we can't talk to our neighbours anymore because none of them speak English" y'know... there was a statement by a paper written by TAG that talked about, y'know, some of the housing ought to be guaranteed to white people... on a one to one basis they got to know a black neighbour, they're not BNP members or overtly or outwardly, there's that undercurrent that somehow, of the place not being what it once was, and the reasons are not to do with a lack of resourcing and the decimation of industry and work at the beginning of the 80s, but because black people moved in... the two are kind of put together in their heads, so that's one of the reasons why I didn't get too involved'

(TAG – Tenants Action Group)

J: And when the ALMO was coming about, I was getting questionnaires no end, about services ... and when I challenged one of the questions, because it was a leading question... the other person [an independent organisation] started to argue with me about whether an ALMO was a good thing or a bad thing, and whether local authorities had any choice over it... So when consultation is carried out by supposedly independent organisations, questionnaires are loaded'

And it seems they'd rather phone you at home as a Council

		tenant, rather than have a meeting' Not given option to say who they'd prefer landlord to be in questionnaires, given leading questions such as 'would you consider living in a housing association property'
A1. Do you think your views have been given consideration in the development process.	<p>M: 'It's made a very small difference. We've managed to slow it down. We've managed to make them think and go through all the democratic procedures they possibly could have gone through, but we still haven't won. We've lost on everything really. We've lost on Aragon Tower and got no benefit. We've lost on blocks being demolished that were quite serviceable for another 50 years or more. 'Cos the other buildings are still left alongside them, and they're still going to last us probably longer than what they're building here because they're much more substantially built' Acknowledges need for maintenance but 'refurbishment is usually a better and cheaper option than demolishing... but it doesn't make sense when you've got identical buildings that are left'</p> <p>'Its just an imposition on people saying we're going to change it, no matter what you think we're going to change it. So you're not really important to us'</p> <p>GB: So it's imposed from elsewhere</p> <p>M: And that makes people feel powerless, that its not worth talking to the Council because they're going to do what they're going to do anyway. They've already made their minds up... You find it difficult to sustain support because you keep on losing, all the way through. We might win on some small points... We've always made our objections in a democratic way, pointed out real planning issues, and they've always had to address them and take them seriously'</p> <p>8 years work doing this.</p>	<p>J: 'No, no, not at all... we had to fight to be consulted in the first place with Hyde, because that wasn't going to happen to start with... its not about a partnership with the community, whereby local authority and community come together to look at what is the future, even within the limitations within local authorities sometimes have to deliver... The Council refused to hold a vote of local authority tenants in this area about transfer to an ALMO'.</p> <p>A group of residents had argued that tenants should be allowed to vote about transfer to an ALMO and motion taken to it to a Council meeting (last July), where the Council (Labour, with backing of other parties) decided "there would be no vote" (Link D1.ii)</p> <p>J: 'Local authorities have been moved to a place where they have to consult, and that looks very good on paper but actually what local authorities really need is the result they want. And that's always been so, so they've just devised mechanisms to show the same thing they did, without ever actually consulting.'</p> <p>J: most tenants associations are very weak, very vulnerable, participated in by very few people, and rather than looking at how to reinvigorate and re-engage, the Council is taking the option of seeing people one by one... which for me is not effective democracy... and I think that is about what are the real intentions around consultations, and the solution is not to find with the community a solution to the community's problems, but to create a sufficient acquiescence to their agenda'</p>
SECTION B		
B. Are you a member of any local groups?	<p>GB: Are there many local community groups in the area?</p> <p>M: There are quite a few established groups but everyone's gradually worn out. Under stress of lack of funding as well... sustainability is a big issue' Describes how Pepys Community Forum (PCF) is struggling to continue due to cuts in regeneration grant funding</p>	<p>Works at PCF</p> <p>J: I'm not a member of any other local groups. I was, I helped set up Pepys Community Forum and I was a parent governor at Deptford Park Primary School and I was chair of Co-op Pepys' but explains that due to her work role in funding</p>

		community initiatives she had to disengage from local groups. J: 'I've also stood in local elections, for Evelyn ward in the Borough'
B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc	<p>Describes a recycling scheme 'we've initiated' in partnership with Hyde Homes and Barclay Homes, for about 500 homes.</p> <p>M: It's a pilot scheme and social enterprise GB: So Lewisham doesn't have a door to door collection M: No, it's a unique, special thing that we've done</p> <p>M: But we've managed to make them build on the footprint of the buildings, which was hard work" (to preserve green space)</p> <p>M: You have to argue with very keen wide eyed architects... they think they know how to design and plan things better than has been done before. And they think you're mad if you talk about what was good in the past... they see everything here as being crap, as being bad, as being run down. What they're going to do is going to be good, and new and for the future.</p>	
SECTION C		
C. i. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc? ii. Why do you think this might be?	<p>M: Yes, I think so. Mainly it's the old, the elderly and the young, and the people with young families. The people who tend to have some involvement are people with some experience, probably middle aged towards elderly. The more experienced people are less afraid to speak up and they've got some time to put into it. It takes endless time. The youth are seldom engaged at all, or consulted'. Talks about a Planning for Real exercise carried out with community architects, involving children and teenagers, and elderly people. Cut across all age groups.</p> <p>M: Normal consultation very rarely does that. They tend to go to known little groups or their own supporters... They say its consultation. And often you don't even hear the consultation's taken place'. Refers to Council saying they've done consultation where people have agreed, when 'no-one ever heard about it'. Feels sell of Aragon Tower "was never properly publicised". A lots of decisions taken in secret.</p>	<p>J: I think people who have English as a second language are very excluded. I don't think the local authority really understands about how to get in amongst them... and again its about whether you genuinely want... it about what the process is about'</p> <p>..'people who have grown up unused to a tenants movement... most tenants associations are very weak, very vulnerable, participated in by very few people...' (continues in A1)</p> <p>'So I think they have difficulties with women, and with young people, with families, under the age of 40' She realises she is unusual, comes for a politically active background.</p>
SECTION D		
D1. i. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in	M: Its someone else. Someone else has got more to gain. Property speculation ... speculators flying round [in	J: 'The driving force for Convoys Wharf for instance is the private sector, because they want to make as much money

