

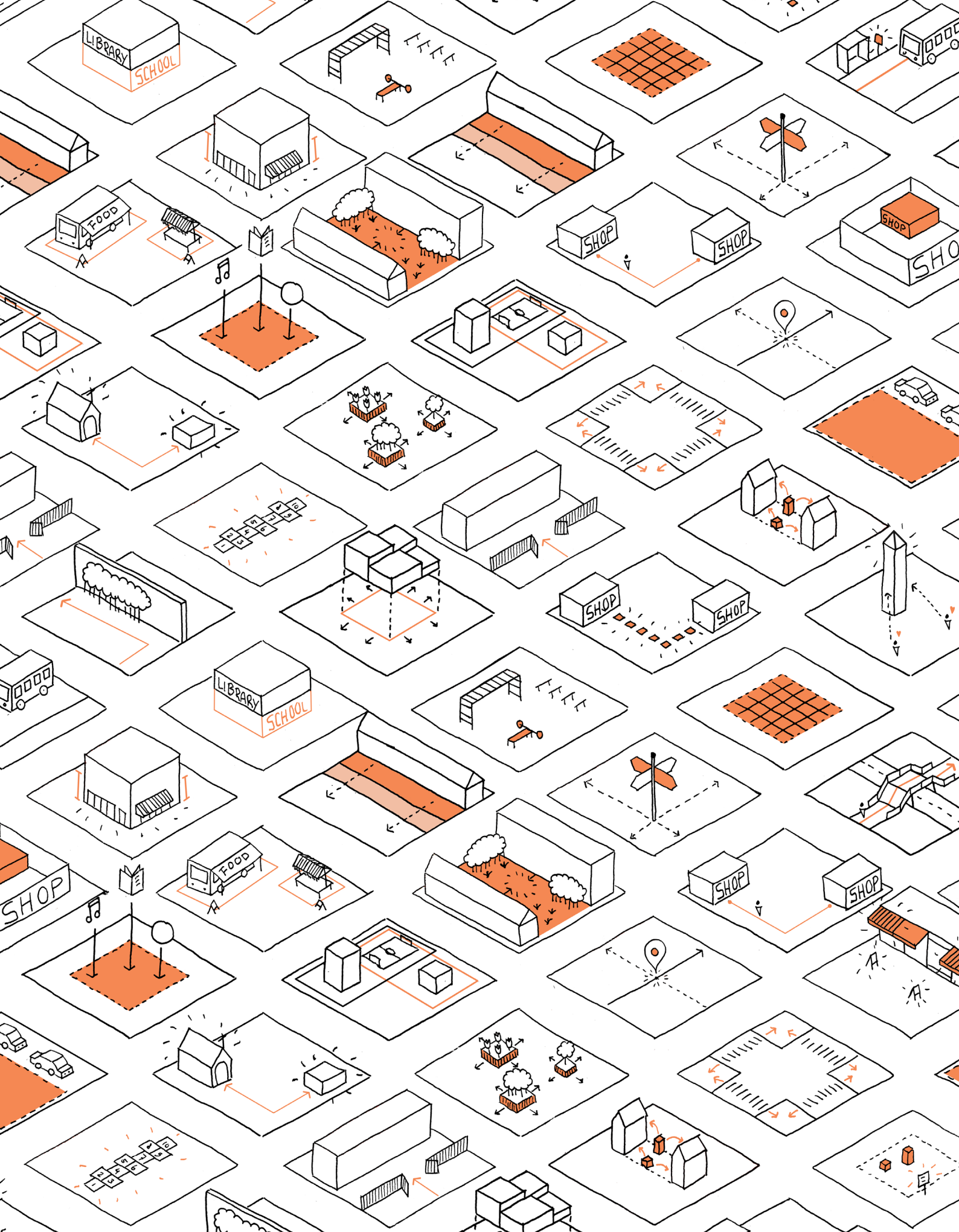


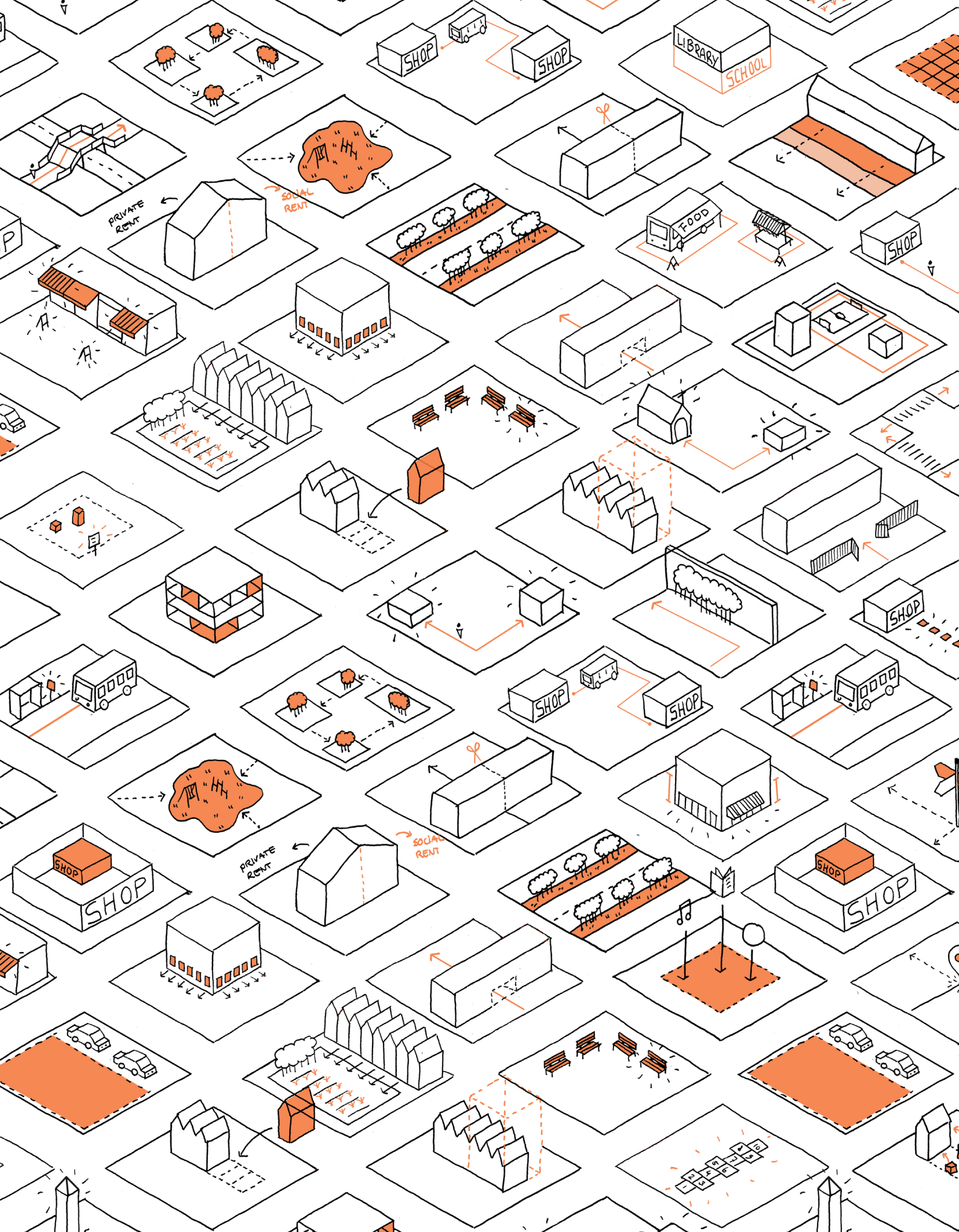
ROADMAP TOWARDS

# INCLUSIV[C]ITY

AN EXPLORATION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING  
TO MINIMIZE PROCESSES OF DISPLACEMENT IN GENTRIFIED LONDON

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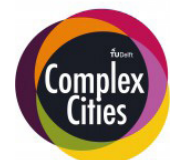
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After all the blood, sweat and tears, I am more than proud on myself and happy to have this in the pocket. Now it is finally time to get a job; to earn money for all the work I am going to do and to enjoy the weekends and holidays without studying.





## **Abstract**

Due to its global economic attractive power, London is growing as never before. And although the divided and global city strives to develop towards more inclusivity in the city, the growth, revitalisation, redevelopment and renewal in London currently takes forms of exclusive urban development, better known as gentrification. This gentrification is initiated and facilitated by the private developer and the local authority and causes indirect displaces of the original residents out of their neighbourhood and out of the city.

In order to cope with displacement, this research aims towards more inclusivity in London and explores how this inclusive urban development can be supported in the London urban planning system. The research leaves the complex and solid planning system of the UK intact and adapts on the existing system by implementing the strategy towards inclusive urban development in the form of policies via one of the actors; the civil society.

Since the introduction of the Localism Act of 2011, the civil society has the ability to gain more power and influence in the urban planning process thanks to Neighbourhood Planning. This Neighbourhood Planning approach is explored as tool to implement inclusive urban development in the London planning system resulting in an inclusive derivative of the Neighbourhood Plan; the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan stimulate and encourage inclusive urban development in areas with high risk of gentrification and comes with a an 'Inclusive Pattern' toolbox and a clear and understandable 'step-by-step roadmap' to make a faster and stronger Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan (see booklet B).

This Inclusive Plan will contribute to a city where both new and original residents will benefit from the urban development in the global city and will lead towards a more inclusive city; an inclusiv(c)ity



## Table of contents: Booklet A

### 1. Introduction

p.12

### 2. Problem field

p.20

### 3. Methodology

p.28

### 4. Gentrification, displacement and inclusivity

p.38

### 5. Gentrification in London

p.52

### 6. Urban planning in london

p.86

### 7. [Inclusive] Neighbourhood Planning

p.106

### 8. Conclusion & Reflection

p.136

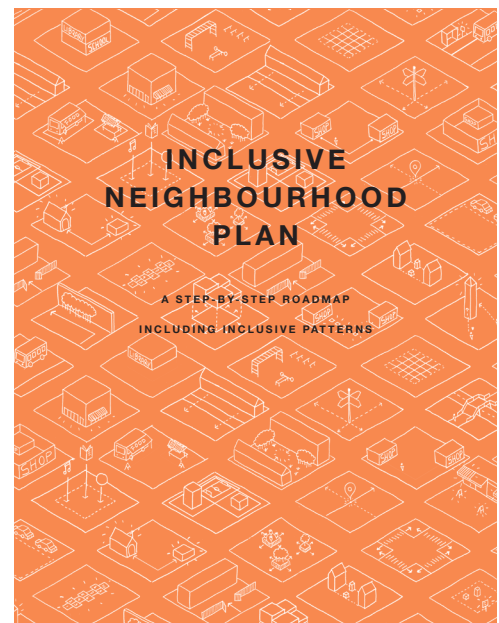
### 9. References

p.148

### 10. Appendix

p.156

*"For more information about the end result/the design, see booklet A"*



1.

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Introduction

Worldwide there is a lot of pressure on cities. Due to trends of globalisation and the trend to live in urban environment, cities are attractive as never before. Cities need to grow and develop in order to come close to meet the needs of the growing population. But with divided global cities with clear divisions in social classes (Sassen, 1996), it is important to meet the needs of all these different social classes.

Growth, revitalisation, redevelopment and renewal in cities often takes forms of gentrification. Gentrification, and especially new build gentrification, is exclusive urban development led by the state and the private developer. Once the process of gentrification takes place, it will soon also influence adjacent/surrounding neighbourhoods. The exclusive housing, service and public space in the neighbourhoods will mainly attract socio-economic high population classes and, at the same time, displace the original lower socio-economic classes out of the neighbourhood. So, these processes of gentrification stimulate exclusive urban development in the city, and at the same time enhance socio-economic and spatial inequality in the global city. Cities, and especially attractive city centres, are becoming elite spaces since they are not affordable for every individual in the city and since city development mainly meet the demands of the higher socio-economic classes. Socio-economic lower population groups are or feel forced to move out to the edges of the city or even beyond. The process of gentrification and exclusive urban development causes a lack of social sustainability in the social unequal city and can be minimised and prevented by inclusive urban development.

In order to cope with this exclusive urban development caused by gentrification, this research aims towards more inclusivity in London and explores how this inclusive urban development can be supported in the current London urban planning system. In this thesis, the Neighbourhood planning approach will be used as a tool to implement the strategy towards more inclusive urban development. This results in a derivative of the original Neighbourhood Plan; the Inclusive Neighbourhood plan. Through designing the Neighbourhood Plan more towards inclusive urban development and focus especially on neighbourhoods in London with high risk of gentrification, exclusive urban development led by the state and the private developer can be influenced towards more inclusivity.

By aiming towards inclusive urban development, the process of displacement led by new build gentrification should be minimised and both new and original residents will benefit from the urban development in the global city London.

## 1.2 Reading guide

This thesis consist of two booklets (see figure 1). These booklets complementing each but can also be read individually. Booklet A describes in detail the research, the methodology of the research and the way how Neighbourhood planning is used as a tool to implement inclusive urban development. This booklet can be recognised by the grey cover, the BLUE line on the right side of the page and the formal, empirical language. Booklet B can be seen as the design, the detailed result of the research. This booklet can be recognised by the orange cover, the ORANGE line on the right side of the pages and the more informal language.



Figure 1: Booklet A (left) Roadmap towards inclusivity and Booklet B (right) Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan  
Source: image by author

### **Booklet A; Roadmap towards inclusiv(c)ity**

The first booklet has in total nine chapters which can be subdivided in 2 main sections (see figure 2). First, the introducing chapters will give more information about the problem of the project, the location of the project (chapter 2), the aim of the project and the methods used in order to come to the result (chapter 3). These three introduction chapters are the backbone of the project and will give a good overview of the research.

- Section 1: Chapter 4, 5 and 6

The first section is the analytical part of the thesis and consist the theoretical analyses, spatial analyses and actor analyses.

The first chapter, (chapter 4; Gentrification, displacement and inclusivity) explores the theories of the concepts gentrification, displacement and inclusivity mainly based on theories of Lees, Atkinson and Davidson.

The indicators of the gentrification process, together with the definition and explanation the multiple types of displacement will result in an explanation of the three key elements of indirect displacement: housing, services and public space.

At the same time, inclusive urban development is mentioned and explained in order to minimise the exclusive characteristics of urban development with new build gentrification with accessibility, diversity and community as three main pillars of inclusivity. This results in a 3 x 3 scheme where the elements of displacement and the pillars of inclusivity will be combined and will form nine patterns towards inclusive urban development. This 3 x 3 scheme with the nine inclusive patterns will come back in the booklet B; Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan and will be the translation from literature of inclusivity to spatial interventions towards inclusivity. In chapter 5; Gentrification in London, the indicators of gentrification mentioned in the theoretical chapter will be identified for the case London in order to find out how and where the processes of gentrifications will take place in London. This will be done by analysing and combining the deprivation map of London with the map of Opportunity Areas. This results in one map of London with an overview of all the neighbourhoods in London with high risk of gentrification now or in the near future. On this map the ratio neighbourhoods risking processes of gentrification of the total surface of the borough is represented. Since almost half of the London Borough Tower Hamlets total neighbourhoods are risking gentrification, the social and spatial consequences of the gentrification process will be illustrated more in detail for this borough.



After spatial and literature research have investigated displacement of new-build gentrification as common and urgent problem in London and that inclusive urban development can help with mitigating and minimising these processes of gentrification, this research will further explore how the aim and strategy towards inclusive urban development can be implemented in the existing planning system of London. Therefore, it is first necessary to understand the planning system with the actors in London.

In Chapter 6; Urban planning in London, the different actors within the past and current urban planning system of London will be analysed per actor. This actor analyses explores how the current planning system of London can be used to implement the strategy towards inclusive urban development. By analysing the power and the instruments of the actors through time, the Neighbourhood Plan of the community appears to be a powerful planning document in the current planning system. Therefore, this thesis is an explorative research exploring how Neighbourhood Planning can help to implement inclusive urban development within the planning system of London.

- Section 2: Chapter 7

The results derived from the theoretical analyses, spatial analyses and the actor analyses will lead to the inclusive strategy.

In this section, both the original Neighbourhood Plan and the new inclusive strategy on the Neighbourhood Plan will be described in the same order. In this way both Plans can be compared easily.

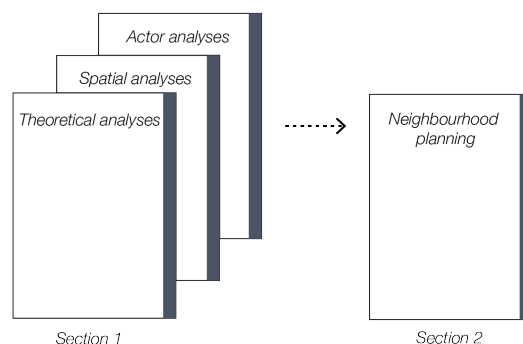


Figure 2: The different sections of Booklet A; roadmap towards inclusivity  
Source: image by author

So, although Neighbourhood Planning is key in this research, it will be mentioned halfway the thesis since it results to be an efficient way to implement inclusive urban development in the London planning system without completely changing the system. Within this chapter first the characteristics of the Neighbourhood Plan will be described, followed by the different stages and steps of the process.

Chapter 7; [Inclusive] Neighbourhood Planning starts with an analysis on the characteristics of the original Neighbourhood Plan together with the different stages which need to be followed to produce the Neighbourhood Plan. Also, the advantages and disadvantages of the original Neighbourhood Plan will be explored with the help of a SWOT analysis. This will lead to multiple Opportunities how the Neighbourhood should be improved in order to be used as an instrument towards inclusive urban development. Next, the inclusive strategy of the Neighbourhood Plan will be introduced: The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan is especially designed for the neighbourhoods in London risking gentrification.

The chapter ends with a description of the characteristics of the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan together with the different stages which need to be followed to produce the Inclusive Plan.

All these chapters of the first Booklet A will be concluded and reflected in chapter 8; Conclusion and Reflection and will give a final answer to the main research question: Within the London planning system, how can Neighbourhood Planning support inclusive urban development in order to minimise the processes of gentrification-led-displacement?

Further elaboration of this Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan will be described in Booklet B.

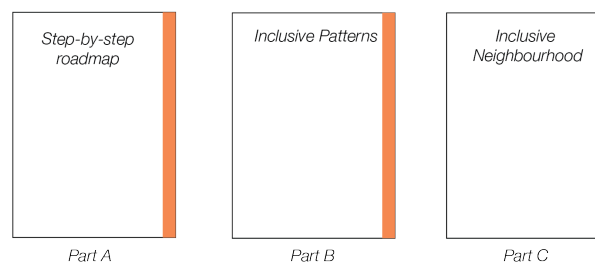


Figure 3: The different parts of Booklet B; Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan  
Source: image by author

### **Booklet B: Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan**

The second booklet is the result of the research within booklet A and at the same time a self-contained document for communities willing to make an Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. Since this booklet is intended for the residents, it is written in clear, simple and informal language and therefore usable and understandable for communities. This booklet consists of 3 main parts (see figure 3).

- Part A: The step-by-step roadmap

This detailed step-by-step guide shows the residents of a neighbourhood how to produce the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. This roadmap describes the actions to be taking within six different stages, gives useful tips and demonstrates the steps on a case study to better explain and validate the process. The specific case study is located in one of London's Boroughs with a high percentage of neighbourhoods facing processes of gentrification; Lansbury within Tower Hamlets. This borough is the same borough used in the spatial analyses of Booklet A (see chapter 5; Gentrification in London) to illustrate the effects of gentrification.

- Part B: Inclusive patterns

The inclusive patterns are a set of tools which can help by producing the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. The patterns include the knowledge of the urban planner and derive from the 3 x 3 of the theoretical analyses of Booklet A (see chapter 4; Gentrification, displacement and inclusivity). In total there will be nine patterns. Each pattern will be represented in the same way, based on theoretical, spatial and policy elements. These inclusive patterns complementing each but can also be read individually.

- Part C: Inclusive neighbourhood results

So, the step-by-step roadmap, together with the Inclusive Patterns will make it easier and more fun for residents to make a strong Neighbourhood Plan. The positive spatial consequences of implementing the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan in the case of Lansbury will be clearly visible.

**2.**

# PROBLEM FIELD

## **2.1 Gentrification in global cities**

### **Behind the literature**

The global economic shift from an industrial manufacturing economy to the service and knowledge industry in the former decade (since 1980's) has emphasize the socio-economic inequalities in the city. Thanks to this economic restructuring, cities enlarged the scale of their network from national to international scale (Abrahamson, 2004). The nodes within this global network of power, competition, production, market organization, dominance and influence are better known as global cities (Taylor, 2000). For global cities it is important to attract high skilled population groups in order to fulfil the workforce in the service and knowledge industry and to preserve their position as strong hub in the global network (Simon, 1995). The growth of the wealthy companies and high skilled workforce also needs growth of elementary occupations and is causing divisions in social classes (Sassen, 1996). The new labour patterns "with growth at the top end of the labour market fueling growth at the bottom" is especially visible in global cities and resulting in a clear division between higher and lower socio-economic population living in the city. This makes global cities a cause and contributor of socio-economic polarization at the same time (Knox & Pinch, 2014).

### **From classic gentrification..**

Gentrification is often considered as the spatial expression of these socio economic class inequalities (Hochstenbach, 2017). Gentrification describes the process of renovation, redevelopment and renewal of run-down inner city environment through an influx of more affluent persons (Knox & Pinch, 2014). This process is sensitive to the context and has changed over time into different forms of gentrification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). The different forms of gentrification can be classified as classic gentrification, state led gentrification and new-build gentrification. The development of the gentrification through time is a mutation of the concept; although new forms of gentrification occurred, they did not replace the earlier forms of gentrification.

The first form of gentrification occurred between 1950 and 1973 and is better known as classic gentrification. In 1964 British sociologist Ruth Glass (Glass, 1964) introduced the concept of classic gentrification for the first time in London by observing that inhabitants of the higher socio-economic classes bought residential existing properties in the disadvantaged London East End. Classic gentrification mainly took place in industrial city centres facing a lot of social problems and dealing with bad living environment quality. Classic gentrification derived from

residents who bought single properties in deprived neighborhoods and renovated it to their own needs. So, this contains mainly renovation of the current housing stock in a neighbourhood. Classic gentrification is characterised by its bottom up, small scale, sporadic urban development and only concerned housing. These very first forms of gentrification were minimally funded by the state and because of the high and unknown financial risk, the private sector was not yet economically involved in this bottom up process of neighbourhood revitalization. The process of classic gentrification is characterized by four successive stages of development (see figure 4) and once the first stage is reached, the whole area will rapidly be gentrified (Peterson, 2001).

Classic gentrification mutated in the post-recession period (1980-1990) into State-led gentrification. While classic gentrification was characterised by a small-scale bottom approach led by the residents, state led gentrification is well known for its large-scale, top down approach derived by the state. Local economic redevelopment strategies of this state led gentrification included besides housing also cultural and commercial strategies (Aalbers, 2019).

This form of gentrification was often introduced by local and national governments. But due to the laissez faire attitude of the government, the gentrification process expanded with a more aggressively form of action mainly by private developers. The local state was involved indirectly and played a passive but powerful role through public private partnerships. The private developer increased power due to the increasing participation of the global and the financial system of city development. (Bounds & Morris, 2006). With this pro-gentrification social mix policies, the government stimulated people from higher socio-economic groups to settle down in deprived areas by providing good living conditions for this aimed target groups.

### **... to new build gentrification**

A new form of gentrification, new build gentrification emerged around 1995 (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). New build gentrification differs to the second and first forms of gentrification on multiple levels. The national state is increasingly using their financial power to assist private developers to enable profit in underdeveloped and deprived areas. After several years of laissez-faire attitude and only providing subsidies, the government now takes a more active role in the gentrification process. With private developers, property developers, promoters and investors as initiators (Rérat, Söderström, Piguët, & Besson, 2010) and the federal and government as facilitators. Due to this growing influence of the state in the gentrification process, the concept of gentrification gained globally ground and acceptance. Whereas the

classic gentrification and state-led gentrification focussed mainly on the transition of the existing housing stock by renovation and deconversion, new build gentrification increasingly concentrates on the redevelopment of housing on vacant land.

Currently the most common form of gentrification is new build gentrification or an intensification and extension of this form. This new build gentrification (either it is a derivative or a new form) is characterized by financial led capitalism of the urban materialization. Central in this is the leading role of the state in financializing gentrification through mortgages, the rise of corporate landlords, platforms such as Airbnb and the philosophy of wealthier elites of the city as safe profit investment. In the current gentrification process, real estate is increasingly seen as a just another way of asset with urban development controlled by financial institutions. In this wave, housing is intensive financialized and political movement stimulate processes of gentrification; third wave gentrification plus the financialization of the housing market (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2007).

The process of new build gentrification can also be classified in multiple stages (see figure 4). And just like classic gentrification, when the first stage is reached, the whole surrounding neighbourhoods will rapidly be gentrified. New build development often take place on vacant plots or industrial wasteland but also includes large scale demolition and reconstruction developments (Rérat et al., 2010)

In the initial stage of new build gentrification, the new development on brownfield and/or vacant land will take place. The construction of the new apartments and commerce is introduced by the government and initiated by the private developer. This redevelopment of former brownfield with luxurious apartments will attract mainly the upper and upper middle class. During this stage, there is a social mix of new residents in the developed land and original residents in the surrounding neighbourhoods. The revitalization of the site will make the surrounding neighbourhoods more attractive to live in and will increase the surrounding housing prices due to the inflation of land and property value. While the gentrification started with the regeneration of the former brownfield, the process has spread out to adjacent areas. What started as a project to promote social mix in the neighbourhood, ended in social monotony of mainly upper middle-class households.

The occurrence of new build gentrification does not exclude and replace the existence of classic and state led gentrification (Davidson & Lees, 2005). But with new build gentrification as the most common form of gentrification in the current city development, the focus of this



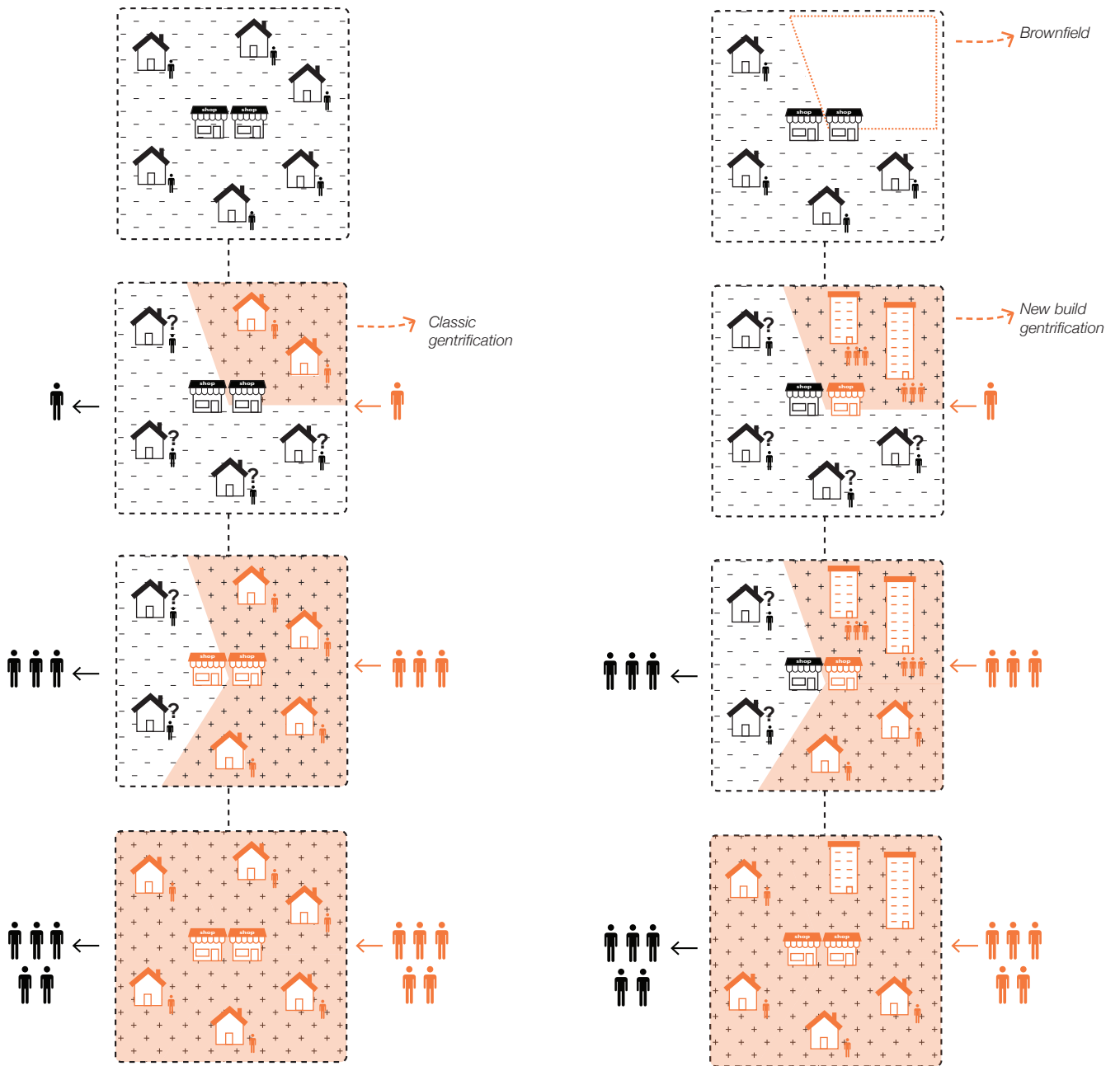


Figure 4: The different stages of classic gentrification (left) and new build gentrification (right)  
 Source: image by author

thesis will be on new build gentrification.

Whereas classic gentrification is a more dynamic process of urban regeneration, new-build gentrification has much more impact on the interaction of class, capital and the newbuild environment of the different neighbourhoods (Davidson, 2008).

The scale and speed of neighbourhood transformation due to new-build gentrification is immense compared to the former forms of gentrification. The construction of high-density, large scale, high rise, and monotone developments adds a very divergent social and built environment to the neighbourhood and is challenging to enhance the balance of social mix in the neighbourhood. The new build gentrification areas are mainly focused on the habitus of the new gentrifiers and enhance the distinction between “them” and “us”(Davidson, 2010). Due to the exclusive characteristics of these new build gentrified neighbourhoods, the neighbourhood will only be affordable, available and accessible for the higher socio-economic population groups. With the new build gentrification as the process towards exclusive urban development the social and spatial inequalities in the city will be enhanced and even increased.

Literature of Slater emphasize the social aspects of gentrification. According to his work, gentrification refers to the class dimension of neighbourhood change with a clear shift in housing class, instead of a shift in housing stock (Slater et al., 2004). This shift in housing class includes an inflow of more affluent people and an outflow of residents with a lower socio-economic status to other areas of the city. This outflow is better known as displacement (Slater, 2006). According to research of Atkinson (2000a), displacement is a key link between gentrification and wider social-spatial inequalities in the city. Displacement caused by the process of gentrification (in this case new build gentrification) is called gentrification-led-displacement.

### **New build gentrification in London**

Current new build gentrification plays a major role in the urban development of London. Since the relocation of bigger harbour activities to outside the city, together with the decrease of the industrial economy, London has to deal with a lot of large scale vacant brownfield land. The redevelopment of these vacant areas into mixed used areas, for example London Docklands development and Thames Gateway Project, can be categorised as large scale state led and new build gentrification (Brownill, 1990).

Although the current mayor of London Sadiq Khan promotes inclusivity in the city by “planning of public space where everyone is welcome, where all Londoners can enjoy the opportunities the city provides” and ensures that “everyone is able to benefit from the developments London is going through...” (Greater London Authority, 2017c) And although he states the importance “to create a more equal, inclusive, integrated city – a city that works for all Londoners.” (Greater London Authority, 2018) “processes of new build gentrification are encouraged and still take place in London.

The exclusive characteristics of these redevelopment projects, predominantly developed for the higher socioeconomic population groups, will influence surrounding neighbourhoods and will generate the processes of displacement in London.

Due to these processes of gentrification-led-displacement, mainly the socio-economic higher population group will be attracted to the inner-city areas and the lower socio-economic residents will be excluded to outer London boroughs and even further edges of the city. If these developments continue the lower socioeconomic residents will be excluded from living in the city and London will be a city only for the elite.

## **2.2 Problem statement**

Just like in other global cities, also in London there is socio-economic inequality. In order to cope with this inequality, the Mayor of London strives to create a more inclusive city that works for all Londoners. However, with the processes of gentrification and especially new-build gentrification as the spatial expression of this inequality, the London planning system is facilitating and encouraging these exclusive forms of urban development. This exclusive urban development displaces original residents out of their neighbourhoods and excludes the lower socio-economic population groups from living in the city centre. If this continues, London will become a city only for the elite.

**3.**

# METHODOLOGY

## **Introduction**

This chapter will give more information about how the research will be performed. In this chapter the main research question and sub research questions of the thesis will be mentioned together with the methods used to answer these questions.

### **3.1 Aims and outcomes**

The aim of the thesis is to support inclusive urban development via Neighbourhood Planning in the London urban planning system. The inclusive strategy should be implemented in the existing planning system without completely changing the system. By aiming towards inclusive urban development, the process of displacement led by new build gentrification should be mitigated. With supporting inclusive urban development, this approach will contribute to a city where both new and original residents will benefit from the urban development in the global city London.

The thesis will aim to multiple outcomes

- Provide a map of areas in London with a high risk of gentrification-led-displacement.
- Create an inclusive strategy which can be implemented in the Neighbourhood Plan of London. Applying the strategy on the existing planning system in London ensures that the strategy is realistic and practicable in conservative London. This strategy should especially be developed for areas facing processes of gentrification-led-displacement.
- Create a pattern toolbox which represent the knowledge of an urban planner about inclusive urban development and will help the community by producing an Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan.
- Provide a roadmap especially for the community in gentrified areas, willing to make an inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. This roadmap, together with the pattern toolbox, will explain the actions of the production of the inclusive Neighbourhood Plan step-by-step.

### 3.2 Research questions

The central question of this thesis is:

***MQ: Within the London planning system, how can Neighbourhood Planning support inclusive urban development, in order to minimise the processes of gentrification-led-displacement.***

The main research question will be answered by in total four sub research questions.

*SQ 1: What are the characteristics of gentrification and how is gentrification related to inclusive urban development?*

The first research question will elaborate on the theoretical field of the subject gentrification, displacement and inclusive urban development. These are general theories and not yet within the context of London. The theories will be the foundation of the thesis and during the thesis there will be many references to the conclusion of this question.

*SQ 2: How and where are the processes of gentrification-led-displacement visible in London?*

This question will focus on spatial analysis of the problem and explores how the indicators of gentrification (SQ1) are visible in the specific context of London. There will be a zoom in on one particular borough facing a lot of gentrification.

*SQ 3: What actors and instruments currently have planning authority in London, and what is the role of Neighbourhood Planning in London's planning system?*

The third research question investigates the characteristics of the planning system in London. First, all the different actors and their influence and power in this system will be analysed whereafter the focus will be on Neighbourhood Planning. Research question 4 elaborates more on Neighbourhood Planning as planning authority.

*SQ 4: How can the Neighbourhood Planning approach be used and improved to stimulate inclusive urban development in London?*

In question four, Neighbourhood Planning will be explored as tool to implement inclusive urban development (SQ1) on specific gentrification areas (SQ2) within the existing planning system (SQ3). The result is a strategy towards more inclusivity including multiple inclusive patterns and a step-by-step roadmap. In order to validate the inclusive strategy, the roadmap and the patterns will be applied on a specific area facing gentrification (SQ2).

### 3.3 Research methodology

The research will include multiple sub research questions that supplement each other in order to contribute to answering the main research question. Each research question is achieved by applying one or multiple methods (see figure 5) and represents a step in the process (see figure 6). The used methods to answer the sub research questions will be explained and illustrated in this chapter. Figure 5 shows the methods used per question, the importance of using that method in order to answer the question and on which scale the method is used.

- Step 1: Literature analysis

The first step of the research is the theoretical frame of the project (see figure 6) and will be the literature foundation of the whole research. During the thesis, there will be often referred back to the theories and statements from this first step. So, this theoretical chapter is no self-contained chapter but is strong related with the rest of the research.

The main method used to answer the first sub research question is a qualitative literature research. Reviewing the literature is necessary to get an objective sense of the concepts and to link these different concepts with each other. The main search terms are gentrification, displacement, inclusivity and multiple small variations on these terms. Since authors as Davidson, Lees, Atkinson and Slater have written frequently about these concepts, their researches and results will be used often during this research and will be very important in this literature framework. Another method that will be used to understand the relevance of gentrification are visiting multiple public debates.

- 09-04-2019: "R'dam Nieuwe Watskebuurt!?" with among others: Mattijs van Ruijven, Jeroen van Haaren, Nikki van Dijk and Marcus Fernhout. About how the municipality in Rotterdam used the attractive power of creative businesses to revitalise disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

- 19-06-2019: "We Make The City; a home for everybody" with among others Saskia Sassen, Cody Hochstenbach, Laurie McFarlane and Alfredo Brillembourg. About how the processes of gentrification are visible worldwide and about how to secure housing as a human right.

- 01-07-2019: "Vers Beton Live: Beleggers op de woningmarkt" with among others: Wouter Vanstiphout, Bas Kurvers, Erik Braun and Rotterdamse Stadsdichter Dean Bowen. About how housing association in cooperation with the municipality can battle the trend of housing as commodity.

Answering the first sub research question in this step will give multiple definitions, characteristics and indicators of gentrification and explains how gentrification is linked to the concept





Figure 5: Conceptual framework of the research  
 Source: image by author

of displacement. Also, the main elements of gentrification will be explained while emphasizing the fact that the processes of displacement can be minimised by focussing more on inclusivity. Besides the elements of gentrification, also the perspectives of inclusive urban development will be explained and set-out in a clear scheme. We look back to this scheme multiple times throughout the report, especially for the inclusive patterns of sub research question 4. At the end of the first step, a part of the main research question can already be answered since the theoretical framework answers the question how gentrification-led-displacement can be minimised by a more inclusive urban development approach. This is a general answer and is not specific for the case of London. The next challenge is to find a way, how these theories can be applied to the case of London.

- Step 2: Spatial analysis

Sub research question 2 explores the appearances of the process of gentrification-led-displacement in London based on social and spatial characteristics. Since a big part of the literature is about gentrification in London, a literature review of gentrification in the case of London will help to illustrate these gentrification processes. A lot of these theoretical papers will cover also the history of gentrification processes. Historical analysis will be used to understand the existence and the development of the processes of gentrification and gentrification-led-displacement.

Besides historical analysis about gentrification in London it is also important to discover the processes of gentrification based on own data and on-site research. London is a city well known for its excellent free and open data portal [data.london.gov.uk](http://data.london.gov.uk). With more than 700 datasets covering a lot of different themes, data analyses per borough and ward will be illustrated in maps using the Geographic Information System QGIS. The indicators of gentrification (SQ1 in step 1) will be analysed and mapped on the scale of London and will provide a new method of how gentrification in London can be mapped. This will lead to a focus borough Tower Hamlets, where gentrification is clearly visible.

The literature review, historical analyses and data analyses will be supplemented by subjective, personal on-site observations. During a site visit from December 17th till the 19th 2019 all the different neighbourhoods of Tower Hamlets have been visited. The purpose of the field trip was to make photos and to get a better feeling of the build environment, public space and the people living in the neighbourhood. New regeneration sites along the Thames were visited in order trying to capture the different 'worlds' that arise with urban development.

- Step 3: Actor analysis

Sub research question 3 is part of the third step in the process and will cover governance analyses. The different actors with their instruments participating in the planning process in London will be explored, by doing an explorative actor analysis and a policy review. An overview of the powers and collaborations of current actors need to be given. In both London and the UK, it is important to understand the role of the different actors in the urban development process since spatial planning in the UK differs a lot from spatial planning in the native country. When trying to understand the role of different actors in the current planning system it is also important to understand the role and powers of the actors in the past. Interviews with experts in the UK planning system (Vincent Nadin and Erwin Heurkens) will help to get a clear overview of the historical and the current planning system. In this thesis we will focus on Neighbourhood Planning as the instrument with the most opportunities in gaining more power in the planning system in the UK.

The theoretical analysis of step 1, together with the spatial analysis of step 2 and actor analysis of step 3 will lead to a new strategy complementing the existing planning system. This new strategy will be explained in step 3 and will give answer to the fourth and last sub research question of the thesis.

- Step 4: Inclusive strategy

As visible in the figure, sub question 4 will be answered in as well the third as the fourth step of the research process (see figure 6).

In step 3, the Neighbourhood Plan will be analysed based on a strength, weaknesses, opportunity, treat analysis derived from reports and literature about reviewing Neighbourhood Planning in London. Since the outcome of this research is to create a new strategy of the Neighbourhood Plan, the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan, it is essential to understand what a Neighbourhood Plan is and how this planning document can be improved. For a better understanding of the Neighbourhood Plan, multiple plans of different boroughs will be reviewed, together with different critical papers about Neighbourhood Planning in the UK. The inclusive strategy of the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan is based on an improvement of the existing Neighbourhood Plan with a clear focus on inclusivity.

The Inclusive strategy is based on the existing planning system in London (SQ3, step 2), only applies on areas facing gentrification (SQ2, step 2) and contains inclusivity patterns. These patterns are tools towards more inclusivity and will simplify the process of the strategy. The

inclusivity patterns will result from the literature (SQ1, step 1), spatial implementation and policy review of the National Planning Policy Framework of the UK and the Mayor's London plan (SQ3, step 2).

- Step 5: Roadmap design

The last step will also help answering sub question 4. The main goal in this step is to create a roadmap which explains the process to produce an Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan more in detail and in a more informal way. This roadmap should encourage, support and help the residents of London producing the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan for their own neighbourhood. The step-by-step roadmap is besides a roadmap also a case study which functions as a demonstration and validation of the different stages of the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. The products of step 4 and step 5 could be taken out of the report and should be handed towards communities living in gentrification areas willing make and Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. In this way, step 5 is a result on all the sub research question mentioned before and will answer the main research question.