the area?	<p>helicopters] looking at the area thinking we can make a nice big profit here, by building private houses on the river, as they've done elsewhere. But no social infrastructure. There'd be no pubs, no gardens and public areas'</p> <p>Feels that at least the Council and housing association ensured there was some affordable housing "but less of it and less affordable than it was before. But at least its been prevented from being entire private development speculation"</p>	<p>from it as they possibly can. The driving force behind the Hyde building or the large ... building has been the local authority. So in a very specific sense, who owns the land drives any redevelopment... and</p>
ii. What do you think their/developers aims are?		<p>J: 'For the different organisations involved, the motivation differs'</p> <p>'So the motivation behind the Hyde development here was largely because' describes 'the complete loss in confidence in the provision of housing by local authorities' (due to central government steer) against 'local authorities as providers of services'... and the move towards that public services cannot provide the same value as the private sector'... 'my own personal view is that cutting costs does not necessarily deliver quality'... 'there's been a huge lack of confidence in the welfare state'.</p> <p>'and so at a local level I don't think the housing department made the decision to bring Hyde in the redevelop the properties... but they were following that drift and they weren't able to stand up' (and object, and deliver for themselves).</p> <p>(Links to A1)</p>
D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area. i.Have you ever been made aware of this or been consulted on it?	<p>M: Its also government agenda. This area's been linked into the Thames Gateway development. And yet the Thames Gateway starts beyond the Thames Barrier, but somehow the Pepys estate... became part of the Thames Gateway funding. So the figures for Pepys Estate counted towards the number of new housing units in the Thames Gateway.'... 'It's not the Gateway to London, it is London'... 'So there's broad government policies that you as local people are not on the committees, you've not got a voice in those policies.' And the policies are so complicated anyway. The only policy we've had some vice in is the London Plan by the Mayor. At least the London Plan has been published, its been discussed, it's been in the local papers and there's been meetings and a chance to say something about it.'</p>	
ii.What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are	<p>M: We want better consultations. Other consultations are not being done like that [referring to the London Plan]. It always seems to be someone else's policy... it never seems to</p>	<p>GB: 'I think it's weak, I think they're in awe to the private sector'... 'I think they're overawed by the glitz and the glam of the private sector... I think they lack a sense of vision, that's</p>

trying to do?	advantage them, it always seems to disadvantage them [referring to lower paid, or people without skills, English language]. The middle class, the articulate and the very wealthy, and the free-to-move-about... always benefit and always will benefit'	not a vision in terms of design, that's a vision in terms of why they're doing it' 'I don't think they're [Labour Council] there because they think the world can be changed... they lack that basic drive' to transform lives or provide more than the statutory requirements.
SECTION E		
E1.i. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development?	M: 'The majority of people living in the new regeneration buildings are people who are non-local residents, and previous local residents have been scattered, wherever they were willing to compromise or be forced to move' Describes some people who'd always lived in a high rise block saw it as a chance to get a house and garden for their children. But many people didn't get this, and didn't then the chance to wait and come back to Pepys.	GB: With all the new development... there are probably a lot of people who have moved into the area J: They don't shop on Evelyn Street though
E1.ii. What are they like?		
E1.iii.What do you think they want from the area/ like about it?	"One reason is just sheer need" [in relation to social housing] "But coming to a new build here, in an area that's got open spaces must be quite unique really, because there's very few places that are like this" This is very quiet, it's off the beaten track, it's away from the main road, it's relatively private	J: 'They seem to be motivated by a sense that they might make lots of money, and they seem to be hoping or believing that somehow this is the start of a process that will transform us away...' They are both excited and titillated by the prospect of living next to something that's raw and inner city, and yet at the same time the way they keep on talking about how the area's regenerating, and I'm interpreting that to mean somehow that we will all go away, and more of what the are and they represent will come in'
E1.iv. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?	'There's a combination of things that make people quite passionate about being here once they've been here for a while'	GB: So do you think the area needs to change then? What would be your vision for the area? J: My vision for the area would be one where the people who live here now have sufficient income to have a reasonable quality of life. Discusses very low average income for the ward. J: ... So what you never really escape from is poverty, and in reality that will make far more difference to the area than anything else
E2. i. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?	(leading on from previous question) ...So the North of the Borough, especially Pepys Estate has always been quite strong in active voices of residents and the community' 'But there's no association of tenants for the new Hyde buildings, there's no association for the new tower block. So making them integrate to the existing structures is a challenge really'	J: yes there has been quite a lot of interaction, certain with the Hyde properties, not with Aragon Tower ... that's partly because Pepys Community Forum was very well funded, and so it would be organising stuff that it was easy for people to come to and build other connections'... 'and we had Surestart at about that time as well'

	E2.i. Not much but there is some. We've got one member on our board who is a resident in one of the new builds... and these people have social responsibility to society... a problem with a lot of the new builds is that its selfish thing... they've moved on to something... probably better in their own personal terms, and that's it as far as they're concerned. They just stay in their own little worlds'	
ii. Are there problems/tensions in the area? What are they?	'To some extent there may be but on the whole we're very tolerant...we try to get them involved in what happens, and take on board some responsibility. We'd like the Aragon Tower residents to be on our committee' Refers to a planning application where Aragon Tower residents sought PCF advice.	
iii. Is there, and has there ever been, a sense of community in the area?		J: I think there is a sense of community, and there's probably got more of sense of community than a lot of other places... I think the location of that sense of community has shifted over time
E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, is there housing, services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) or public spaces that you or your family benefit from?	"So far we've had no gain. Everything we've done is to protect what we already had. We've had no new facilities whatsoever. There was no section 106 agreement with Hyde, and there wasn't one with Barclay Homes' Still pursuing some money from Hyde for sports changing facilities. Talks about an old shopping centre on a raised level in the middle of the estate... felt redevelopment there, including shops and community centre "was done properly because local people were involved in all the consultation. Neighbourhood Committee and local Council association was well organised... but those were closed down by Lewisham Council, so there was no voice as strong as that when this development came along. The only voice was to make our own committee..." SRB funding for skills for local people, but problem of that running out and need to find new revenue.	
SECTION F		
F1. Ask a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area –tailor to respondent. Where do people work / do	M: "Deptford is a part of London, within Lewisham, that used to be self sufficient in terms of employment. There was lots of small, medium and large employers in the area, and elsewhere in Lewisham and Greenwich." ... "there was the river activity and industries. Most of those	J: There's a real cycle of underachievement and underperformance, and I'd like to see there being much more locally based work available.. and a range of work as well Discusses hours and conditions people are forced to work. J: So what you never really escape from is poverty, and in