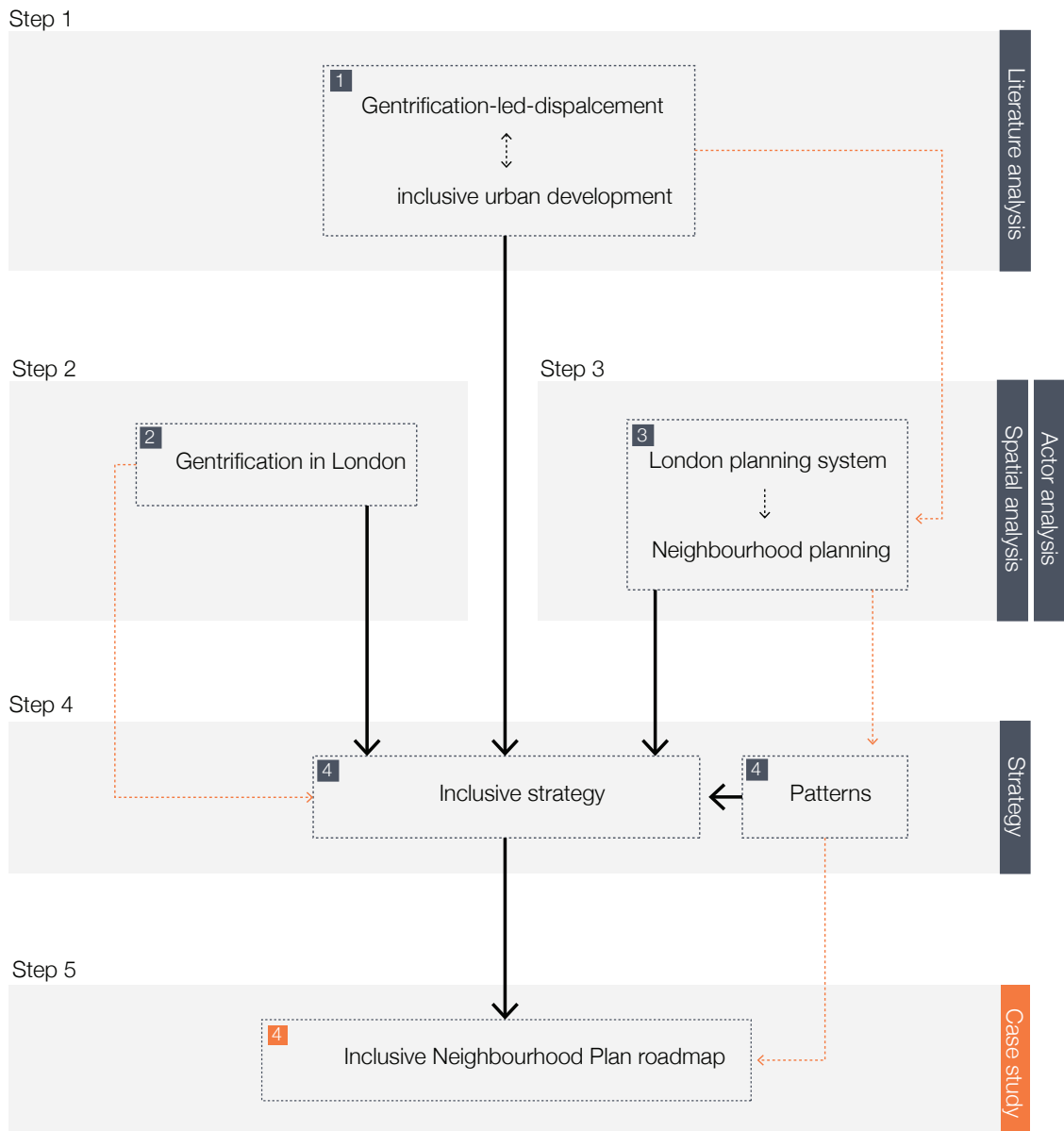


Figure 6: Methods and scale used per sub research question  
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4.

**GENTRIFICATION,  
DISPLACEMENT  
AND  
INCLUSIVITY**

## **Introduction**

Chapter four is the theoretical foundation of the whole research. This chapter first explores the multiple social and physical indicators the gentrification process includes. This leads to the relation between the concepts of new build gentrification and displacement and concludes the different elements of indirect displacement.

Besides gentrification-led-displacement, also the term inclusive urban development is central in this chapter. This term will be explained based upon multiple socio-spatial features visible in the city and will explain the multiple perspectives of inclusivity.

### **4.1 Indicators of gentrification**

Literature on gentrification has been a subject of debate for quite a long time and the term has had multiple definitions. Knox & Pinch for example define gentrification as the process of renovation, redevelopment and renewal of run-down inner city environment through encourage the influx of more affluent persons (Knox & Pinch, 2014). All the definitions together have one thing in common: the concept of gentrification is used with different purposes to point out processes of “back to the city,” “urban reinvestment” “urban revitalization,” “urban reinvestment,” “urban sustainability,” “neighbourhood renewal,” “residentialisation” and “urban renaissance” (Levine, 2004). And once the gentrification process has started on one specific site, it will also influence and gentrify the surrounding areas (Peterson, 2001).

New build gentrification is currently the most common form of gentrification process. It describes the large-scale neighbourhood transformation, from vacant unused brownfield or abandoned land into exclusive new build, high-density, large scale, high rise, and monotone residential land encouraged and supported by the state. Since the new build developments are mainly focused on the habitus of higher socio-economic classes, they are a form of exclusive urban development. This has negative impact on the neighbourhood and will become clearer during this chapter. The process of gentrification include social and physical aspects, although the outcome of each aspect can vary between classic gentrification, state-led gentrification and new-build gentrification (Davidson & Lees, 2005). New build gentrification has the following physical and social indicators:



### **Reinvestment in the neighbourhood**

The most obvious upside of new build gentrification is the reinvestment in the neighbourhood. The capital reinvestment of large scale unused or under-used land into residential development will be an added value to the inner-city area. The growing viability of the reinvestment areas will intensify the urban use and reduce urban sprawl. Also, the short-term increase of social mix together with the de-concentration of poverty and crime should help the deprived areas to stabilize (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001). The reinvestment responds to the specific needs of one target group (see figure number 7 and 8) by facilitating mainly luxury apartments and leisure/commercial facilities such as work hubs, health and fitness clubs, shops, restaurants, cafes and high quality public space (Davidson & Lees, 2005). This reinvestment in former vacant land will attract mainly high socio-economic population groups, better known as gentrifiers, and will eventually provide even more capital reinvestment in the neighbourhood and surrounding areas.

### **Landscape change**

With new build gentrification, landscape transition is often a change from brownfield or abandoned land into a residential new built environment. The landscape of this new development is composed of mixed-used, large scale, commercially, mass produced, high rise buildings with a high density (Davidson & Lees, 2005) and will be physically in sharp contrast with the architecture and the build environment of surrounding, existing neighbourhoods (see figure 7 and 8). Besides a contrast in the build environment itself, there is also a sharp contrast on how the gentrifiers interact with the build environment compared to surrounding neighbourhoods. The gentrifiers are often characterized by a low family size (1 or 2 person household), more average square meter living space per person, (Atkinson, 2004) and mostly live with a short term contract in private rent apartments. Because of this, the new build gentrifiers have a more private lifestyle and do often not invest in the social capital of their neighbourhood (Butler & Robson, 2001). This results in few social connections and a lack of liveliness and community (Davidson & Lees, 2005).

The private lifestyle of the gentrifiers is also visible in the daily usage of facilities and (commercial) services. According to research (Davidson & Lees, 2005) the gentrifiers prefer the on-site facilities such as the private gym and local restaurants near their home.

On the contrary, the community centre, the local library, public gyms and leisure centres in the neighbourhood are barely used by the gentrifiers. Besides the fact that gentrifiers prefer on site facilities, they generally also give preference to specific facilities. Research of

Butler and Robinson showed that gentrifiers mainly use amenities as the wine bar, art galleries, theatre and musicals events and an average of 60% of the gentrifiers is going to the pub and the cinema on a monthly basis (Butler & Robson, 2003). So new build gentrification will result in a physical landscape change and a change on the usage of the build environment.

### **Social upgrading**

New build gentrification is a form of urban development mainly intended to respond to the needs of the higher socio-economic class. The affluent residents who will move to the new-build developed area in the gentrification process are mentioned by Atkinson as gentrifiers (Atkinson, 2000b). These gentrifiers can be seen as a universal transnational elite, generalized as high skilled professionals with an income above national average and a high status in white collar jobs. They want to live in the city because of the shorter distance and better accessibility to their offices. Gentrifiers want to be able to enjoy the 'cosmopolitan urban culture' and the vibrant city life with the large selection of shops, leisure, culture, arts, food, sports and education. These mobile Young Urban Professional (YUP) are the new middle class of the city with a characteristic household composition of single earners and couples without children. However, there is an increasing trend of gentrifiers couples with children: The Young Urban Professional Parent (YUPP).

The gentrifiers (Davidson & Lees, 2005) are defined by people who belong to the Socio Economic Groups (SEGs) 01 (managers and senior officials), SEG 02 (professional occupation) and SEG 03 (associate professional). They operate in post-industrial workforce, characterised by high intensity level and long working hours (Lees & Phillips, 2018). The gentrifiers are often young professionals with a strong desire of the centre facilities near public transit nodes (Atkinson, 2000b). These young urban professionals have a high education level (Level 4+) and high incomes thanks to their job. Because of their high income they can afford a more expensive private rental house or even buy a property. They are also mentioned as the new upper middle class of the city.

In the beginning of the gentrification process, the inflow of new upper middle-class residents is very local and is taking place only on the developed sites. Later in the process, the social upgrade of the gentrified area will also influence surrounding neighbourhoods and more gentrifiers will enter. The social upgrade of the neighbourhood includes an increase of households with a higher median income, a higher ratio of inhabitants with a higher education level and a higher ratio of residents working in the high skilled workforce.

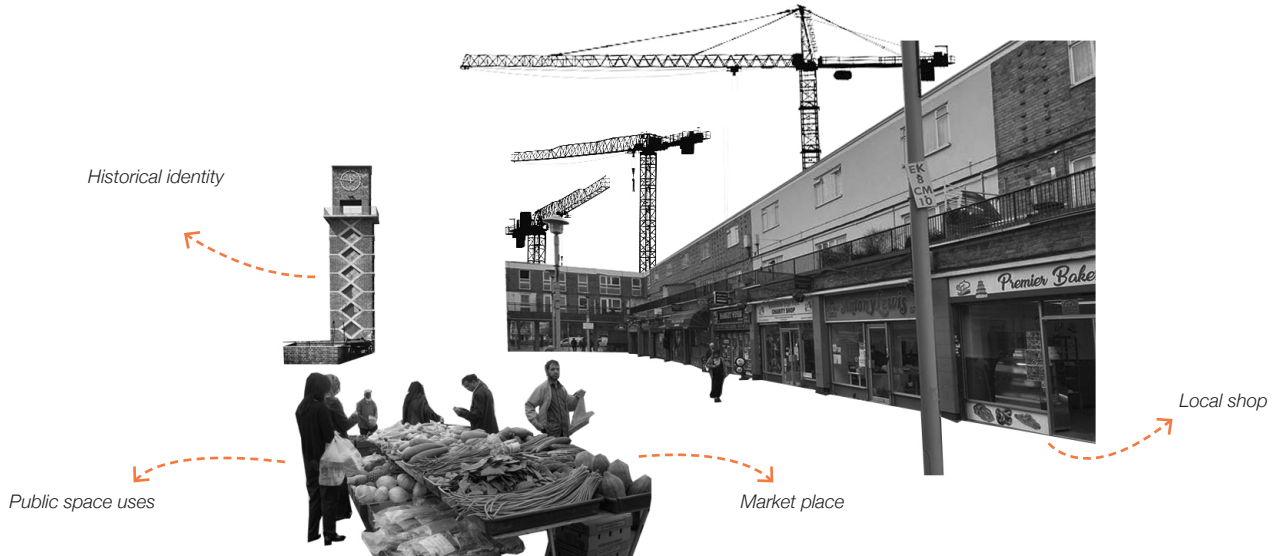


Figure 7: Spatial and social characteristics of a neighbourhood before the processes of (new build) gentrification  
 Source: image by author



Figure 8: Changing spatial and social characteristics of a neighbourhood due to the processes of (new build) gentrification  
 Source: image by author

Gentrification has long been associated as a way to achieve more social mix, less segregation and an increased liveability and sustainability in order to create more diverse and tolerant cities (Lees, 2008). The sought for social mix and social balance derived from the believe that a perfect composition between social and income groups will bring an optimum of the well-being and the capital of the residents (Pitt & Forum, 1977).

Many countries introduced pro-urban social mixing ideologies to encouraged socially mixed neighbourhoods and communities. The prosperity of these high skilled gentrifiers in the neighbourhood intended, should eventually trickle down to the less wealthy residents of the area. The increasing social mix should have the advantages of better maintenances and defences of the neighbourhood by the upper middle class, the support of local economy by the increase of more wealthier inhabitants and the social cohesion and economic opportunities that come with the influx of the upper middle class (Schoon, 2001). With these social mixing ideologies, cities wanted to compete in the knowledge based, globalised world as being 'liveable' and 'just' city, derived from its inclusive neighbourhoods (Lees, 2008) Being an inclusive city with ideologies to enhance and promote social inclusion in the city.

However, a lot of researchers became very critical about the statement that the benefits of social mix, urban revitalization and gentrification would trickle down to the lower class on physical, political, financial and social perspective. According to Holcomb and Beauregard for example (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981), the prosperity of the gentrifiers will stay in this upper middle class and will not at all trickle down to contribute to a welfare growth of less affluent residents. With the new build gentrification as the process towards exclusive urban development the social and spatial inequalities in the city will eventually be enhanced and even increased due to the process of displacement (see next paragraph).

### **Displacement**

The revitalisation and reinvestment of the neighbourhood is with its exclusive characteristics mainly attractive for the higher socio-economic groups. This will result in an inflow of inhabitants with a higher socio-economic status (the gentrifiers) and at the same time, an outflow of the original residents of the neighbourhood (Eckerd, Kim, & Campbell, 2018).

The inflow on its own has lots of economic benefits, but the outflow of the lower socio-economic population is problematic. The original residents need or feel compelled to move out, because living in the neighbourhood is becoming impossible, unaffordable, undesirable or unwelcome due to external forces beyond the household's ability to control (LeGates & Hart-

man, 1981). So, besides the main characteristic of the term gentrification, displacement is also the biggest negative indicator of gentrification and a key link between gentrification and wider social-spatial inequalities (Atkinson, 2000a).

The residents of lower social economic classes who are or feel forced to move out are mentioned by Atkinson as displacees (Atkinson, 2000b). These displacees are defined by lower Socio Economic group (SEGs) 04 (clerical and secretarial), SEG 05 (skilled trades), SEG 06 (personal and protective services) and SEG 09 (process operatives) occupations (Davidson & Lees, 2005). According to Atkinson (Atkinson, 2000b) also semi-skilled, unskilled labour, unemployed and elderly are defined as displacees. The displacees have a lower education level and a lower income. Because of this they are limited in their choice of houses and other purchase. They often have problems with affording expensive private rental houses and/or make use of council or social housing. Despite most of the new-build developments are situated on vacant or brownfield land and nobody can be displaced directly, other forms of displacement are taking place (Davidson, Lees, 2010). Definition and different forms of gentrification will be explained in the next paragraph.

#### **4.2 Three elements of displacement**

Marcuse and Davidson (Davidson, 2008) discern two different forms of displacement based on economic, political, social and cultural preference; direct and indirect displacement. New build gentrification can generate both direct and indirect displacement (Lees & Phillips, 2018), Direct displacement is defined by Marcuse (1985) as direct last-residents displacement in which residents of building blocks are physically or financially forced to move out of the houses by the landlord. Although displacement is in literature often conceptualized as direct displacement, it leaves more indirect displacement processes underexamined. This while indirect displacement has gained ground in the modern processes of new-build gentrification. Indirect displacement is a form of exclusionary displacement in which the original residents living in or near the gentrified area will move out of their neighbourhood not because they are physically forced to move out but because of the exclusive characteristics of the gentrified area (see page NUMBER). Since most of the new-build developments are situated on vacant or brownfield land and nobody is living on this vacant land, most of the displacement will be 'indirect' (Davidson Lees 2010).

The new build gentrification on developed land will spread out and also influence surrounding

neighbourhoods. Soon the residents of these surrounding neighbourhoods cannot afford to live in their neighbourhood anymore due to quickly inflating rents and house prices or do not want to live in the neighbourhood anymore because they feel 'alienated' out of their neighbourhood due to the changing living environment.

Whereas direct displacement is a form of residential displacement and is caused by a change in housing only, indirect displacement is beyond residential displacement only. Indirect displacement contains besides a change in housing, also a change in services and changing public space. So, housing, services and public space are the three main elements of new build gentrification and indirect displacement (see figure 9). The origin of these main elements of indirect displacement will be explained to give a better feeling of the process of indirect displacement.

The first element of indirect displacement is housing. The reinvestment on the developments area with newly constructed residential and commercial property will also increase the attractiveness of surrounding neighbourhoods. Due to the inflation of land and property value, the private rental housing in the surrounding neighbourhood will become only affordable for the socio-economic higher class gentrifiers. Because they cannot afford their rent anymore the original residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods will indirectly be forced to move out and will be rehoused in other areas. This is called indirect economic displacement (Davidson, 2008) The lack of provision of sufficient affordable housing and/or social housing in the surrounding neighbourhoods will automatically exclude the lower socio-economic residents from entering the housing market the gentrified neighbourhood.

Services and public space are the second and third elements of indirect displacement. The new-build mixed-use developments are equipped with private, on-site facilities mainly serving the gentrifiers communities such as private gym, retail stores, restaurants and child-care facilities. The exclusivity of the new build development is also visible in the excluding nature of the public space. This does not support new gentrifiers residents to use the local

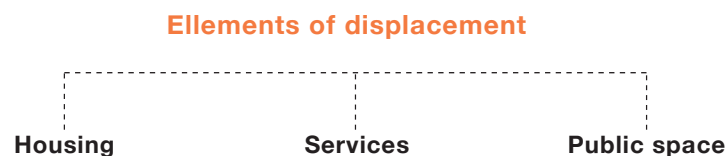


Figure 9: *Elements of displacement.*  
Source: image by author

facilities outside the new-build development (Davidson, 2010). This lack of daily routes in surrounding neighbourhoods will not encourage the gentrifiers to engage, attach and invest in the local area (Davidson, 2010).

At the same time, these exclusive, private services and public space exclude the residents of surrounding neighbourhoods from using these new amenities. And although there are mostly no physical barriers to access the new build development, there is no perception that these new build developments should offer new services and public spaces (Davidson, 2010). R This results in little to none additions of public space value for the residents in surrounding neighbourhoods. With the gentrified area influencing surrounding neighbourhoods, also the services and public space in the surrounding area will soon change, in order to meet the needs of the new gentrifiers. This rapid transformation of the public space, the shift in services, the changing identity, composition and social networks in the neighbourhood will give a feeling of 'out of placeness' by the original residents of the neighbourhood and will cause indirectly neighbourhood resource displacement.

The exclusive characteristic of the new build gentrified areas and the social structure of the gentrified communities generate a situation of 'social tectonics' in which gentrifiers and the original, non-gentrifiers, residents have very little to do with each other and barely have contact (Davidson, 2010). The exclusive characteristics of the new build urban developments will enhance the social differences between 'them' and 'us' in the city and will make social exclusion spatially visible.

### 4.3 Three pillars towards inclusivity

The large-scale, exclusive new build gentrification is often encouraged by the state, with governmental authorities having a central role in the urban development process as policy maker and urban strategist. Since this new build gentrification is mainly urban development from scratch, the exclusive characteristic of the urban development is shaped, created, presented and mediated by the



Figure 10: Pillars of inclusivity.  
Source: image by author

built environment created by architecture, marketing, private developer and the governance of the city. With the exclusive urban development, the social difference between 'them' and 'us' will be physically maintained by the build environment and eventually will enhance the class difference between the gentrifiers and the non-gentrifiers

In order to prevent urban development with exclusive characteristics it is desirable to strive for inclusive urban development and built living environments that everyone can enjoy, regardless the race, age, socio-economic class, culture etc.

Inclusive urban development will strive to meet the different needs of all the different existing and future population groups living in the neighbourhood (Dempsey, Bramley, Power, & Brown, 2011). With inclusive urban development everybody in the neighbourhood should benefit equally from the new opportunities of the neighbourhood that comes with the urban development (Involve, 2012). The foundation of urban development towards more inclusivity is based on multiple pillars. These pillars are accessibility, diversity and community and are visible in the figure (see figure 10).

### **Accessibility**

To provide inclusive urban development, the housing, services and public space of the neighbourhood should be physical and visual accessible for all communities living in the neighbourhood (Alimohammadi, Branch, & Modiri, 2016).

By entering the neighbourhood, the community should not encounter barriers. Through connecting the neighbourhood to the city network of public transport and by improving the walkability, it will be possible and affordable for everybody to move around in the neighbourhood (Dempsey et al., 2011).

Furthermore, neighbourhoods should be open. The neighbourhood needs to work as an open, attractive system with open (or porous) borders and no fences. When a site or a public space is closed/surrounded by a fence or another object blocking the entrance, there will be uncertainties whether the site is for public or private use. Thanks to its accessibility and openness, the different areas of the neighbourhood can be used by everybody, despite their differences.

### **Diversity**

The second key pillar for socio-spatial inclusivity is to strive towards social diversity in urban development where nobody will be excluded from living in the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood needs to offer a mixture in housing, services and public space. All these resources in neighbourhood should meet the needs of different community groups. The mix of residents



will be considered by mainly by class and income level and race and ethnicity. But also a mixture of ages, family types and household type is important (Talen, 2012). The term social diversity is related to the term social equity since social diversity will ensure equal access for all community. When enhancing diversity and equity in urban development, nobody will be excluded from the resources in the neighbourhood, the social interaction and relations between different population groups will be encouraged and the different social groups can profit from each other.

### **Community**

The third key pillar for inclusive urban development is creating and maintaining the feeling of community within the housing, service and public space of the neighbourhood. This social sustainability of different groups focuses on creating community places for supporting social participation, social interaction and building stronger social networks. Without social networks in the neighbourhood, individual groups will live separately from each other without a sense of community and without strong or weak ties (Dempsey et al., 2011). Creating communities will encourage the integration of multiple groups with local social network.

## Conclusion

After having analysed the existing literature about gentrification, displacement and inclusivity, the first sub research question can be answered:

*What are the characteristics of gentrification-led-displacement and how is gentrification-led-displacement related to inclusive urban development?*

Gentrification is defined as the revitalization, renovation and renewal of run-down inner-city environment through an influx of more affluent persons. Gentrification is a complex process, which is sensitive to context and time. Once the process is taking place, it will soon also influence adjacent/surrounding neighbourhoods. The form and characteristics of gentrification has changed over time into new build gentrification as currently the most common form of gentrification.

New build gentrification can be recognized by multiple social and physical indicators:

1) Reinvestment of capital in the neighbourhood will transform brownfield or abandoned land into residential, high-density, large scale, high rise, monotone and mostly private and exclusive new build environment and will lead to 2) landscape change of the neighbourhood. This reinvestment in the neighbourhood will attract mainly higher socio-economic groups and will result in a 3) social upgrade of the neighbourhood. The exclusive urban development of the new build gentrification process is mainly intended for the higher socio-economic population groups and will also change and influence the urban development of surrounding neighbourhoods. Original residents living in surrounding neighbourhoods of the new build gentrification area will be 4) indirectly displaced because they are (or feel) forced to move out due to the changing characteristics of their neighbourhood. This indirect displacement is caused by the rapid change of the three essential elements of displacement caused by new build gentrification; housing, services and public space (see figure 9.)

Due to this exclusive urban development the social and spatial inequalities in the city will be enhanced and even increased. In order to mitigate this exclusive urban development, it is desirable to strive for inclusivity in the city. With this inclusive urban development, the needs of all the different existing and future population groups living in the neighbourhood will be meet. The three pillars of inclusivity contain; accessibility, diversity and community (see figure 10). By combining the elements of displacement, and the pillars of inclusivity into one scheme,

the relation between the two will be visible in the form of a scheme (see figure 11). When developing all the elements (housing, services, public space) towards the pillars of inclusivity (accessibility, diversity and community), inclusive urban development will be encouraged and exclusive characteristics of the neighbourhood will be mitigated. Causing a mitigation of the processes of displacement caused by gentrification. This inclusive urban development will be especially valuable with new-build gentrification. Since this type of gentrification is urban development from scratch, with a big role for the designer and developer to form the neighbourhood.

The 3 x 3 scheme towards inclusive urban development shows that new build gentrification-led-displacement can be minimised by developing housing, services and public space in the neighbourhood, towards accessibility, diversity and community. This 3 x 3 scheme will be used as a tool towards inclusive urban development and will be used in this research to form the nine inclusive patterns. Elaboration of this scheme can be found in chapter 7: [Inclusive] Neighbourhood Plan and in Booklet B, Part B; Inclusive Patterns

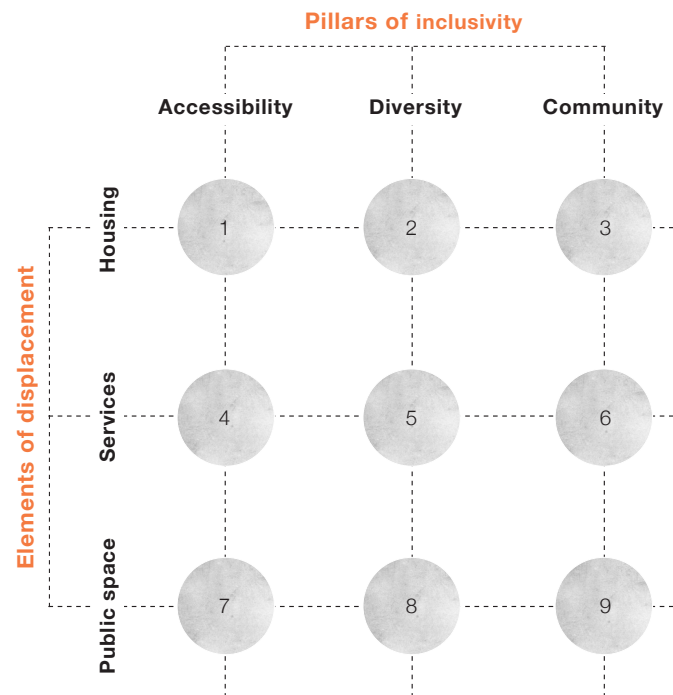


Figure 11: 3 x 3 scheme towards inclusive urban development  
Source: image by author

**5.**

# GENTRIFICATION IN LONDON





## **Introduction**

In this chapter the processes of gentrification and gentrification led displacement will be explored in global city London. First, the social and physical indicators of gentrification will be explored based on data statistics of London as a whole. This spatial analysis will result in a map of areas with high risking processes of gentrification. Thereafter, there will be a zoom in on one of the boroughs with the most neighbourhoods risking gentrification; Tower Hamlets in North East Inner London.

## **5.1 Gentrification in London**

### London diverse global city

London is, together with New York, mentioned by the GaWC hierarchy as a global Alpha ++ cities because of her outstanding integration in the worldwide networks. (Gussen, 2017). The current dominant position of London is a product of her evolution throughout the history. Deriving from the positioning along the Thames, the port of London was an important node of trade routes and the British East India Company (New London architecture, 2015). Nowadays, London is world leading in exporting and producing business services, management, advertising and accounting, with over 40% of the 250 largest world companies have their European headquarters in London. This international economic attractiveness is also remarkable in the population diversity in London. With more than 40% of the residents perceived as non-white, varying from Black, Asian, mixed of other non-white ethnicities, London is perceived as one of the most ethical diverse cities in the world (Greater London Authority, 2017b). Besides this diversity, London is also a divided city with a major socio- economic and socio-spatial inequalities. Job, skill and wealth inequality are serious issues in London. The bottom 50% of the London households possess 5% of London's total wealth, while the top 10% of the households in London own half of the total wealth of the city. Also, more than one quart of the London resident lives (substracting housing costs) below the poverty line, earning less than £144 per week (Tinson et al., 2017)

### London growing city

The London population growth accelerated in the last decades (see figure 12). Between 1990 and 2000 the number of London inhabitants increased by more than 438.000 inhabitants, in the period of 2000-2010 with 800.000 inhabitants and from 2010 till 2016 there was already



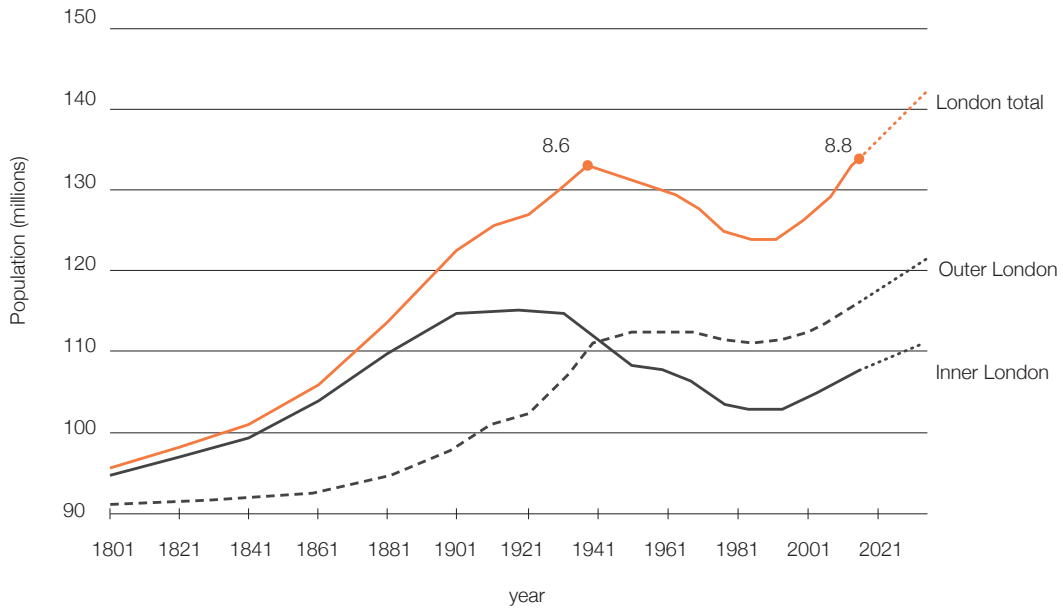


Figure 12: Past, current and expected population growth in London  
 Source: image by author, based on Greater London Authority (2018)

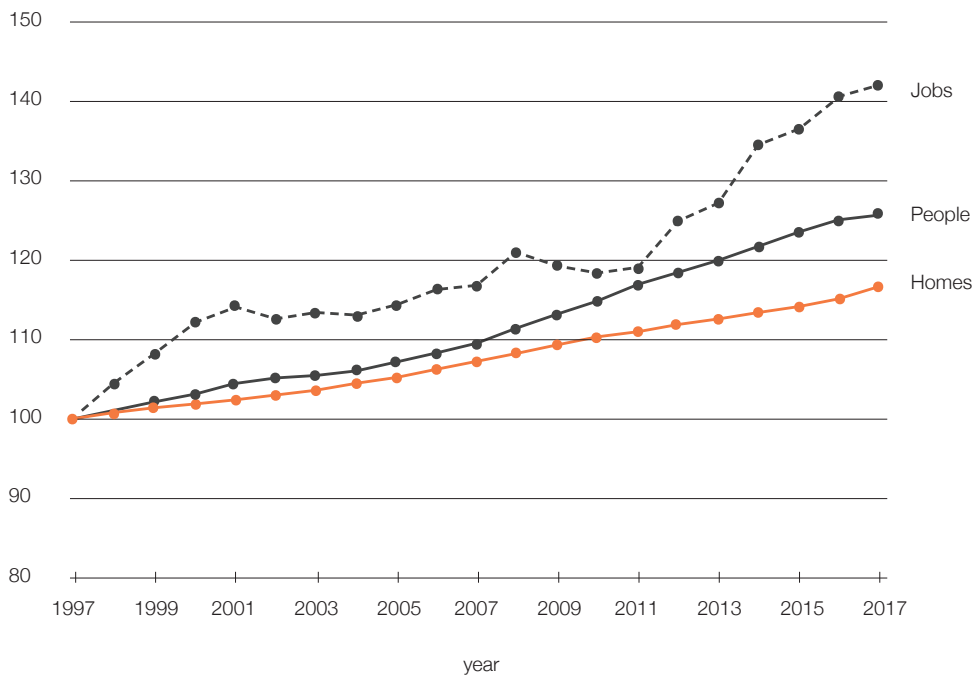


Figure 13: The undersupply of housing, compared to the growth of jobs and inhabitants in London  
 Source: image by author, based on Greater London Authority (2018)

a growth of more than 700.000 new inhabitants to a total of 8.8 million inhabitants. With this growth, the former population peak of more than 8.6 million just before the World War 2 has surpassed (Greater London Authority, 2017a).

The population of London is expected to grow with 1.7 million inhabitants in the coming years, reaching an estimated of 10.5 million inhabitants in 2035. The reason for this growth is besides natural population changes (births minus deaths) mainly the national and international migration towards London (see figure 14). Net international migration has doubled from approximately 60.000 immigrants per year in 1999 up to an annual growth of more than 120.000 immigrants in 2016 (Greater London Authority, 2018). The main reason for this inward migration is the work opportunity in the capital city.

This in-migration of mainly higher skilled, higher socio-economic population groups to inner London boroughs derives mainly from oversea international migration flows.

At the same time the original residents of the neighbourhood will be directly or indirect displaced out of inner-city areas and even London itself (see figure 15). In 2014 the domestic outward migration from Inner London boroughs to outer London borough was almost twice as much as the opposite migration flow. Also, the domestic outward migration flow from outer London to other (sub)urban areas in the UK was almost double the inward migration to outer London boroughs (Greater London Authority, 2016).

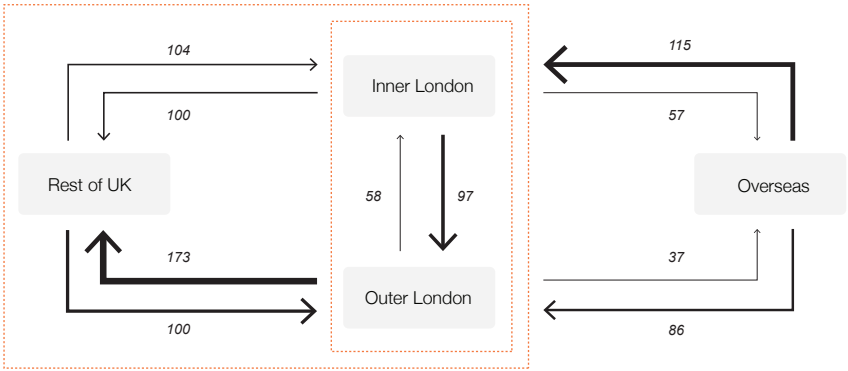


Figure 14: (Inter)national migration flows from and to London  
 Source: image by author, based on Greater London Authority (2016)

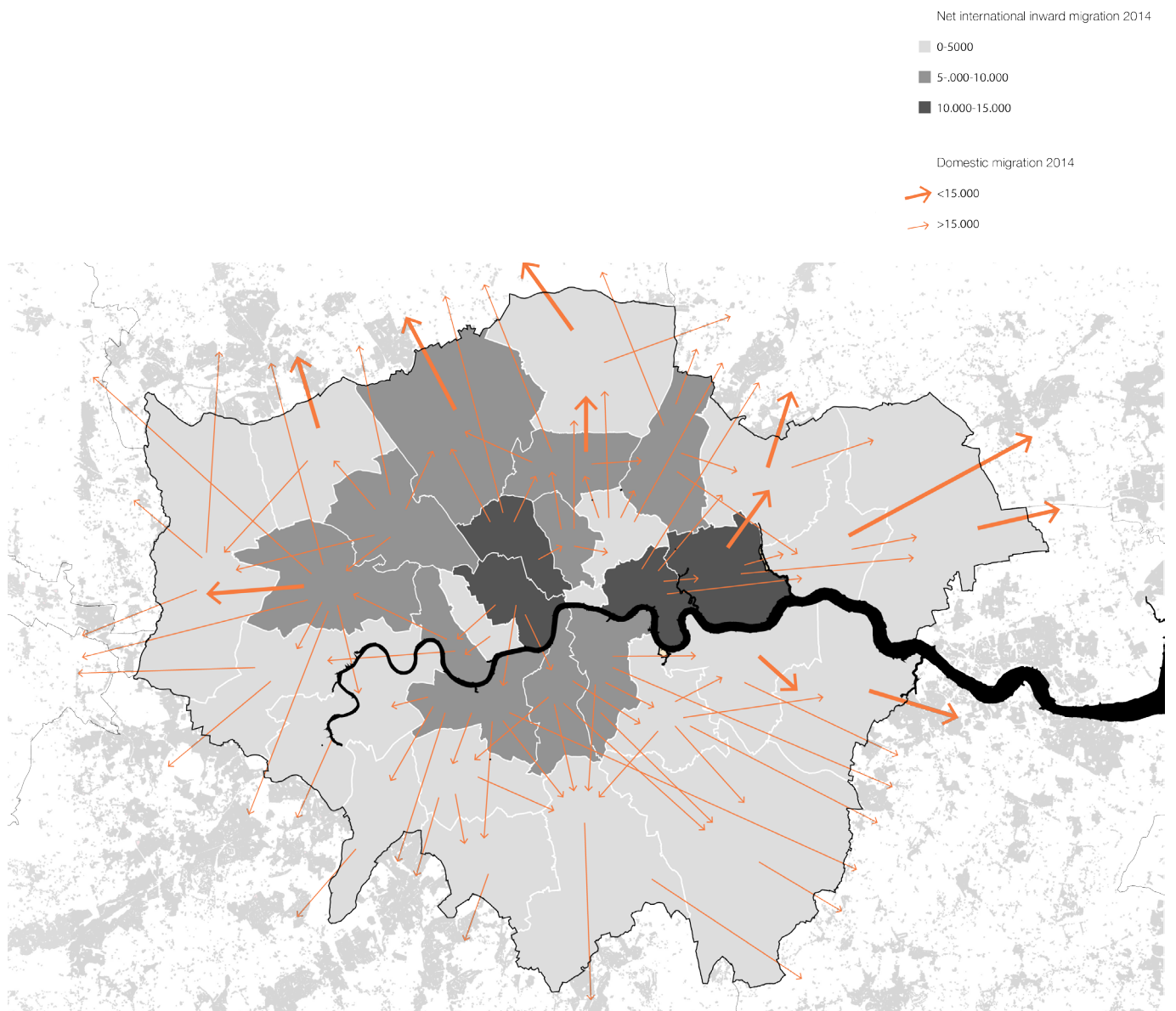


Figure 15: (inter)national migration flows illustrating the process of displacement  
 Source: image by author, based on Greater London Authority (2016) and resi\_analyst for Savills (2013)

Between 2006 and 2017 the number of households living in London, increased with more than 150%, while the housing stock grew in that same period only with 108,5% (see figure 13). With a growing housing demand and a conventional housing completion of barely 20.000 houses a year the Greater London Authority didn't succeed to build enough dwellings according to the development of the city (Greater London Authority, 2018). This demand of housing being bigger than the new housing supply resulted in an undersupply of housing in London.

#### Opportunity areas

The undersupply of housing has been a mayor city problem for at least 30 years but worsened in the last decade, especially since the financial crisis (Holman et al., 2015) From the financial depression in 2011 with barely 20.000 new constructed houses, the city is now working to step up the annual completion of new constructed housing resulting in 35.000 new dwellings in 2015. In the near future the government will continue to enlarge the housing stock with a capacity of almost 650.000 extra houses during a ten years period from 2019 to 2029 (Greater London Authority, 2017d). As visible in the figure (see figure 16), the housing addition is not evenly spread across the county and varies between less than 5,000 new houses (for example in the boroughs City of London and Kensington) and more than 35,000 new houses in the next ten years (for examples in the boroughs Newham and Tower Hamlets).

This concentration areas of development should accommodate each at least 2,500 additional houses, 5,000 jobs and will also accommodate new commercial space, new public transport infrastructure and other facilities (Greater London Authority, 2017c).

This development will mainly take place at concentration clusters in Opportunity Areas (see figure 17).

The Opportunity Areas contain major brownfield land and are therefore suitable for residential and commercial development linked to the public transport network of the city. This redevelopment of vacant or brown field area is exclusive urban development and better known as new build gentrification (mentioned in chapter 4: Gentrification, displacement and inclusivity). These areas have significant capacity for regeneration, intensification, densification and reinvestment because they are dealing with deprivation on multiple levels.

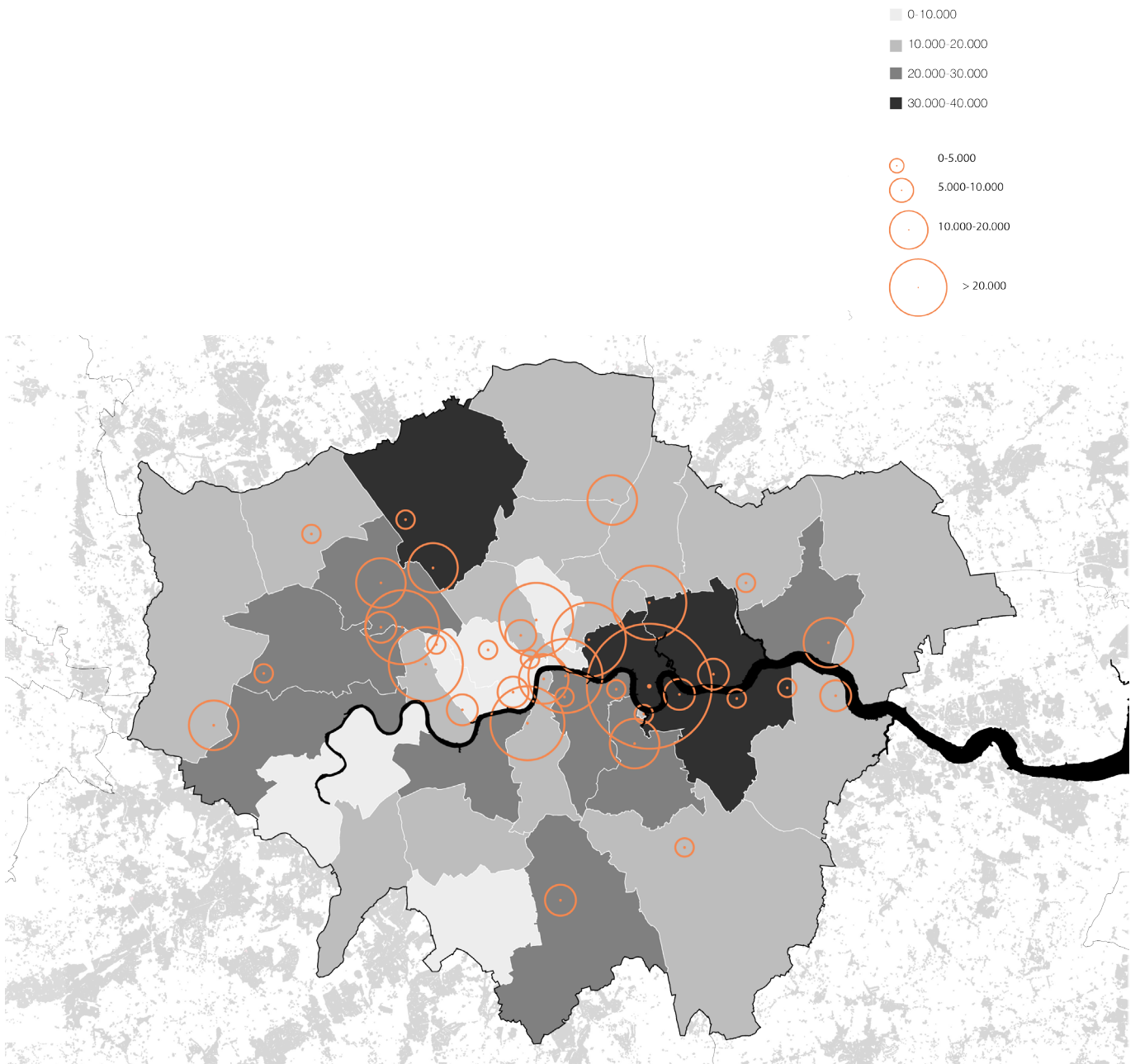


Figure 16: Housing and work growth concentrations within Opportunity Areas  
 Source: image by author, based on Grater London Authority (2017d)

### Multiple Index Deprivation

In London, a lot of neighbourhoods facing poverty. Poverty in the UK is measured by the Index of Multiple Deprivation level (IMD) This index, provided by the government, is a tool to relatively measure and rank poverty in UK's 32844 lower output areas (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019 ). This deprivation is measured based on multiple social and physical domains with different weights:

- Income (22,5%): measures the population experiencing deprivation of low income
- Employment (22,5%): measures the population of working age which are unemployed
- Education (13,5%): measures the lack of skill of local population
- Health (13,5%): measures the quality of health
- Crime (9,3): measures the risk of victim
- Barriers to housing and service (9,3%): the physical and financial accessibility of housing and local services
- Living environment (9,3%): measures the quality of the indoor and outdoor environment.