<p>you have to travel out of the area to work? Are there local employment opportunities? How has this changed over time?</p>	<p>have been relocated, with earlier policies of the government, to new towns and they're still successful' ... 'There isn't a large employer around here any more' GB: Do you think that has an impact on how people on the estates are employed or not employed? M: 'There's a lot of unemployment, a lot of having to move out of the area to get relatively low skilled jobs. Because the .. of this area is that people are not well educated to get well paid jobs, in terms of the service industries' 'so a lot of employment in the area is SME's... We employ 18 staff at PCF, so we're becoming an SME almost. And most companies are probably well under 100 [employees] in this area, under 50, under 30 even. There's many more smaller employers now'</p>	<p>reality that will make far more difference to the area than anything else</p> <p>J: closure of the docks... and then the closure of a whole number of other workplaces at the very end of the 70s, beginning of the 80s</p>
<p>F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago? i. Local character</p>	<p>"most of it is still there. But it's more subversive now. There's been more immigration, more people moving into the country, recently from Poland and Eastern Europe ...there's been a lot of refugees moving into this area from conflict areas of the world. At one time there was a calculation that between 150-200 languages were spoken on this estate. Because estates like this, in London, are always where people from around the world get put. They get put in tower blocks...and other people in street accommodation, in semi-detached accommodation, houses with gardens and so on don't ever really see the impact' 'So it's about 50:50 ethnic minority to white population, and Irish ... but it's slightly tipping towards more people who've been coming into the country in the last 15-20 years, than people who have lived here for longer. So there is a tension between people seeing their world taken over in a sense, and not getting access to equality of opportunity, in that they seem to have less opportunity than people who come here and seem to get more bridges' etc ... 'so there is that tension'. Talks about the closing down of homes/ sheltered accommodation for the elderly and no replacement.</p> <p>From Question A: No one's against something new. But most people who live in an area value things that are there, and want to see them maintained and preserved, and enhanced... they don't want disruption. They particularly don't want someone else coming in and saying your area's rubbish, we're going to change it and make it superb. But we're going to</p>	<p>J: I think the area has a very distinct identity... my older two children go to school in Southwark and it's clear it has an identity...it's not done my son any harm in terms of his quidnos in saying he comes from the Pepys Estate. The first assumption is that that must make him very hard' GB: Do you think that character's changed over time? J: Not yet. J: It takes a very long time. I think the attitude of the people who live here has changed towards it over the last 10 years. But the attitude of people who don't live here towards it has not yet changed... there's a gap' ..'but I think I'm as guilty of it... if you talk about the Ferrier Estate, the North Peckham estate... both of those have been regenerated... because regeneration is only really felt by the people who are in there, not by the people who are outside of it. So they just hold onto the old images'</p>

	push you out because you're also bad people, we don't want you here, we want someone else to come in and enjoy the new superb conditions.	
viii. Sense of community	'It's still there, it's still pretty good. But its more deflated... because people have seen themselves not really being listened to for such a long time'. ALMO created called Lewisham Homes, locals not consulted on it, but role of ALMO "to try and improve the housing standard and involve people, and people are not interested in being involved because they're not being asked to be involved. So there's another circle of disenchantment'	J: I think there is a sense of community, and there's probably got more of sense of community than a lot of other places... I think the location of that sense of community has shifted over time J: I've never felt myself to be isolated, although I can understand other people may find it isolating'
iii. Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)	Talks about the improvements that are needed to green space and to roads, and that PCF has role in making this happen. Noise pollution from building over the last 10 years. Now seeing the end, 'of seeing things almost complete again'	J: 'Well the Pepys is a beautifully designed estate'. Describes how every window overlooks 'some kind of greenery'...'and that's one of the things that struck me when I first came to live here. In spite of its reputation it just felt like a really nice place to be, it's so green' Discusses difference to other local estates. J: I think quality of the environment has changed. I think it looks a lot nicer than it did when I first moved onto the estate. Although some opposition to taking the walkways between blocks down, 'I think overall they [not being there] give the estate a better feel'
iv. Quality of housing	Following from older blocks being serviceable for another 50 years '..the other buildings are still let alongside them, and they're still going to last us probably longer than what they're building here because they're much more substantially built'	J: So the properties Hyde produced were much smaller than the properties they replaced. So in terms of quality of life for the people living in them, I'm not clear how... where's the idea of building quality homes for working class people, even at a very basic level.. it's gone' 'they [Hyde] didn't want to invest a penny more in the homes for [social] rent than they absolutely had to'
v. Quality of services (eg health, education, community services)	'We've managed to build up over the years. It's one of the few areas that has most of what it ought to have locally' Mentions Health centre, new SureStart centre, Youth Centre, Community Centre. We've got a physical infrastructure that most areas, let alone large estates never have. Only because we've been pretty good at making it happen for the last 30-40 years... it's not being given to us'	Talks about the lack of need to use of health services etc by her family, so not much to comment on. J: Community services... are not sufficiently resourced so I would like to see a lot more investment in opportunities for young people, and a range' (to meet the needs of a variety of young people). Discusses belief that her children would 'always do well' and 'my kids have always grown up, a guess educationally probably a bit more middle class' ... 'but I know other people's children do not fare well, but from a personal point of view I haven't been failed by education'

vi. Local employment opportunities		
vii. General satisfaction with the area	<p>'This is very quiet, it's off the beaten track, it's away from the main road, it's relatively private'</p> <p>'There's a combination of things that make people quite passionate about being here once they've been here for a while... there's a sense of place here, that builds into people's lives.. So the North of the Borough, especially Pepys Estate has always been quite strong in active voices of residents and the community' 'But there's no association of tenants for the new Hyde buildings, there's no association for the new tower block. So making them integrate to the existing structures is a challenge really'</p> <p>'I think we're still fairly satisfied with it. We just need to be in control of what's really happening. We'll never allow this to happen again... land assets and investments we need to get control of and put them in the hands of the community'</p>	J: I love it. I love being by the river. It's a pretty environment, it's a peaceful environment. Funnily enough, you might be in the middle of what other people are seeing as some kind of hellhole, but you can walk down to the river and it's really quiet' continues with good points 'it feels very nice actually... I've never felt myself to be isolated, although I can understand other people may find it isolating'
viii. Anything else you would like to comment on?		
F3.i. Do you feel welcome in new places (eg public space, cafes, bars etc) created with new development?	'We've constantly argued that they should all be permeable and should be accessible to everybody, and that's what we've achieved... despite plans to try and segregate some people away from others'. Feels there's a problem with Hyde Housing talking about their tenants rather than local people in general. 'But hopefully we'll eventually make some joint structures that everyone's involved in so there won't be a separation. But it'll take time...'	
F3.ii. Do your children use these spaces? Do you think they feel welcome there?		J: The thing that annoys me is the number of times my lad gets stopped by the police... that's just walking from Tesco's home.
F4. How long do you plan to stay in the area?	'I'm going to stay here until something else happens in life. I've got no plans to move. I've got lots of work to do to make things... and in the end you can't give up you have to keep on doing it'	J: 'I can't imagine leaving... it's very much my home'