As visible in the figure (see figure 18) the Strategic Areas for Regeneration are ranked as the 20% most deprived areas in the UK.

The economic reinvestment in deprived neighbourhoods will revitalize and transform the neighbourhood into attractive real estate and will be the begin of the gentrification process. This transition from vacant or deprived land into attractive regeneration and/or new-build properties is visible all over London but mostly taken place in the north and east boroughs of inner London and along the River Lea.

### Gentrification

Looking at the definition of gentrification (see chapter 4; Gentrification, displacement and inclusivity), gentrification describes the process of renovation, redevelopment and renewal of run-down inner-city environment through encourage the influx of more influent persons' (Knox & Pinch, 2014) we can identify the areas facing processes of gentrification based on two maps: The map of the Multiple Deprivation the Opportunity area map. The Opportunity areas are the 'process of renovation, redevelopment and renewal...' of the definition of gentrification, while the deprived areas from the Index of Multiple Deprivation are identified as

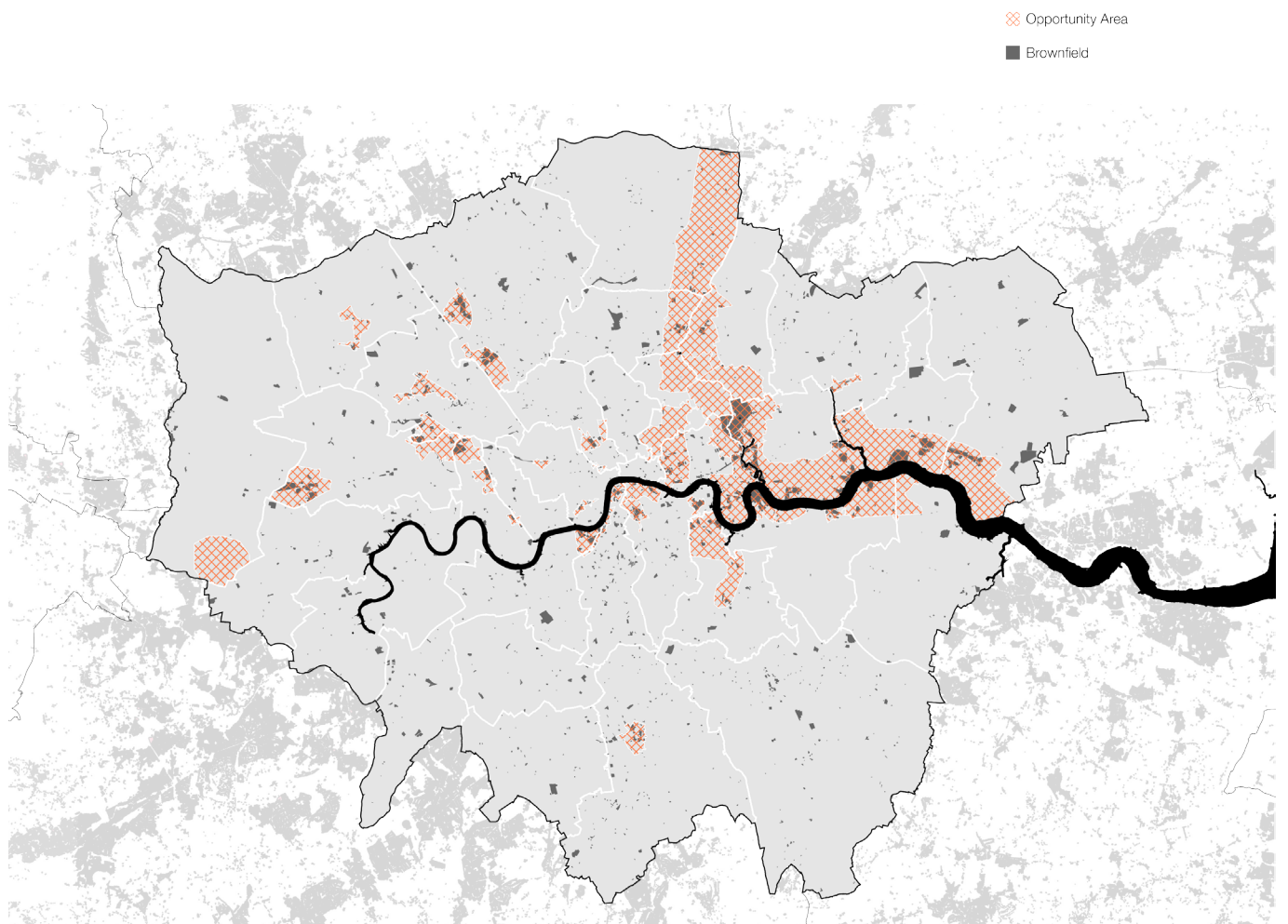


Figure 17: Opportunity Areas with big capacity of development thanks to vacant brownfield areas  
 Source: image by author, based on Greater London Authority (2017c) and Greater London Authority (2019) datastore

'run-down city environment' in the definition of gentrification.

So, areas with a high risk of gentrification can be identified by overlapping the map of the Index of Multiple Deprivation with the map of Opportunity areas (see figure 19). These areas with high risk of gentrification are visible on the map (see figure 20). Reinvestment in these deprived neighbourhoods will revitalize and transform the neighbourhood into attractive real estate and will result in exclusive urban development now or in the near future.

This will be the beginning of the new build gentrification process.

When calculating the percentage of land per boroughs risking gentrification, three boroughs have an outstanding ratio of which 40% or more of the total surface of the borough is risking processes of gentrification (the data of this calculation can be found in the appendix, table 1). The three boroughs are all situated in East inner London. London Borough Newham counts more than 39% of the total surface as gentrified area, London Borough Tower Hamlets has a ratio of 45% and the London Borough with relative the most surface as risking processes of gentrification is London Borough Hackney with 57%.

With London Borough Tower Hamlets as the boroughs with one of the highest ratio gentrification and as the borough with the most housing and workforce development in the near future this research will continue with a special focus on this the London Borough Tower Hamlets. The indicators of gentrification in this borough will be analysed more in detail in the following paragraphs.



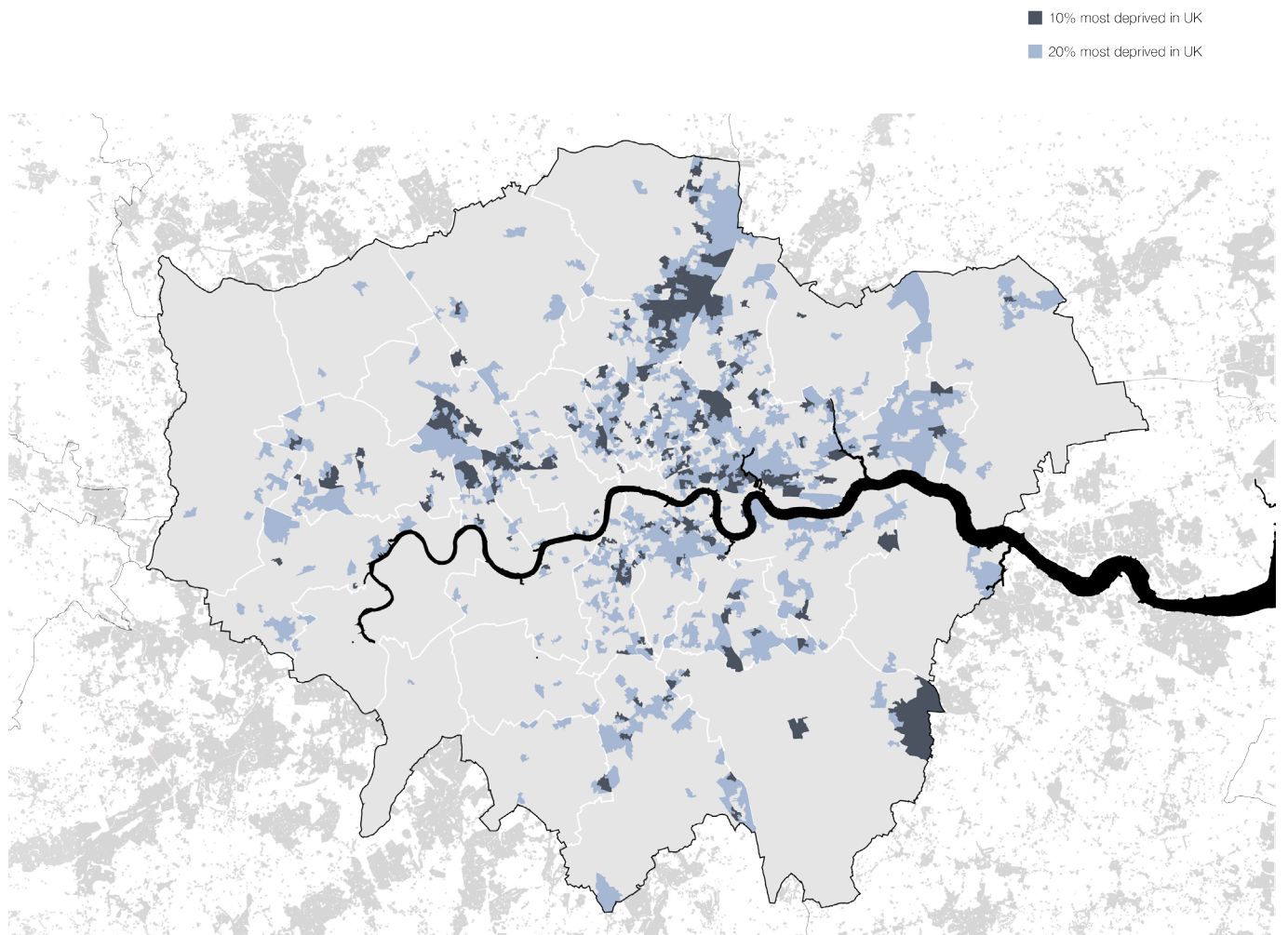


Figure 18: Indices of multiple deprivation (IMD) in London in 2015  
Source: image by author, based on Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (2019) and data store Greater London Authority (2019)

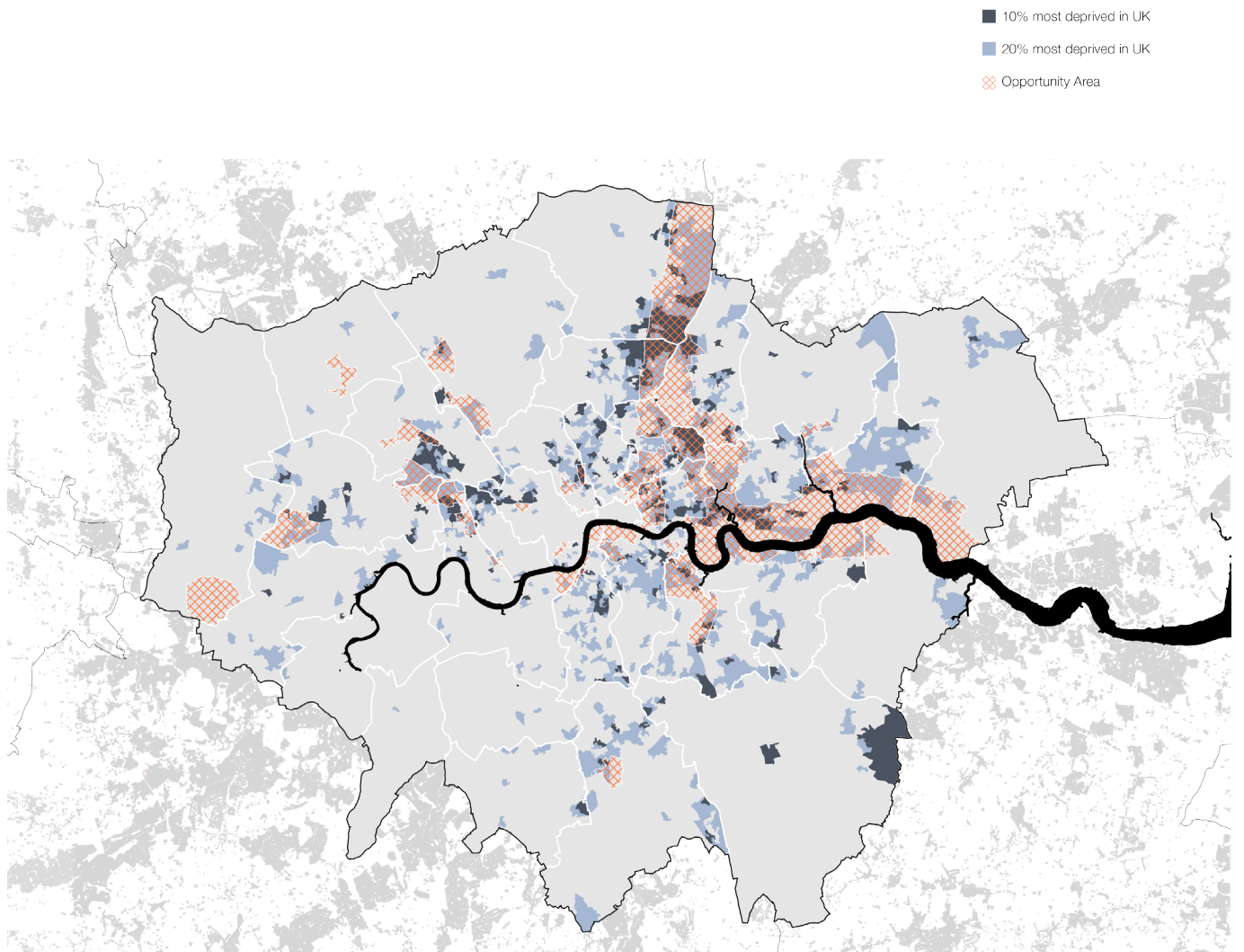


Figure 19: Deprived areas being part of an Opportunity Area  
 Source: image by author, based on Greater London Authority (2017c) and data store Greater London Authority (2019)

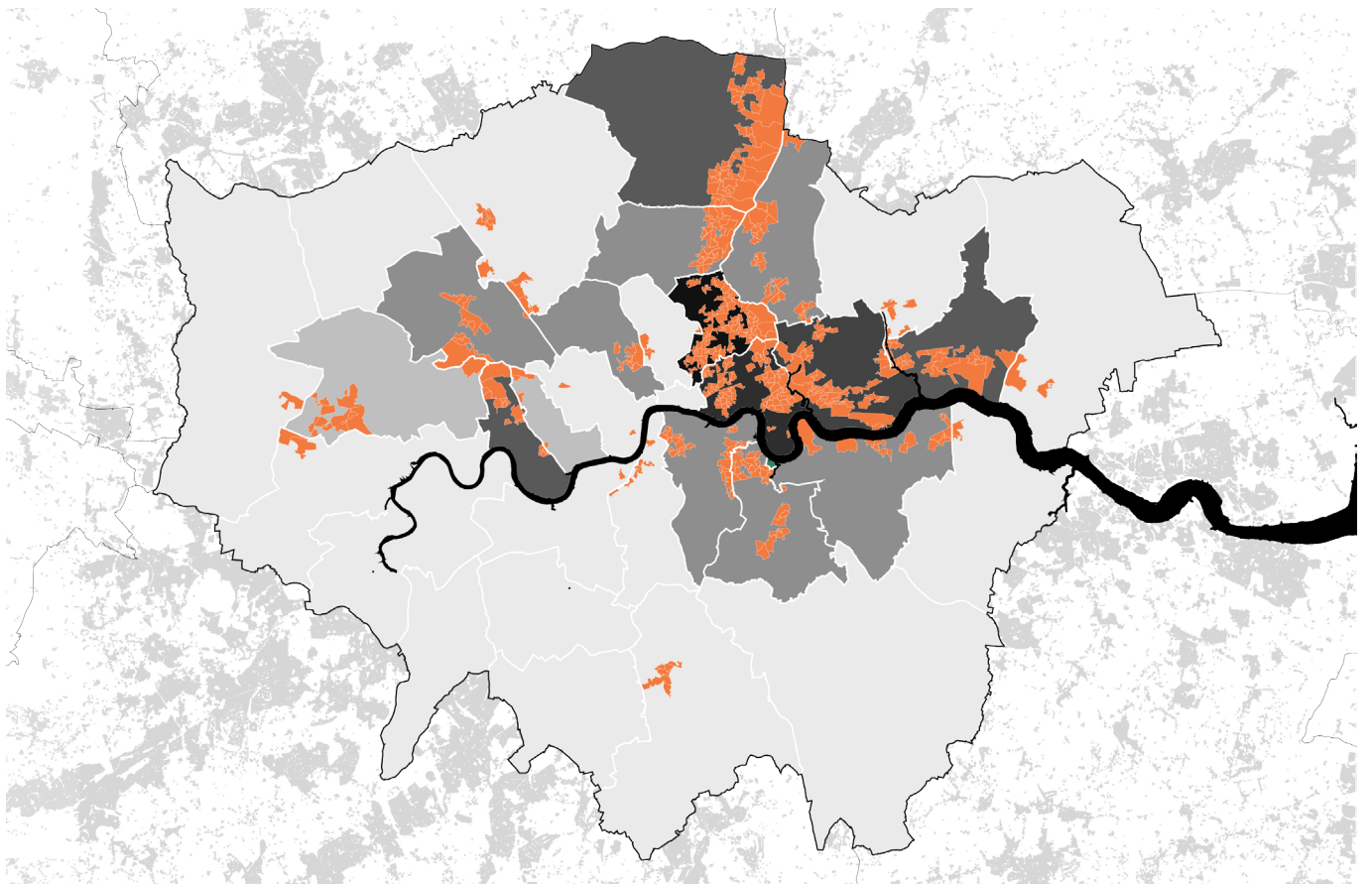
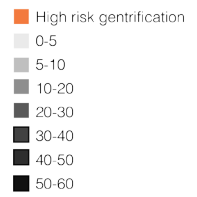


Figure 20: Neighbourhoods with high risk of gentrification  
 Source: image by author

## 5.2 Gentrification in Tower Hamlets

Almost half of the neighbourhoods in London Borough Tower Hamlets is risking processes of gentrification now or in the near future. These processes of current and future gentrification are influenced by the past redevelopment in the borough.

### Past gentrification in Tower Hamlets: Docklands

The London Borough Tower Hamlets (back then better known as London East End) and its Docklands played an important role in the history of London. The wealthy and prospered port along the Thames was used as location for detrimental industry and distribution centre of goods to all the parts of the empire (Rule, 2019). Thanks to the Industrial revolution, the port experienced huge expansion in the 19th century. As visible in figure 21, majority of the docks were constructed in the first half of the 19th century, by the London Docks Company and the West India Company (Ackroyd, 2008).

Majority of the workers of the Docklands lived near their work, in London East End. This area had a high and a constantly increasing population density because of the presence of poor residents and immigrants attracted by the persistent supply of labour.

But after centuries of prosperity, wealth, development and economic growth, the Docklands suffered from the German bombing attack of the Blitz (which killed more than 30,000 Londoners and damaged thousands of homes and companies) and multiple difficulties such as the housing shortage, reorganisation of the dockers, multiple strikes, mechanisation and containerisation of the working processes in the port and the decolonisation

This all resulted in the port of London being outdated and less powerful. In 1962 the committee of the Docklands proposed to shift the port of London to Tilbury and to officially close the docks in 1967. This led to an increasing unemployment and a decrease in population. Private investors of the docklands left the area and the public sector invested in the area, resulting in almost 90% of the housing owned by local authority (Brownill, 1990). What was left, was 1,756 acre of abandoned, polluted wasteland, 417 acres of water and an isolated and poor community with a strong sense of identity. What once was the greatest port in the world (see figure 22), was now a plot of vacant and redundant land, with an urgent need for redevelopment. The only solution for this plot was a strategy of new life and regeneration on the biggest site ever been designed in Europe. Thanks to its location near the heart of the city centre it had huge potential but required strong vision, infrastructure and investment in order to make it happen (see figure 23 for a current satellite view of the area)

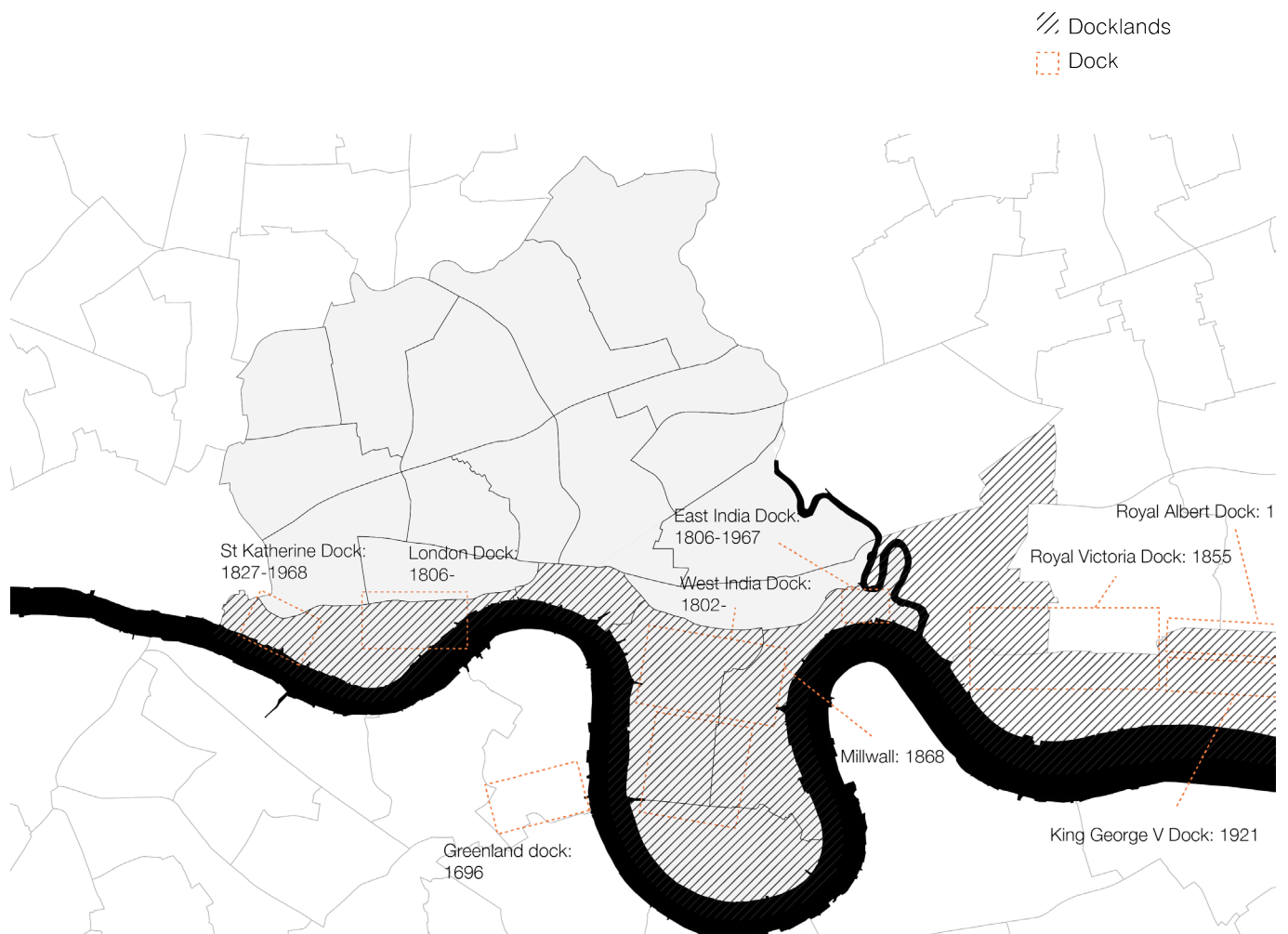


Figure 21: Docklands in Tower Hamlets with most important docks and construction year  
 Source: image by author, based on Brownill (1990)



Figure 22: London Docklands in 1940  
Source: image retrieved from Google Earth history view

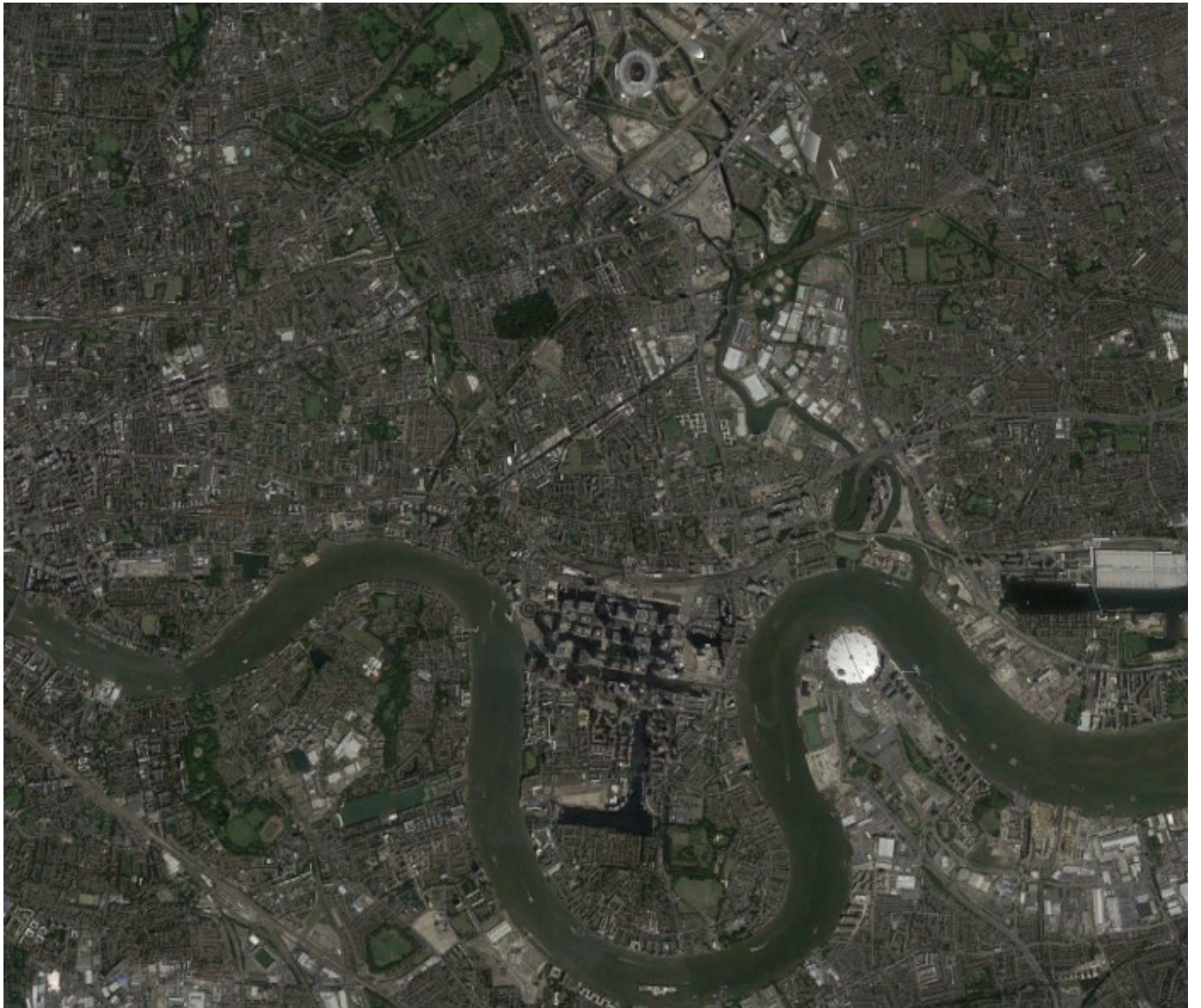


Figure 23: Recent aerial photo of London Docklands in 2019  
Source: image retrieved from Google Earth

Under the power of the conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher, the non-elected chosen cooperation of London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) gained the permission to take over the planning powers from the local authorities.

According to Heseltine the original residents were the problem of the decline of the Docklands and it was thus essential to remove them and their powers. Local authorities and the residents were excluded in the planning process and the central government and private investing were seen as starting point of the proposal (Brownill, 1990). The conservative philosophy of the LDDC was that the redevelopment of the area should be based mostly upon private sector investment, with a minimum role of the state (Church, 1988).

In order to develop vacant sites from this size, the LDDC set up the Isle of Dogs on the former Dockland as one of the 10 enterprise zones in London. These urban enterprise zones focus on the economic and commercial development of the area and were great places to do business because they provided tax breaks, incentives, minimizing of planning control and governmental support. These areas were favoured by the state, resulting in a stimulate of economic regeneration and an attraction of new investors. The land of the Docklands was cheap, (less than 1 million pounds per acre) and this was used by the state for regeneration of the area led by property (Butler, Robson, 2003).

In the period between 1981 and 1986 the LDDC spent more than 279 million pound (excluding transportation cost of more than 77 million) and the private sector invested another 1182 million pound in the Docklands. Majority of the governmental money was for the acquisition of land, land reclamation and servicing (Brownill, 1990)

The urban restructuring by the LDDC is most visible in the change of the housing supply into a market-led mechanism. This growing role of the market in the housing sector was possible because the national governmental policies of Margaret Thatcher promoted owner-occupation and the availability of land in the Docklands to attract and accommodate the new service sector employers asking for high value accommodation (Brownill, 1990).

The Dockland Corporation built within a time frame of 8 years more than 35.000 houses mostly for sale. On land owned by the LDDC, more than three quarters of these dwellings were flats, consisted most of the time of one to two-bedroom apartments or studios. This resulted in a high population density and an owner-occupation ratio growth to more than 44% in 1989. The new residential, economic and commercial structure of the area resulted in the increase of tourism, leisure, media and communication, printing and publishing and the sector of financial services and banking.



■ Gentrification area

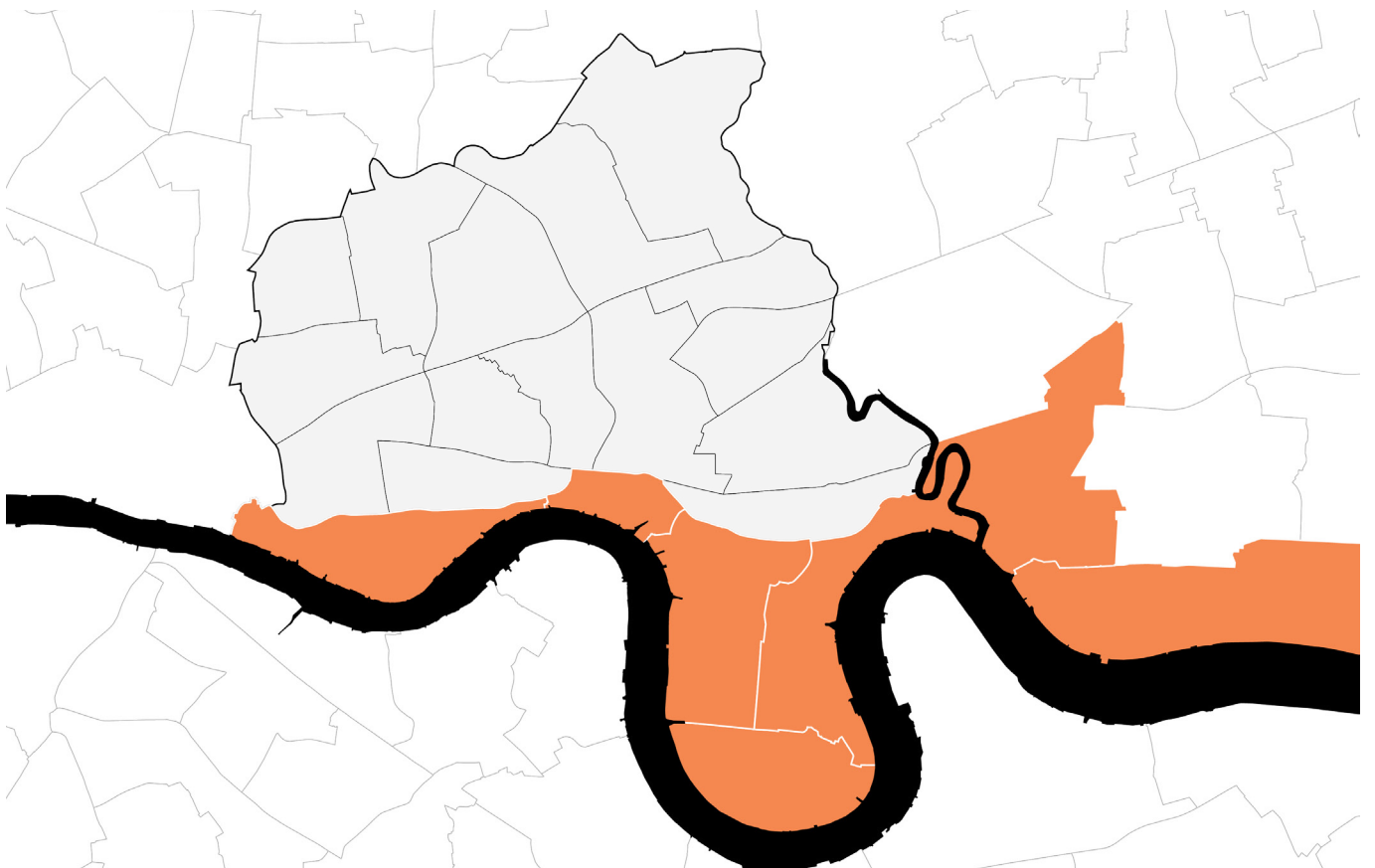


Figure 24: Past gentrification due to Dockland development  
Source: image by author, based on Brownill (1990)

The past development of the London Docklands and the London Borough Tower Hamlets from the 80's is a typical example of state led gentrification (see figure 24) and is cited as gentrification by capital multiple times in literature. The development of the Docklands is characterized by the power of the private sector at the expense of the public sector and the laissez-faire attitude of the public sector. A big part and especially the south of the borough is already gentrified land due to redevelopments by the LDDC Dockland developments. Thanks to the reinvestment in these Docklands, this area became very attractive by higher socio-economic population groups.

According to literature , once the gentrification process has started on one specific site, it will also influence and gentrify the surrounding areas (Peterson, 2001). This is also the case for processes of gentrification in Tower Hamlets and is clearly visible in current development of the former docklands (see figure 25)

The state led gentrification process of the docklands did also influence the neighbourhoods north. The reinvestment caused an increase in the housing prices in surrounding neighbourhoods due to the inflation of land and property value. Also, processes of revitalization and gentrification made the area more attractive for residents from higher socio-economic classes willing to pay large sums of money to rent or own a house.

This is visible when we look at the growing housing price, the tenure change of the area and the decrease of the deprivation level throughout the years.

Just like in London, also in Tower Hamlets processes of gentrification take place on areas with great opportunity for regeneration and investment. These areas are part of the 20% most deprived areas in England, based on the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). In 2004, more than one quart of the local neighbourhoods in Tower Hamlets were within the top 10% most deprived neighbourhoods of England (see figure 26). This deprivation level of Tower Hamlets shown a huge improvement since 2004 (see figure 27). Since the 'neighbourhood renewal policy of 2001' there has been a reinvestment in the borough in order to tackle the concentration of deprivation and to make communities more sustainable (Lupton, 2013).

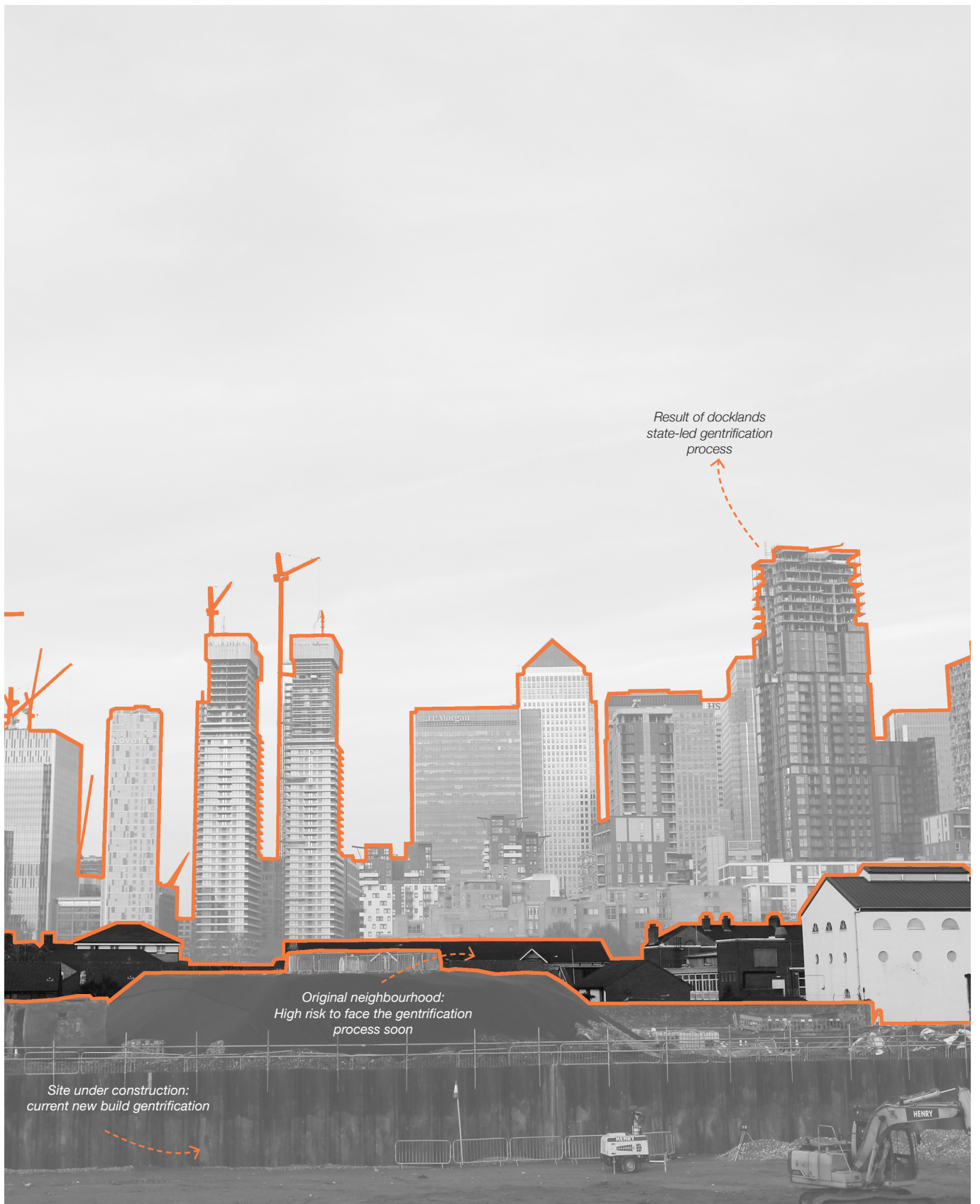


Figure 25: The process of gentrification influencing adjacent neighbourhoods of the Docklands  
Source: image by author

- 10% most deprived in UK
- 20% most deprived in UK

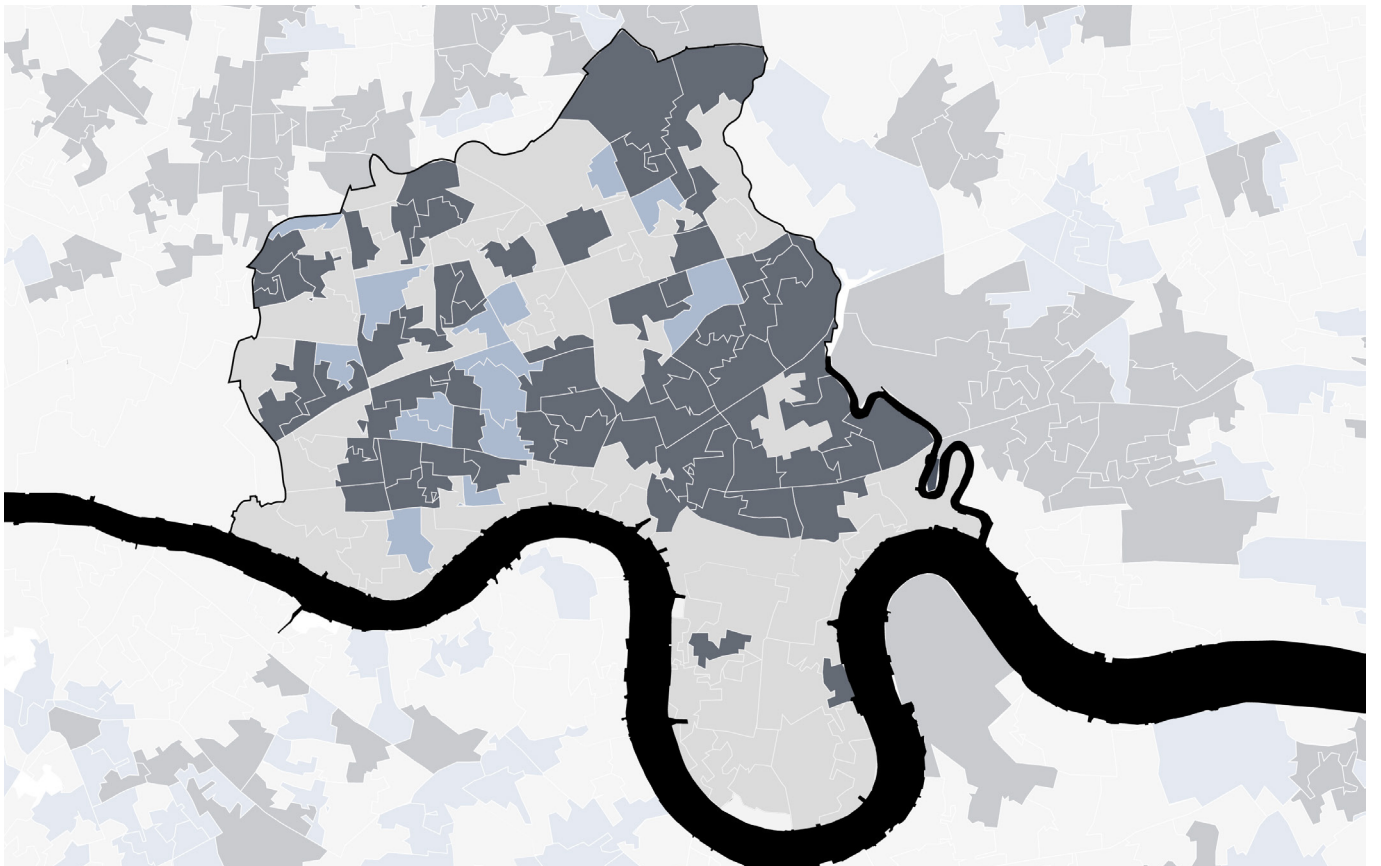


Figure 26: Indices of multiple deprivation in London 2004  
Source: image by author, based on datastore Greater London Authority (2019)