Respondent Question	Beryl	Lorraine NB: Lorraine lived on Pepys Estate 1968-75, but no longer lives in the area, so this interview differed in the questions that were asked (due to their relevance).
SECTION A		
A. Have you, or a group or individual representing you, been consulted or asked your opinion before major new developments are built in the area?	<p>B: I suppose in recent years the Council have written to people in the area, when anything big or major is going on... the really big one that they consulted us on was the Convoys Wharf... and then when they did the consultation of building the flats by the park on Evelyn Street, we heard from the planning department then</p> <p>'I was in the library last week and I saw that there was an exhibition there about developing the site between Oxtalls Road which is the next road here, up to Dragoon Road, and that's going to be a long term planning thing... but I haven't had anything through the post in detail about it'</p>	<p>GB: I suppose because you're not living here, have you been aware of the new developments?</p> <p>L: Only when I saw the programme [BBC documentary, 'The Tower']... I didn't have no idea whatsoever</p> <p>GB: Were you quite surprised?</p> <p>L: I was, I was. Yeah, its funny because I've got a 20 year old daughter and she was watching it... and she said it was so sad...and even me, it's just the attitude of the people, the individuals working for the company [Barclay Homes] and I just thought you're going to move people out of their home... it was so sad looking at the people who lived there. It was horrible, its horrible to think that times change. I was so sad about it'</p>
A1. Do you think your views have been given consideration in the development process.	<p>B: 'It's hard to know really. I think they make up their mind'</p> <p>B: and you just don't seem to get anywhere. And of course the planning laws change all the time, so ... you don't really know what the situation is</p> <p>GB: So do you think it's not very easy to understand?</p> <p>B: I think the frustration comes in because things take such a long time. People say they'll get back to you, and you think you'll hear in a few days time and you don't!</p> <p>... I've realised now that you can't expect the Council, any department in the Council, to know what's going on in an area, unless you tell them. And it's quite often the case that of having to tell them more than once.'</p> <p>'I think a lot of the time, although, they consult you they've made up their mind anyway'</p>	
SECTION B		
B. Are you a member of any local groups?	B: Yes, the Deptford Park Residents Association	
	Developments in area were 'one of the reasons why the Deptford Park Residents Association was formed	
B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for	B: Yes, the one of Deptford Park	

new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc		
SECTION C		
C. i. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc? ii. Why do you think this might be?	'I think people engage initially and then it all goes quiet'	
SECTION D		
D1. i. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in the area? ii. What do you think their/ developers aims are?	'Well certainly the one of Deptford park, that was to provide housing, and I suppose the Convoys site is partly to do with housing as well'	'I think its just people trying to make money...you get your refurbishments, y'know, refurb 'em... but (trails off)'
D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area. i. Have you ever been made aware of this or been consulted on it? ii. What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are trying to do?	Talks about the lack of scope in 'Our little area, which is the other side of the main road, there isn't any scope' as its all terraced, owner occupied housing, as opposed to Council owned estates 'it's not like an estate here, which is local authority owned'	'Yeah definitely, I think its just all about money... some boroughs are in a lot of trouble financially, so if it makes them money.'
SECTION E		
E1.i. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development? E1.ii. What are they like?	'It's difficult for me to comment on that because where I live there hasn't been any development, as such. But with this new development on Evelyn Street, people will move into that area... in our area developers are buying up the housing, making them multiple occupation and putting in tenants, and new people are moving in in that respect GB: And has that been younger people?'	' I wouldn't know, but I've seen foreign people, so I would

	B: From what we've seen so far, yes.	imagine they've got different cultures, and races'
E1.iii.What do you think they want from the area/ like about it?		
E1.iv. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?		
E2. i. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?	'No, I think the young people who have moved into the area, they come and they go, they come and they go, and um, I don't really know them... I think some of them are not there for the long term'	
ii. Are there problems/tensions in the area? What are they?	'I personally haven't had any problems, but I know people in the residents association and some of my neighbours have had problems with noisy parties, anti-social behaviour, from these houses of multiple occupation'	
iii. Is there, and has there ever been, a sense of community in the area?	'I think since we started the residents association, it started about 2 or 3 years ago. But its mainly just a small group of people. A lot of people turned up for the first meeting, because they were interested in the subject [development of flats by the park]...but once that was all over and done with a lot of the people... stopped coming. So now its just a few people'	
E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, is there housing, services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) or public spaces that you or your family benefit from?	'Not in Lewisham, but of course I do use the Surrey Quays Shopping Centre, that's my local shopping area, so I've benefited from that... the shops that used to be at the Docks, they gradually closed up because they were small independent businesses, and after the docks closed and some of the commercial practices moved out of the area, we didn't have any local shops as such, but then when they developed Surrey Quays shopping centre it meant I could just walk up the road... that's in Southwark...but that was London Docklands Development Corporation' Mentions that she used to use a resource centre on the river (since closed), but felt unsafe getting there through the Pepys estate.	
SECTION F		

F1. Ask a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area – tailor to respondent. Where do people work / do you have to travel out of the area to work? Are there local employment opportunities? How has this changed over time?	'Definitely changed over time, obviously I'm not in the labour market any more... but we used to have the docks, we used to have a lot of industry in the area, we had engineering companies, we had manufacturing companies... all of those industries, all of it's gone' Thinks it's likely people are traveling further to work.	
F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago? i. Local character	'Yes, it's changed, yes'	'... but then you look at all this [looking across the river to Canary Wharf and other luxury housing development] ... it's coming across the river... look at the views, I mean when we lived here we used to look out, it was all factories and barges, but it does look nice. But it's just so sad' '... I think it's going to look something like Canary Wharf and Limehouse... and Stratford... I think its going to look alright, but everything's changing' 'I'm just absolutely gobsmacked, I'm so shocked... I just can't believe it' (re scale of change)
ii. Sense of community	'I don't know many people now... when I was younger, most of houses were rented properties, err quite a lot of them were let out to families, and we all went to the junior school... but when people of my age got married they all moved away and as their parents moved on new people moved in but I didn't get to know those people, well probably because I didn't have children who go to the local schools... and I was working full time and going out of the area, so I just didn't know the people'.	"I think that was one of the good things about this borough... we had a riverside youth club... and tenants meetings so it was a community..."
iii. Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)	'Well certainly the park, but that doesn't provide as much as it used to, we've still got the swings' but the paddling pool, putting green and running track have all gone. 'We tried to get a Deptford park users group up and running'	"when we came here it was all new, it was lovely" 'we did have a few greens, we used to go over the road to Deptford Park.. but there was plenty of space' Moved out of the estate due to asbestos risk – her parents had the choice to stay on estate or go elsewhere (chose latter).
iv. Quality of housing	'Well as far as I'm concerned it's down to us, because it's mostly owner occupiers... but I don't know what it's like on the estates'	'they do look nice
v. Quality of services (eg health, education, community	'I don't think there's enough general GP's surgeries'	GB: Do you think there'd be any problems with services? L: No I think that was one of the good things about this

services)		borough... we had a riverside youth club... and tenants meetings so it was a community...
vi.. Local employment opportunities		L: But where the health centre was that used to be all shops... and there was a pub there, and a sweet shop and a fish shop... there were a lot of recreational facilities, you couldn't fault it. Whoever designed it did well, did really well'
vii. General satisfaction with the area	'Well I suppose in a way it has improve, but people don't care as much as they used to... whether this is because, as I said, we've got people moving in on short term lets and they don't know what's the procedure... I'm not quite sure!'	GB: Did you like the area when you used to live here? L: 'Loved it, loved it. I mean we didn't want to move out, but there was a sense that the area was going down in the 70s...'
viii.Anything else you would like to comment on?		
F3.i. Do you feel welcome in new places (eg public space, cafes, bars etc) created with new development?		GB: Is this an area that you come to quite frequently? L: No, no. It's too heartbreaking. GB: So would you come back [to visit]? L: yes, well I've got two grandchildren now so I'd like to bring them back and show them around, show them' this is where granny used to live' like my mum used to when I was little'
F3.II. Do your children use these spaces? Do you think they feel welcome there?		
F4. How long do you plan to stay in the area?	'I'll probably stay here. If I do move I'll probably move right away. I recognize that the house is too big for me, and if that's the case I shouldn't stay here long term, but it's a question of doing something about it! (laughs).. So yeah I'm not sure.. I'm still thinking about that one'	