- 10% most deprived in U
- 20% most deprived in U

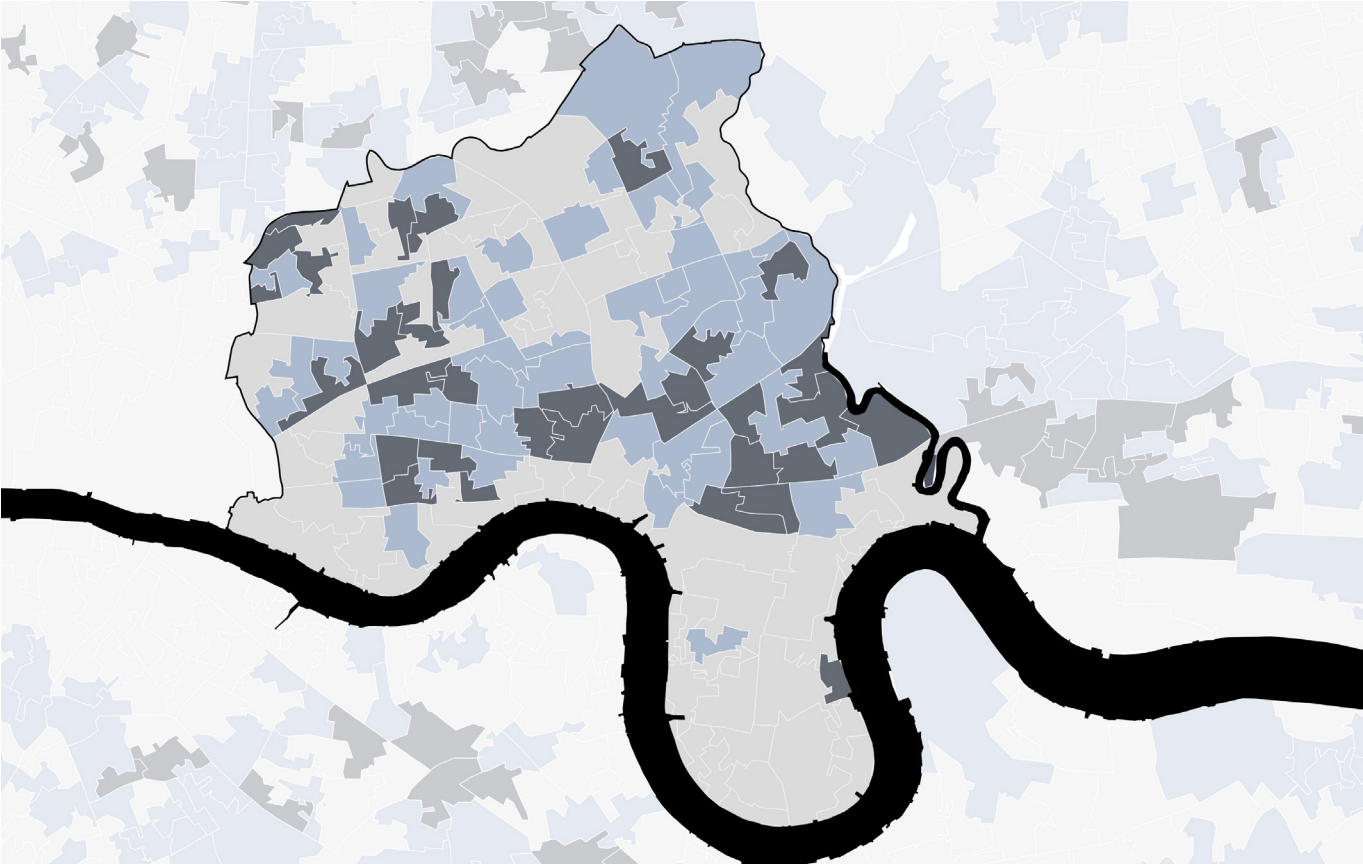


Figure 27: Indices of multiple deprivation in London 2015  
Source: image by author, based on datastore Greater London Authority (2019)

#### Current gentrification: Deprived Opportunity areas

Since most of the southern parts of Tower Hamlets already are gentrified, processes of gentrification are currently taking place in the Eastern and Western wards of the borough. Figure 28 clearly shows the areas in Tower Hamlets facing gentrification. This map of gentrification areas is created and explained in the beginning of this chapter and includes the overlap of Opportunity Areas with areas facing a high level of deprivation.

More than 50% of the surface of Tower Hamlets is part of an Opportunity Area, containing in total three Opportunity Areas: City fringe Opportunity area in the West; The Lower Lea Valley Opportunity Area in the East and the southern Opportunity Area Isle of Dogs (see figure 29). Majority of the vacant brownfield areas in the borough are covered by one of these opportunity areas. According to the housing strategy of the Mayor of London, Tower Hamlets will construct in the coming 10 years minimum 30.000 dwelling on large sites and another 5.000 dwellings on small site developments. The additional housing stock will not be equally distributed over the borough and will concentrate on and around the Opportunity Areas like the wards Canary Wharf, Blackwall & Cubitt Town and Lansbury (see figure 30).

The vacant brownfield areas are the location for most of the large-scale development projects. These large-scale new build developments of new build gentrification will mainly be exclusive developments designed for the socio-economic higher population groups and characterised by high-density, large scale, high rise, and monotone housing.

Examples of these exclusive urban development are the Leven Road Gas Works development (see figure 31) and the redevelopment of the Town centre Crisp Street Market (see figure 32).

So, the processes of gentrification in the London Borough Tower Hamlets has started with state led gentrification in the docklands and currently spreading out to new build gentrification in surrounding neighbourhoods. Currently, forms of gentrification, especially new build gentrification concentrate on the wards adjacent and near the docklands, covering almost half of the borough. With this, the redevelopment of the borough originates from different forms of gentrification processes; state-led and new-build gentrification

■ Gentrification area

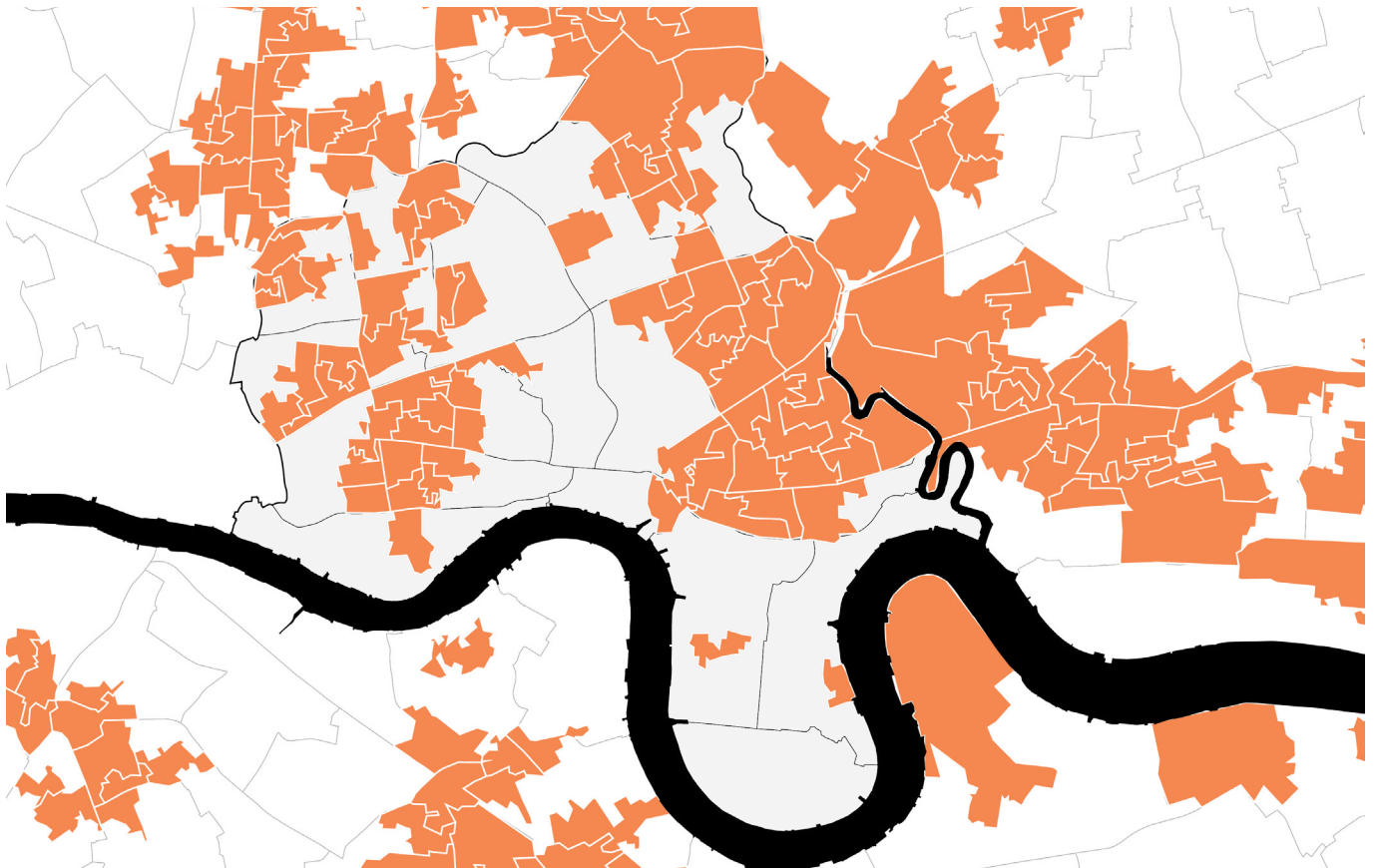


Figure 28: Neighbourhoods high risking gentrification processes  
Source: image by author

- Opportunity Area
- Brownfield

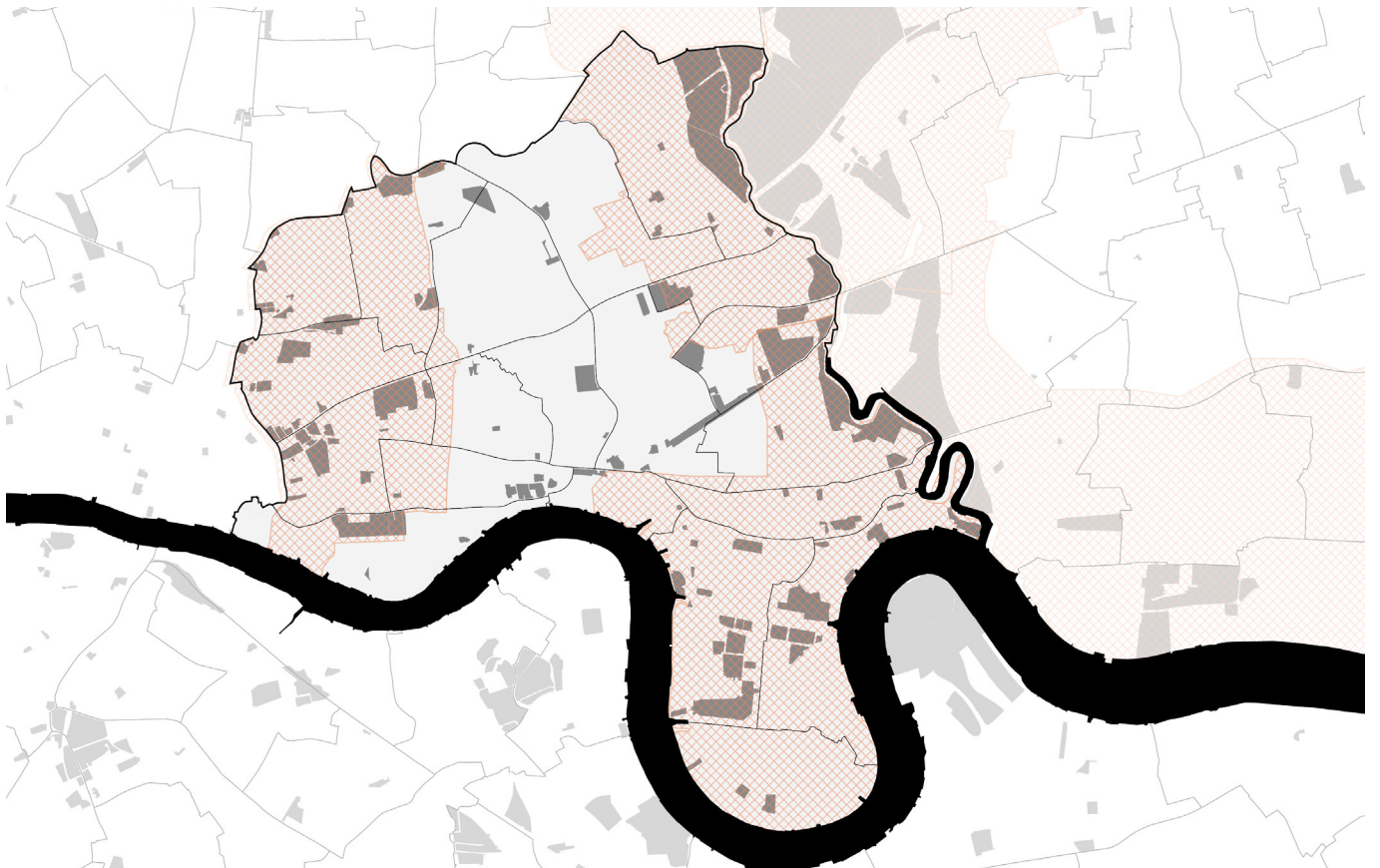


Figure 29: Opportunity Areas with big capacity of development thanks to vacant brownfield areas  
Source: image by author, based on Greater London Authority (2017c)



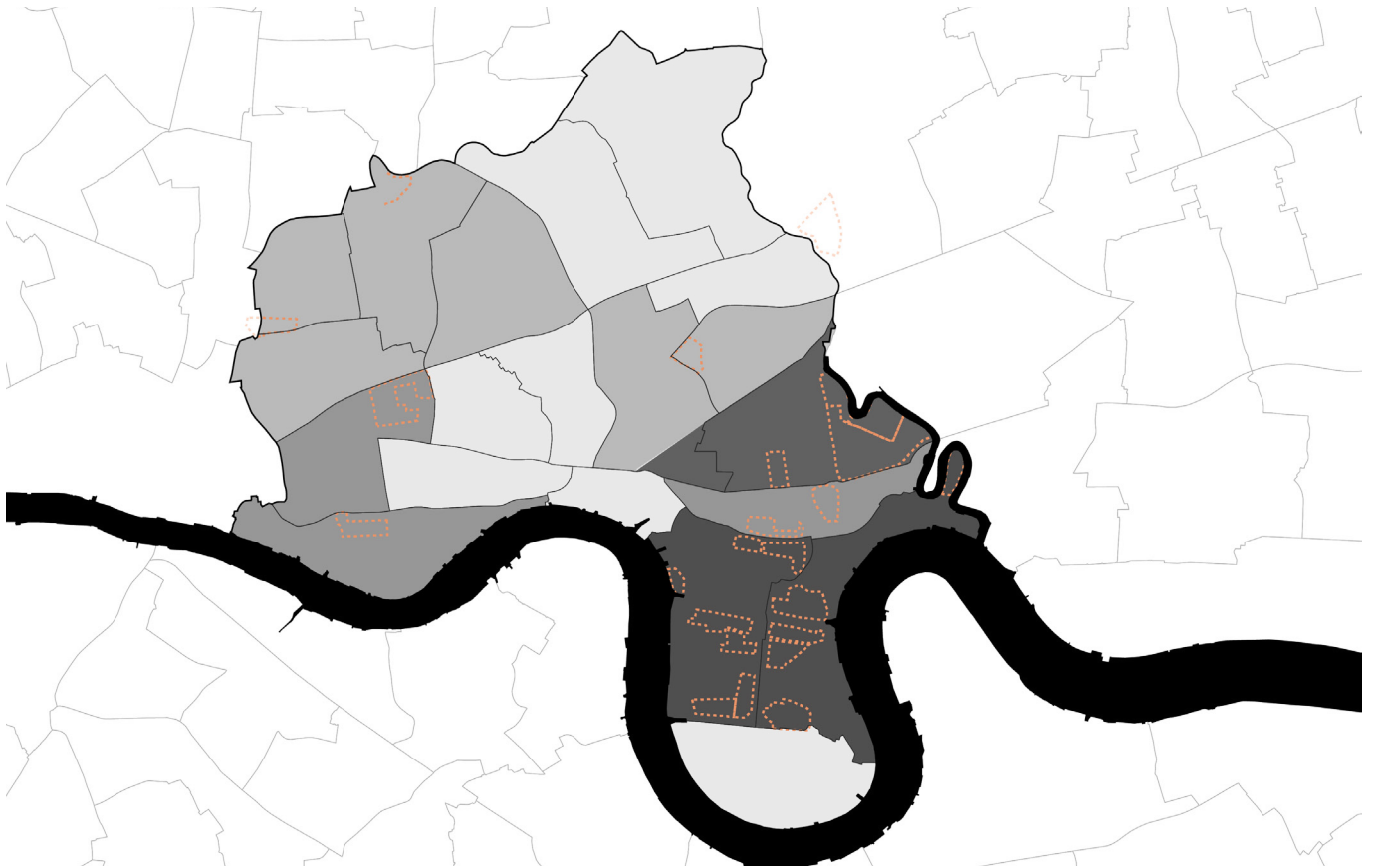


Figure 30: Housing growth and redevelopment sites within 10 years  
Source: image by author, based on Tower Hamlets (2016)



Figure 31: Future image of exclusive urban development of Leven Road Gas Works regeneration area  
Source: Image retrieved from St William (2018)



Figure 32: Future image of exclusive urban development of Crisp Street Market regeneration area  
Source: Image retrieved from Sheppard Robson (2018)

## Conclusion

After having analysed the process of gentrification-led-displacement in London, the second sub research question can be answered:

*How and where are the processes of gentrification-led-displacement visible in London?*

Gentrification in London is visible by linking two trends of London to the definition of gentrification

- Opportunity Areas: Due to the growing population, London is facing housing undersupply. In order to cope with this undersupply, the major of London has designated areas of growth; Opportunity Areas. These areas are London's source of brownfield land with major capacity for development. This exclusive development on brownfield land is better known as new build gentrification.
- Deprivation: In London, a lot of neighbourhoods facing poverty. Poverty in the UK is measured by the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). This index relatively measures levels of deprivation in neighbourhoods based on multiple social and physical domains. These deprived areas are selected as areas of regeneration.

Areas with a high risk to face processes of gentrification now or in the near future can be identified by overlapping neighbourhoods of a high deprivation level with neighbourhoods being part of the Opportunity Area. These areas are visible on the map (see figure 33). Whenever a neighbourhood is facing multiple levels of deprivation and at the same time is selected as Opportunity Areas, there is a high risk of presence of processes of gentrification. Reinvestment in the deprived neighbourhoods will revitalize and transform the neighbourhood into attractive real estate. This will be the begin of the gentrification process.

Neighbourhoods with a high risk of gentrification will face exclusive urban development now or in the near future. Therefore, there is an urgent need for inclusive urban development in these neighbourhoods to minimise the process of gentrification.

The areas with high risk of gentrification are visible all over London but are mostly located in the north and east boroughs of inner London, and along the River Lea. This are the boroughs with the highest percentage neighbourhoods risking gentrification of the total borough surface. When zooming in on one of the boroughs with a high percentage of neighbourhood risking gentrification, Tower Hamlets, it is visible that the process of gentrification also spread out to other surrounding neighbourhoods.

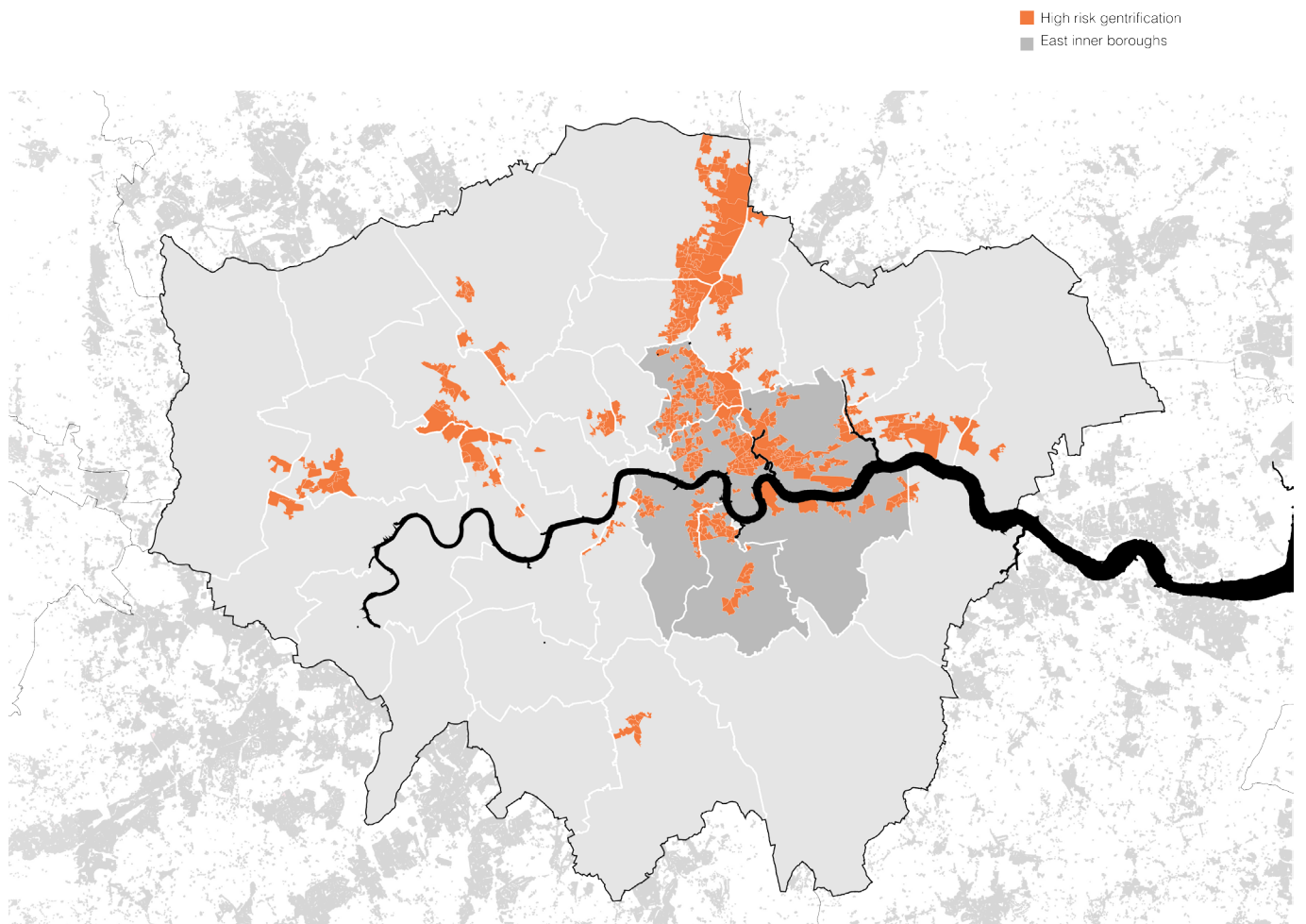


Figure 33: East inner boroughs of London have high risk on processes of gentrification  
Source: image by author

6.