Respondent Question	Morrison and James
SECTION A	
A. Have you, or a group or individual representing you,	Both: No

been consulted or asked your opinion before major new developments are built in the area?	GB: Would you have liked to be more involved in it Both: yeah GB: Do you know if any of your families have been involved? James: I think so, my mum Both: No
A1. Do you think your views have been given consideration in the development process.	
SECTION B	
B. Are you a member of any local groups?	Football groups, nothing else
B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc	
SECTION C	
C. i. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc? ii. Why do you think this might be?	
SECTION D	
D1. i. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in the area? ii. What do you think their/ developers aims are?	
D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area. i. Have you ever been made aware of this or been consulted on it? ii. What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are trying to do?	M: They're a waste, man. There's lots to do, man, but they're not doing nothing
SECTION E	
E1.i. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development?	Both: yeah, yeah
E1.ii. What are they like?	

E1.iii.What do you think they want from the area/ like about it?	M: they need more, more better houses, they need better places to live
E1.iv. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?	
E2. i. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?	J: Nah, nah, I don't think so
ii. Are there problems/ tensions in the area? What are they?	
iii. Is there, and has there ever been, a sense of community in the area?	J: Yeah, a little bit. GB: Do you know people who live around your area? James: I know a couple of people, init.
E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, is there housing, services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) or public spaces that you or your family benefit from?	GB: What do you think about facilities, like schools? J: Schools, yeah, based on the area they're not very good, because of the people around the school M: Some of the children, like they give people bad reps [reputations?]
SECTION F	
F1. Ask a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area –tailor to respondent. Where do people work / do you have to travel out of the area to work? Are there local employment opportunities? How has this changed over time?	
F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago? i. Local character	Felt young people in the area has a lot of talent. J: Its like people have got talent, like football, singing, stuff like that' Discusses that there needs to be more opportunities for young people GB: What do you think are the main problems in the area? J: Gun crime. Its just like they've got police... all around Deptford... they've never asked questions, they can never come to people, and ask, where'd you get the guns from, who provide it. Feels police negatively judge young people in the area and don't show any interest J: As long they don't care, we don't care
ii.Sense of community	
iii. Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)	James: It's such a dirty area Morrison: I the shop down the road they're peeling onions outside and the onions fall on the floor and

	they just leave them. It's disgusting.
iv. Quality of housing	
v. Quality of services (eg health, education, community services)	
vi.. Local employment opportunities	
vii. General satisfaction with the area	J: I guess cos I lived here for long, I like it. But I lived in east London and I came here. GB: Are you going to stay in the area, when you finish school and stuff? Both: no. J: I want to live somewhere like... Its like round Deptford everyone's getting stabbed GB: So do you want to go somewhere that's safer? J: Somewhere not too quiet, not too loud
viii. Anything else you would like to comment on?	
F3.i. Do you feel welcome in new places (eg public space, cafes, bars etc) created with new development?	J: I don't even know about them really
F3.II. Do your children use these spaces? Do you think they feel welcome there?	
F4. How long do you plan to stay in the area?	

Respondent Question	David	Richard (Chair, Millennium Quay Residents Association)
SECTION A		
A. Since moving to the area, have you (or a group or individual representing you) been consulted or asked your opinion about any major new developments planned for the future?	D: Yes, a number of times actually. Since September ['06] we've had we've 3 or 4 letters in the post along those lines... two from Greenwich Council, one from Lewisham because it borders Lewisham, and one from the Ahoy Centre... a sailing club, it's a social enterprise, helping deprived kids. They want to develop some of their stuff, so they put a consultation out to Millennium Quays residents to see what we think GB: So what are they planning to do? D: they are planning, there's a jetty... an old derelict thing, and	R: Well, consulted is an interesting word, it depends how you want to put it... there have been developments in the area proposed. I'm not sure if I've ever been consulted or if I've stuck my nose in because of our involvement as the residents association... so we obviously have an interest in everything that's built around us, so I don't know if we've ever been consulted or have 'gone out to find' is probably more appropriate... I think the development across the creek did make an effort to circulate information. Others have been more

	they've got plans to develop that and use it to create income because I think they're a bit short of money... for something like a youth hostel, or restaurant... this is the very early stages, they're literally asking what people think	a case of planning applications being made and us finding out about them and getting more information GB: So have you written comments on them? R: Yes... if you look at these applications you'll see long comments from Millennium Quay Residents Association... we particularly commented on the one across the creek with concerns about the height, and we had a similar complaint about the ... site opposite our main entrance... so it's usually height, density and lack of parking are the things that we usually object to
A1. Do you think your views have been given consideration in the development process.	D: I don't think I've yet responded! Each time you're invited to respond I always mean to but I don't think I have yet... I think on the way to respond, it would be much easier if you could do it online	R: It's possible that we have made some impact. I know with some of these there has been some reduction in the height, but whether that was because of us, frankly I doubt. ... so to be honest I doubt whether any of this consultation really, in practice, does anything, because eventually it all comes down to the developer and the Council having a stand-off and [the developer] saying well, if you make me change it we'll go away and do something different'
SECTION B		
B. Are you a member of any local groups?	D: I'm not. There's the residents association.. but I don't think I'm member of anything else	R: No
B2. Have these groups ever responded to proposals for new development in the area? How have they done this, what happened etc		
SECTION C		
C. i. Do you think there are people/ groups of people who have not got involved in the local community/ local community groups etc? ii. Why do you think this might be?	D: To start at Millennium Quays... there's the really posh ones [flats] by the river and the more affordable ones where I am..and there's a mixture of owner occupiers and renters and ... the people who are more likely to be excluded are the renters... and they're only there temporarily, but you get different kinds of renters – the rents in the posh flats, they're on temporary contracts... and the renters in my block are local students... they're the ones most likely to be excluded.	R: 'Residents generally' Outlines the general lack and breadth of consultation legally required for new development 'and my argument is that that's not sufficient' ... 'residents generally don't get properly brought in, because the planning process doesn't require it' ... 'The development in front of our main entrance, the properties immediately at the main entrance got a notification. Now I would argue this entire area is affected by it' mentions shadow of building falling over much of estate, and that consultation should be much wider.
SECTION D		
D1. i. Who do you think might be behind redevelopment in	D: 'There's an incredible amount of land.. there's Millennium Quays here, then there's Convoys Wharf, and the Pepys	R: Developers. None of them are driven by the Council, they're driven by a developer. ... quite often, like with one over the

the area?	<p>Estate's been redeveloped, and the other side of Creek road there's Creekside Village' recently approved, high rise development and mentions other sites too... ' and I think the driver of it is the Thames Gateway... I suppose it's like political will... (mentions he'd looked at the London Plan)... and also it's an Opportunity Area, and a Cultural Hub.. (following on from the Laban)</p> <p>D: And also there;s a lot of opportunities, a lot of it's like brownfield, old industrial.... And it's right next to Canary Wharf, with some incredibly rich people in it who need houses, and I think there's an incentive for developers'</p>	Creek, the developer's got the consent, and now he sells it to another developer, and that's quite common
ii. What do you think their aims are?		R: Make as much money as they can.
D2. Your local authority (GLA or central gov't) has a role in regeneration and planning for development in the area. i. Have you ever been made aware of this or been consulted on it?	<p>D: Quite often people [at Millennium Quay] ... say 'oh, I'm not having this'... but I'm generally in favour of regeneration, because generally around the place a lot of it is quite run down. And for selfish reasons as well. It not only makes it a nicer place to live, but also it increases house prices, so generally I'm in favour of it.</p>	R: Well they have some input and then once they've made a decision our wonderful London mayor can come and overturn it, and that's a wonder for local politics isn't it. I believe it's now changing, up til now he's been able to force them to refuse, I believe it's now changing so he can force them to accept, which I think is fundamentally flawed in all sorts of ways'...it's wrong, the decision should be taken by the elected people
ii.What are your opinions about what the local authority (GLA or central gov't) are trying to do?		
SECTION E		
E1.i. Do you feel that there are a lot of people who have moved to the area as a result of new development?	<p>D: Yes, definitely... Millennium Quays was the first redevelopment in the area, I think it was completed in 1999. And before that it was run down, there was an old power station, and at that time it was really working class, a lot of unemployment, nowadays there's a lot of new people moved in, more middle class, so it's a completely different population</p>	R: Yes
E1.ii. what made you move to your current home?	<p>D: 'Its commutable to work'. Place he could afford to save for and buy</p> <p>D: I was looking at Rotherhithe before that...and it was a bit too expensive so the further you came out, it became my sort of price range. Also it's a good place –there's lots of amenities in Greenwich, and it definitely feels like quite a funky place, there's lots of artists'</p>	<p>Outlines his own circumstances of changing work to work from home</p> <p>R: So I needed more space without spending any more money. So I didn't need to be close to central London anymore...so I was looking to go slightly further out, find more space, with a garden and parking. So the reasons I moved here were the garden, the parking and more space. And also if</p>

		you get the timing right on this sort of development, if you buy in when they're still building it's cheaper. So I was able to get a house for the same as what I was selling my flat for. So I could afford to move without it costing anything'
E1.iii. What do you like about the area?	D: I really like the area actually, a lot of people go on about Deptford being quite poor, and it is quite deprived... it's great for myself, there's lots of things to do in Greenwich, there's the market, and bars and pubs. It's a good combination.	R: The estate I like because it's not just a block of flats, it's a mixture of different sorts of property. It's quite a community, especially among the residents association and management. I mean I know people all over the estate. It's quiet because it's a cul-de-sac. The wider area is a difficult balance. On one side of us we've got Greenwich, which is nice in a sense although there are the foreign tourists. On the other side of us we've got quite depressed areas like Deptford. But for London I would say this is quiet, and is good in many ways.
E1.iv. Do you think the area needed to change? Does it still need to change? In what way(s)?	D: ...the change is happening ... you'll see all around you quite a lot of run down stuff, but then you'll see a planning applications for every single bit of land	Discusses development being built badly and having to 'do all sorts of thing like adding more lighting, putting yellow lines on the roads, parking schemes, replacing a whole load of stuff' ..'a whole load of stuff to make up for the deficiencies of the developer, so that's mostly now been done'...
E2. i. Do you think there is much mixing between new residents in the area and residents who have lived here for a long time?	D: No, not that I see. It's parallel worlds... and there's no real opportunity to do it	R: I would say probably very little... it's one of the things they complain about GB: 'They' being? R: 'They' being the people who used to live in the area, they object to what they would call 'gentrification'
ii. Are there problems/tensions in the area? What are they?	D: I've never encountered tensions, but I'm not sure what the tensions would be about. We're not competing for anything really. There's a lot of crime on our estate, but that's because y'know, crime happens. It's not like the local are picking on [residents on the estate] D: ... There is a pub right next to Millennium Quay but it's like, a locals pub. There's a, sort of, barrier there.	Above. R: No, I've not witnessed any great tensions, except that the people around us want to come and steal from us... because the developers don't put in proper security, so with any new development it's just rich pickings, isn't it. You've got new stuff, and they come in, and we had a hugely high burglary rate that we had to tackle. So there are issues like that, but that's just social issues, that's not a particular vendetta'
iii. Is there, and do you think there ever been, a sense of community in the area?	D: No... I suppose on our development people are just busy at work... and there's no real focal point. I think in Deptford there's quite a good sense of community, between people there. There's quite a lot of cultural bohemian people there, I think that's sort of expected GB: So is that around Deptford High Street area? D: Yeah, and further along in Deptford Creek, and round the Laban, and down the high street, right through to New Cross'	R: It's quite a community, especially among the residents association and management. I mean I know people all over the estate R: We've made an effort to create one. We have residents meetings which people come to and we have a website that people go on to. We have our own management on site.... So there is a sense of community in that we manage our own affairs

		Talks about problems of buy to let at the end of the interview, see caption at bottom of this table.
E3. Where redevelopment has taken place, is there housing, services (both shops, bars and social/ health facilities) or public spaces that you or your family benefit from?	D: There's room for 4 shops at Millennium Quays, one is an estate agent, one is a news agent, one's a digital TV seller and the other one's derelict. The newsagent is quite useful... I've noticed on all the other developments there's loads of shops and bars.. that go with them GB: Do you think there should be something like that, or is there enough in the wider Deptford area D: yeah, there's probably enough in Greenwich. There is a pub right next to Millennium Quay but it's like, a locals pub. There's a, sort of, barrier there.	R: The only facilities we have on the site are a small number of shops. Half of them are empty because... it's some ridiculous planning requirement that you put 6 shops on a development this size... just because you're meant to provide new services with a development. But there's no need for shops like that these days. You can't invent a community by providing shop units. So we have one newsagent... one's an estate agent... and the others are businesses that have nothing to do with us, they're satellite repair companies and stuff like that... and to be perfectly honest it's completely pointless and we now have empty shop units'
SECTION F		
F1. Ask a question about employment and changes to the working environment in the area – tailor to respondent. Where do people work / do you have to travel out of the area to work? Are there local employment opportunities? How has this changed over time?	D: A lot of people like students work, that sort of employment, but there's not that many opportunities. There's probably more in Greenwich' D: Yes, definitely... Millennium Quays was the first redevelopment in the area, I think it was completed in 1999. And before that it was run down, there was an old power station, and at that time it was really working class, a lot of unemployment, nowadays there's a lot of new people moved in, more middle class, so it's a completely different population	R: Very few I should imagine. A small number of shops and businesses...but the majority of people who live here work in the centre of London I should imagine
F2. In terms of a number of factors, how would you describe the area now and 10-15 years ago? i. Local character	D: There was a local character because everything was a bit run down before, and now there's new things popping up. But it's a bit disparate now, I don't think there's a unified character	R: I argue that it's improved, I wasn't here 15 years ago, but I would rather have these houses here than some crumbling old power station... but there are people who are complaining about knocking down of these various wharves along the river, frankly I would rather knock them down and build houses than have some crumbling old wharf, that no one ever looks after. I'm all for preserving some buildings, but not the extent of preserving it for the sake of it... because it's just unuseable and uneconomic to use. So I would say building along the river is a good thing, but obviously there needs to be some control to ensure that it's done properly'
ii. Sense of community	D: Not strong. There probably was a sense of community... before all the regeneration happened. But that probably got broken down, not by the regeneration, but because a lot of the	R: Well there wasn't one here before we moved in because there was nothing here. If you're talking about the wider community I'm not entirely convinced there was much of a

	industries all closed down, unemployment probably would've broken it. But that's probably further back, probably about 30 years.	community before or now... I think people are very secular and live in their own little areas and their own little groups if professionals or whatever... I don't think there is a wider community in that sense
iii. Quality of environment (eg open space, streets, public areas etc)	D: It's probably got a bit better. Laban's got a good bit of open space, and there's a couple of tiny open spaces within Millennium Quay itself	R: There's very little open space on this side of London, and compared to West London, where's there's an awful lot more parks... in East London because of it's more industrial background..there's obviously Greenwich Park, and the river frontage areas, there's very few large areas that are open in this area R: The general area around here... it's dirty..but that's because the Council don't manage their cleaners properly. The streets are not kept clean
iv. Quality of housing	D: 'Well, its gone up, it's a different lifestyle now' Talks about improvements to Council estates, both the Pepys and one 'further towards Greenwich' which has been held up as a model standard... so that's higher quality'	R: Well that must've improved...there's a lot of new housing going up. Quality is a difficult one because a lot of what's being built is built badly so what tends to be built nowadays is quick build... so the quality is not that good, it won't last as long as the old houses. Unless you have somebody driving it and actually bringing it up to specification
vii. Quality of services (eg health, education, community services)	D: I think with one of those section 106 agreements... I think a GP centre popped up right by Millennium Quays. So that would be an improvement for local health services in the area, and the rest of services I haven't really had any experiences so I don't really know.	R: yes there are. I don't think that's changed very much... There are some in Greenwich town centre but I don't think that's changed a great deal
iv. Local employment opportunities	D: Compared to when it was an industrial area, it's declined... but it's more a reflection of general economic conditions, but I think now it's probably easier to get a job than it was	
v. General satisfaction with the area	D: I think it's good. I like the area, there's always something to do. I think it's going in a good direction regeneration- wise. I'm quite happy.	R: I'm satisfied with it because I helped make it a satisfactory area, not because it was before we moved in. I think the Council failed dismally in their other remit which is to ensure that properties are built properly... but the building control here was shocking... we've done our best to make up for the deficiencies of the Council and the developer
ix. Anything else you would like to comment on?	Believes market has provided more affordable housing within the private element of the development (he's not aware of actual affordable element, though it turns out from interview with Richard that there is) –with the posh river view flats and the cheaper ones behind them	R (continuing from point v.)... for example the roads, we have to pay for maintenance of these roads... The reason is that they were not built to an adoptable standard, there's not sufficient lighting or quality of roadway for the Council to consider adopting the roads. That should never have happened. The Council should have enforced proper lighting. Just like they would in a Council street, they should enforce that here

F3.i. Do you feel welcome in new places (eg public space, cafes, bars etc) created with new development?	D: The newsagent is quite useful... I've noticed on all the other developments there's loads of shops and bars.. that go with them GB: Do you think there should be something like that, or is there enough in the wider Deptford area D: yeah, there's probably enough in Greenwich. There is a pub right next to Millennium Quay but it's like, a locals pub. There's a, sort of, barrier there.	GB: You know there's the Thames Path and the new public area at the front, do you use that area often and do you think it's used by other people? R: I use it occasionally... some people use it walking their dogs, other people use it to go fishing, other people sit and throw stuff around. GB: And do you get the feeling that people from the wider area use it, or is it mainly people who live on this development. R: I know it's not just people living on the development, because I know some of the issues we have with people who do use it. We have some difficulty with some youths coming down there... Greenwich has a no drinking policy in the town centre, so all that does is effectively displace them outside that area...
F3.II. Do your children use these spaces? Do you think they feel welcome there?		
F4. How long do you plan to stay in the area?	D: For the foreseeable future yeah... I can't plan that far ahead but there's no reason to go'	R: I imagine I'll be here for another 5 or 10 years

Further useful parts of interviews

Richard

R: 'there are 3 daft planning rules that always apply to things these days. One is some obsession with providing some element of shops or commercial within a development which is not necessarily needed or appropriate.... Current regulations are about half a space per property, which is not sufficient, and you can't stop people having cars just by not providing spaces, and that's some stupid left wing daft planning idea. People will have cars and they'll park them in other places... so it means people in other developments are coming and parking here, so we had to spend money setting up an anti-parking scheme because the Council's stupid parking scheme won't allow a sensible amount of parking elsewhere....and the third idea is this idea that you should try to mix affordable housing with this sort of development. We've been having an argument with the Council about a gate. (Points out on a map the affordable housing element, built by the developer) 'This is where all the problem residents in the area end up, if you go and visit, it's like something out of Hyacinth Bucket's unfortunate sister's... there's car's in the driveway all broken up... and everything that's stolen from here (points to private area of estate on map) pretty much ends up here (points to affordable element of estate on map)... we just go round here and find it. Now the Council is saying we can't close this gate, because in their view we can't create gated communities. I don't don't want a gated community, because I think that's wrong, but we have to protect ourselves. You can't force people to mix just by putting them next to each other. It doesn't work... it's nonsense'

GB: So do these people get access there?

R: Well they used to climb over the walls until we put anti-climb paint on it. We closed off this entrance which is our entrance to close off... this is the river walkway which we can't close, we're not allowed to close that... we want to close this off... because by coming through they see things on their way through and think we'll take that... so that gate doesn't benefit anybody. And the police complain, because the Council insist on having everything open, with all these little alleyways... and then they can't catch them [criminals etc]. The police should be able to corner them, that's planning stupidity'

R: When you get a large number of properties that are bought as buy to let, the owners of those properties have no sense of community because they don't live in them. It causes two problems, firstly, there is plenty of housing in this country is everyone only had one house. The reason why the property values are so high

is that there's a load of people out there buying four or five houses. Which means there's a shortage of houses which means prices go up. So the buy to let market has caused a shortage of housing for people trying to get on the ladder. And secondly it's caused a problem because they don't form any part of the community'... (talks about maintenance of gardens) 'and the ones that are buy to let, they never bother, because they don't live there'.. 'and we have a fairly high proportion of buy to let, and also it causes us more problems from a management point of view because the tenants move in and out more often and damage the walls more often (and mentions noise and disruption), so actually buy to let costs the wider estate more money... we've got a huge number of problems because of that market, and we haven't got to the stage of considering of charging the properties that are buy to let more service charges, because we think it's equitable to do so. It's difficult from the legal point of view, that's the biggest stumbling block... that's the equitable thing to do, because they're being subsidised by everybody else'

Disclaimer

Please note that all views collated within this Appendix are the sole opinions of respondents interviewed.

6b

Notes from conversation with Louise Holland, Planning (Development Control) Officer, Lewisham Council

12:15, 23/07/07

Pepys Estate Action Programme – large scale improvement on estate. Coming to the end of at the moment, after nearly a decade. Final stages being implemented.

Aragon Tower sell off – motive for money, as the Estates Action funding pot ran out. Used to fund the rest of the regeneration/ improvements on estate.

Private developer (Barratt Homes) painting redevelopment of The Tower as the beginning of the area's regeneration, when it's been going for 10+ years.

Housing Association – Hyde –first block completed July 2004.

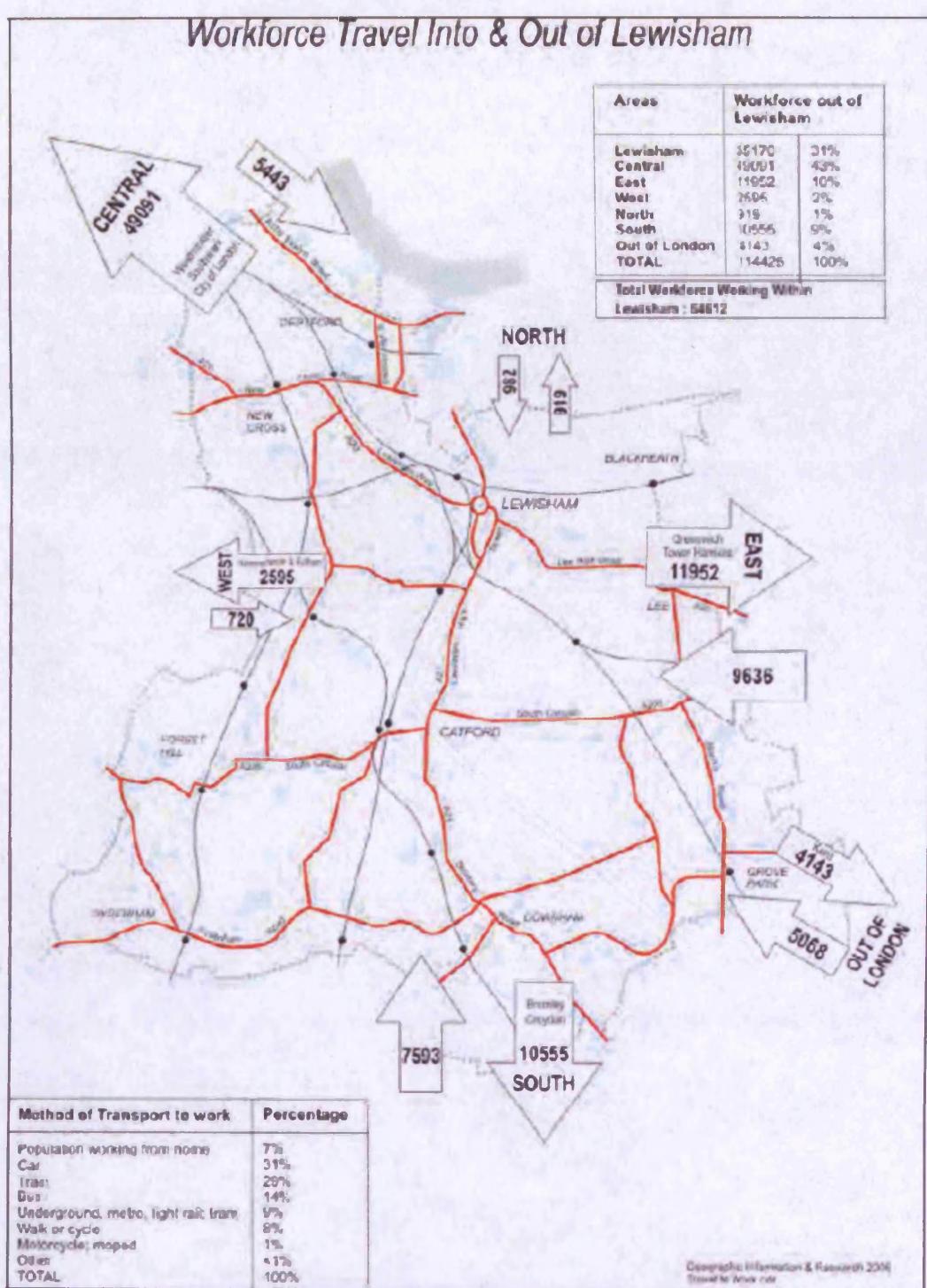
Redesignation of many employment sites to mixed uses, including housing. Council wants to see significant improvements to connections and physical integration of sites in Deptford, which is crossected by train lines. This is part of Deptford New Cross growth corridor, outlined in Core Strategy (Preferred Options) and Development Policies and Site Allocations.

- a North Lewisham Masterplan will provide further detail to this, and is currently in draft form and will be worked up by consultants.

Appendix 7

Workforce Flows Map in London Borough of Lewisham

Figure 2: Workforce Travel Into and Out of Lewisham



(Lewisham Council, 2007)

Appendix 3

Linking Study Objectives and Interview Questions

Interview Questions

These questions give a broad structure to the interview, but are flexible in how they will be asked. They are not meant to be a rigidly stuck to.

Black text – **objective/ sub-objective**

Blue text – **questions for interview**

Introduction to the study –aims, use of responses and confidentiality

Preliminary questions:

How long have you lived in the area?

Where did you live before?

Family (children/ parents) - where do they live? (If relevant to respondent)

Objective 1. What role do residents play and what influence have they had in the regeneration of urban waterfronts?

Sub-objectives:

Do local residents feel they have been involved, or sufficiently involved, in waterfront redevelopment?

Question A

NB This question is focused towards residents who have lived in the area for a long time

A. Have you, or a group or individual representing you, been consulted or asked your opinion before major new developments are built in the area?

If yes: A1. do you think your views have been given consideration in the development process.

If no: A2. i. Would you like to have been involved in the process?

ii. Do you think your/ general community involvement would have made a difference?

Alternative for new residents

A. Since moving to the area, have you (or a group or individual representing you) been consulted or asked your opinion about any major new developments planned for the future?

If yes: A1. do you think your views have been, or will be, given consideration in the development process.