# URBAN PLANNING IN LONDON

## **Introduction**

In the previous chapter the different areas in London (and Tower Hamlets in particular) risking process of new-build gentrification and gentrification-led-displacement were demonstrated. This chapter describes the role and instruments of the different actors in the London process and will give an overview of the existing planning system of London. The chapter will conclude with introducing the Neighbourhood planning approach of the current planning system. In order to analyse this planning system, it is essential to zoom out to the national planning system.

Sidenote: Since there is no clear distinction between what is considered as UK and England in a lot of planning related literature, the general focus of this research will be on the broader context of the UK, with the focus on highlight specific information about on when mentioned.

### **6.1 Planning based on policies**

The planning system of England is founded on the socio-economic Anglo-Saxon market system model. This liberal capitalistic system is in sharp contrast with the social democratic European Rhineland model. While in the Rhineland model the role of the government is active and the private sector is reactive, in the Angelo Saxon model the state has a more reactive role, with less regulations. The Angelo Saxon free market system is reactive, privatised, deregulated and focus on the responsibility of the private sector and the individual power of society (Heurkens, 2012). The Angelo-Saxon model is characterized in spatial planning process by the separated roles of the private and the public sector. In this Anglo-Saxon model, the central government invest little in the spatial planning and gives just few regulations while the local government is the authorization of spatial planning. This system contributes to the fact that England organises its urban planning based on policies, instead of strategies, zoning or economic development (see figure 34). Every change in the planning system thus needs to be introduced by policies. In England, spatial urban development is initiated by private and market parties based on the principle of free market competition, including negotiations if necessary (Heurkens, 2012).

In the case of London, there are three types of actors who are influencing the planning process. The private developer as private actor, the national, regional and local planning body as public actor and residents/community groups as civic society actor.

Urban development and the way the developments are organized and developed is being influenced by the always changing market circumstances and varying planning politics of London and England (Heurkens, 2012). In England, spatial planning is strongly dominated



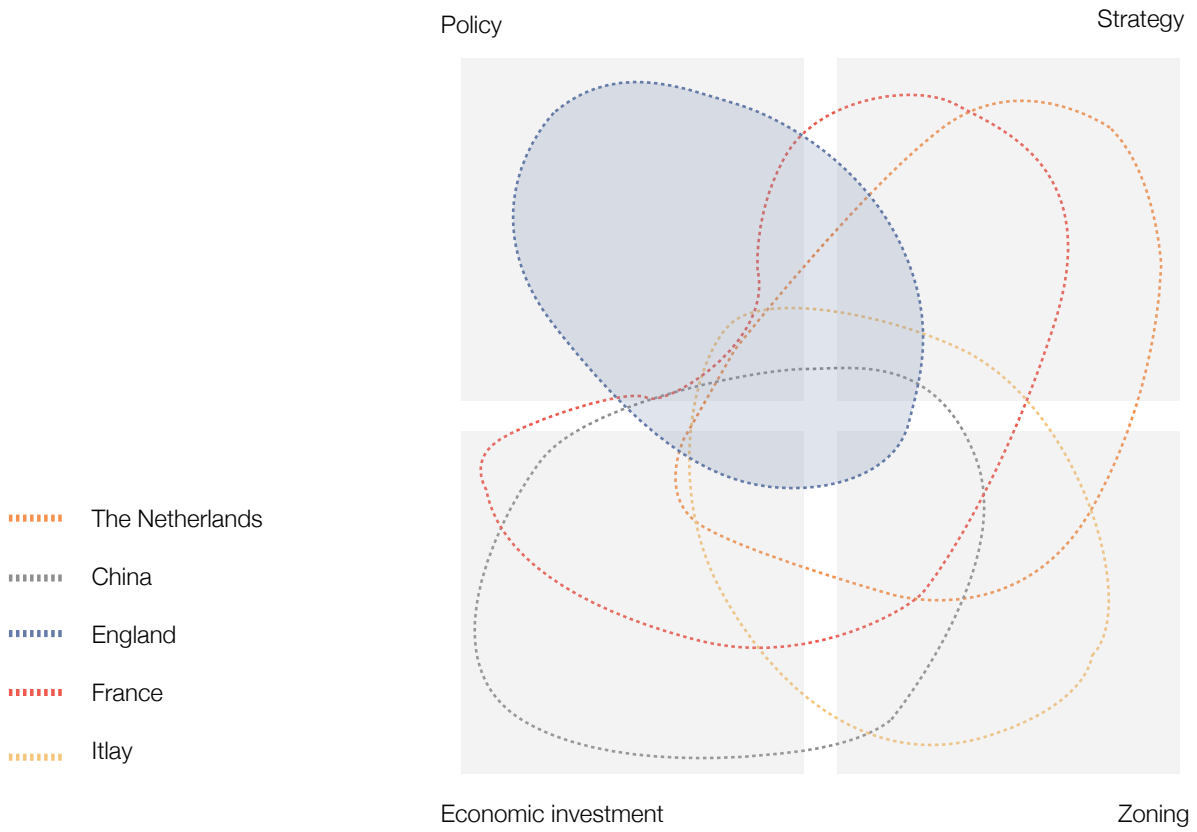


Figure 34: London planning based on policies, compared to other countries  
 Source: image by author, based on Nadin, 2019

by politics. Which of the three actors dominating the planning process, depends very much whether there is a Labour or a Conservative Parliament (see figure NUMBER).

The key differences between these political visions is that the conservative parliament aims of decentralising and unempowering of the Regional government by increasing the Local Authorities decision-making power and involving the private parties in the development plans. In contrast, Labour parliament, aims to involve the Regional governance in the planning body (Nadin, Stead, 2014). The reforms of government in the past decades are clearly visible in the history of the planning system and have resulted in complex collaborations between private companies, semi-public sector bodies and public services on different scales. The next paragraph will describe the planning process and the distribution of the power between the three actors throughout the years.

## **6.2 Towards decentralization of the planning power**

The first government body of London (London county council: LCC) was introduced in 1888 (1888-1965) to develop a strategic and more integrated plan for the wider metropolitan area of London and its surrounding rural areas. In that time, it covered the area better known as Inner London.

The strategic devastation of huge parts of London during the Nazi German aerial bombing in the second world war, forced London to rethink planning, regeneration and reconstruction (Gardiner, 2010). In 1943, professor of planning at the London University sir Patrick Abercrombie got the task of the national government to develop the Greater London Plan as a unique change to introduce planning policies in the city (Larkham & Adams, 2011).

In the London plan of Abercrombie (see figure 35), the city was organised as a metropolitan region with multiple clusters of self-operating amenities, connected by large infrastructure. With this plan, Abercrombie increased the power of Regional government body and did not engage the Local planning authorities in the strategy.

From 1950, the government struggled how to handle planning and planning policies: The conservative government of the 1950's did not had trust in the regional planning body with the London Plan and most planning functions became responsibility of the Local boroughs with limited planning power for the Regional government body (Imrie, Lees, & Raco, 2009). In 1965 (see figure NUMBER), the Labour government replaced the former London County Council (LCC) by the Greater London Council (GLC: 1965-1986). This new planning body expanded to the borders of outer London and covered the current 32 London boroughs. Although the GLC was seen as a Labour power base, the conservatives agreed. The motives



Figure 35: London Plan of Abercrombie of 1944  
 Source: image retrieved from UCL, 2019

for the conservatives to creating this new governmental body were more political based, than planning based: The GLC covered a much larger area with more conservative following. During this labour era, which led till 1979, the regional planning body regained its power detriment of the local authority power (see figure 36).

After a short period of absence, the conservative retrieved majority in the parliament . This Conservative government, led by Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) as prime minister, finished what the conservative in 1950 had started; ending the strategic and Regional planning body (Imrie et al., 2009). During the Thatcher Government, the Regional governmental tier, GLC, was canceled and also the Local Authorities lost power and status (see figure NUMBER). With this deregulation of governmental planning, there was no strategic policy powers on regional city scale. And with a strong control over the local planning decisions making, the national government strengthen their position (Nadin, Stead, 2014). City development took place mostly by national, non-democratically elected Urban Development Corporations (for example the London Dockland Development Corporations) and by private sector led regeneration. Within the absence of a Regional city-wide government between 1986 and 2000 the Local planning authorities gained responsibility and power. The conservatives introduced in 1991

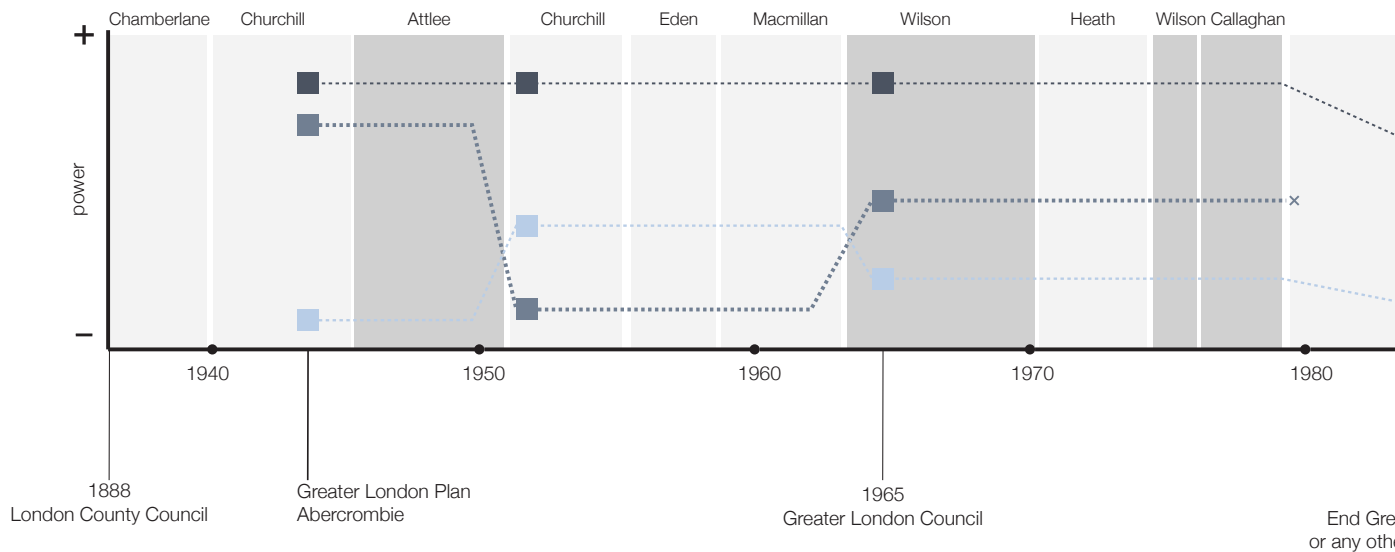
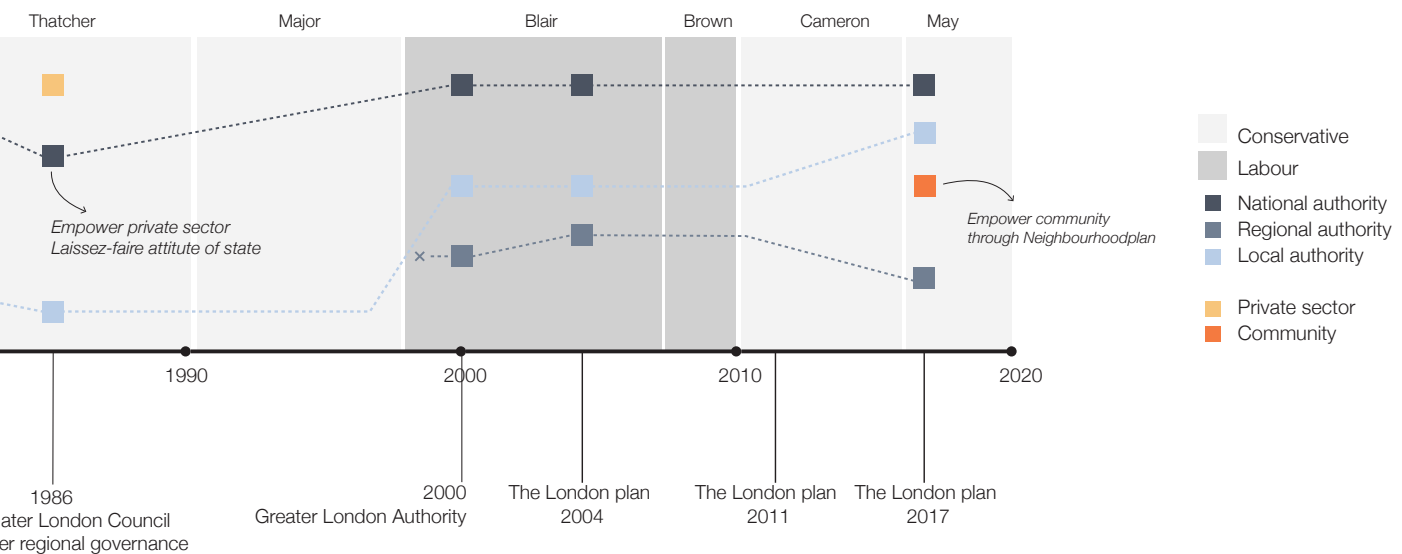


Figure 36: London changing planning system within conservative and labour power  
Source: image by author

the new planning act, fostering a plan-led system and a spatial planning approach in the UK planning system. Each borough now was required to create their own local plan including planning permission (Nadin, Stead, 2014).

With the governmental return of the Labour in 1997 under the power of Tony Blair (see figure 36), a new strategic government and Mayor of London was elected. Although the UK has been very weak in making spatial regional strategies so far, this time the communities and local authorities were engaged in the planning process (Nadin, Stead, 2014). The Mayor of London coordinated strategic metropolitan authorities for policies, transport, economic development, fire and emergencies, finance and planning. The Mayor, together with the London assembly of 33 members leads the new Greater London Authority. After 14 years of absence, the governmental body contained, besides a central and a Local government, again a regional government (Imrie et al., 2009). The main role of the Mayor is to set up a framework of strategic plans for economic, environmental, transport and social development; The London Plan. The first London plan, made in the period of 2000-2004, was the first spatial development strategy for the Greater London led by the Mayor Ken Livingstone. Dealing with the health of London citizen, equal opportunities and sustainable development of the city



integrating a social, economic, environmental framework for the coming 15-20 years (Greater London Authority, 2004). The London plan can be seen as the strategy of strategies for the whole Greater London. Because most of the planning decisions already have been the local authority's responsibility, the Greater London Act of 1999 stated that the implementation of the London plan largely remained by these local authorities. Therefore, the power of the London plan is limited. This power of the local authority is characterised, in contrary to centrally driven regional strategies, by few bureaucratic and high level of democracy.

With the victory of the David Cameron parliament in the 2010 election, the Conservatives were back in the parliament after more than 10 years of absence. The new prime minister promised to decentralise and disempower the state even more, and give more control to individuals and communities by shifting the focus from 'Big government' to 'Big society' (Tait, Inch, 2016). Big society encourages the integration of the free market and society participation with a shift of power from the regional public sector to the society. The 'Big Society' is characterised by solidarity as key principle, greater role for voluntary organisations, the empowerment of communities with active citizen participation and a shifting power from central government to local government.

Currently, town and spatial planning in England is controlled and facilitated by the central and (mainly) the local government (Nadin, Stead, 2014) while the private sector is initiating the development sites (see figure 36). The local planning authorities are monitored and controlled by the national governance and the local plans need to be in conformity with Central national policies (Nadin, Stead, 2014). The different role, instruments and power of the actors are described more in detail in the next paragraphs.

## **6.2 Actors in the London planning system**

As mentioned before, there are three types of actors in the urban planning process of London; The private actor, the public actor and the civic society (see figure 37). These three actors all have their unique function in the initiation phase, the design phase and the construction phase of the urban planning process.

The initiation phase, the design phase and the construction phase together form the process of urban development. When setting out this urban development process in time and power, a clear relation is visible (see figure 38); The earlier an actor is involved in the planning process, the less specifications of the development are already fixed and the more influence the actor

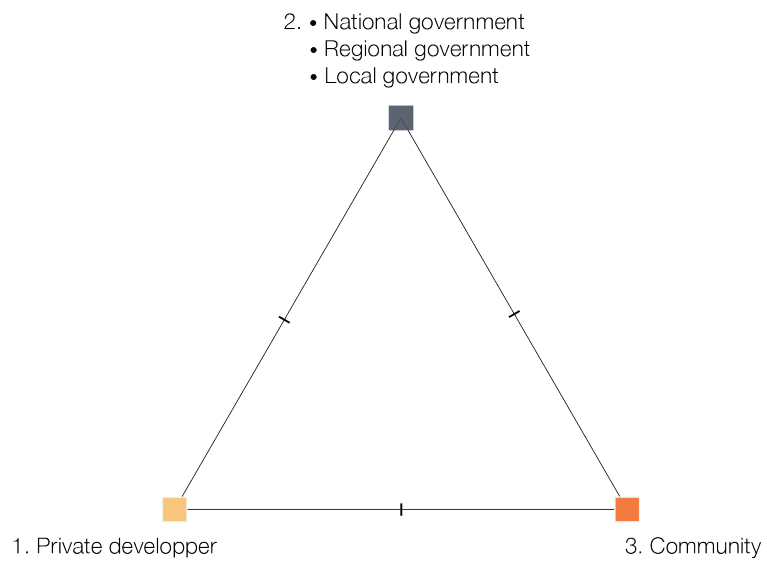
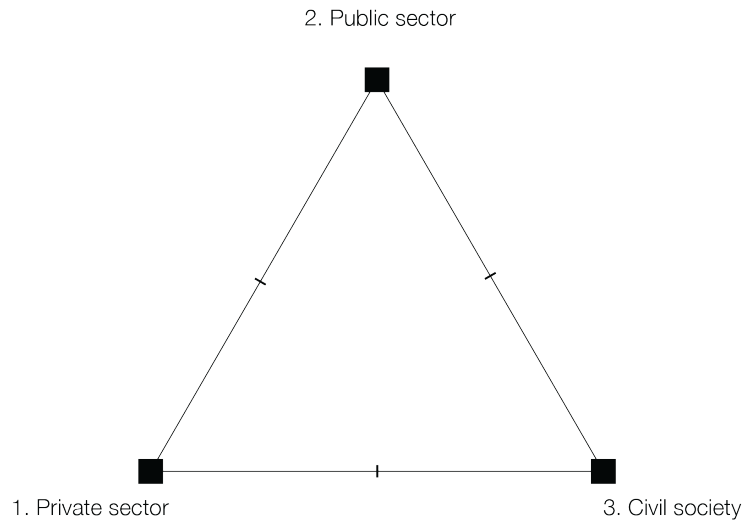


Figure 37: The 3 actors in the London urban planning system; The private developer, the government and the community  
Source: image by author, based on Herukens (2012)

can have on the result. This will give the actor more power in the urban development process.

In the begin of the initiation phase, the local authority sets out a planning brief of the specific site (see figure 39). The planning brief is a document which summarises the broad vision, guidelines and requirement for the development of a particular site. The brief derives from the Local Plan of the borough and covers issues such as density, connectivity, function and public realms. With the planning obligations in the planning brief, the local authority has a lot of influence on the result of the development. This influence of the planning brief in the beginning of the planning process is visible by combining figure 38 and figure 39 and confirms the Local authority with the planning brief as a powerfull actor.

After the planning brief, it is up to different interested private developers in London to submit a plan. They are the initiators of the development. After receiving all the proposals, the local authority will select one of the developers and will collaborate, negotiate and discuss about the development of the site. With these negotiations, the private developer and the local authority will come to an agreement of specific planning obligations of the site.

After agreements of both actors, the local authority will set out a planning permission which means that the developer is official allowed to build on the site. This is the start of the designing phase (see figure 39). During the designing phase, the plan will be further developed by the private developer. And although in this phase there will be consultation between the private developer and the community, the contribution of the community in the process will be minimal. Due to the late and minimal contribution, the society will have little influence in the planning process and with this have minimal influence on the result of the development. Before going into the construction phase, the local authority will make a decision of approval whether they agree or disagree with the design. Again, the local authority is only guiding the development and the private developer is initiating. Whenever the design is approved, the design will be realised under strict supervision of the local authority.

The following paragraphs will explain the role of the three different types of actors more in detail.

### **1. Private sector: The private developer**

Private project developers are property developers in the private sector. They purchase the land and build real estate property on it. In the London planning system, private developers often initiate urban development. They are assigned by the local authority in the project process from the begin till the end. With the top ten housebuilders in England producing more than 44% of the total housing stock, the industry is dominated by a small number of very large



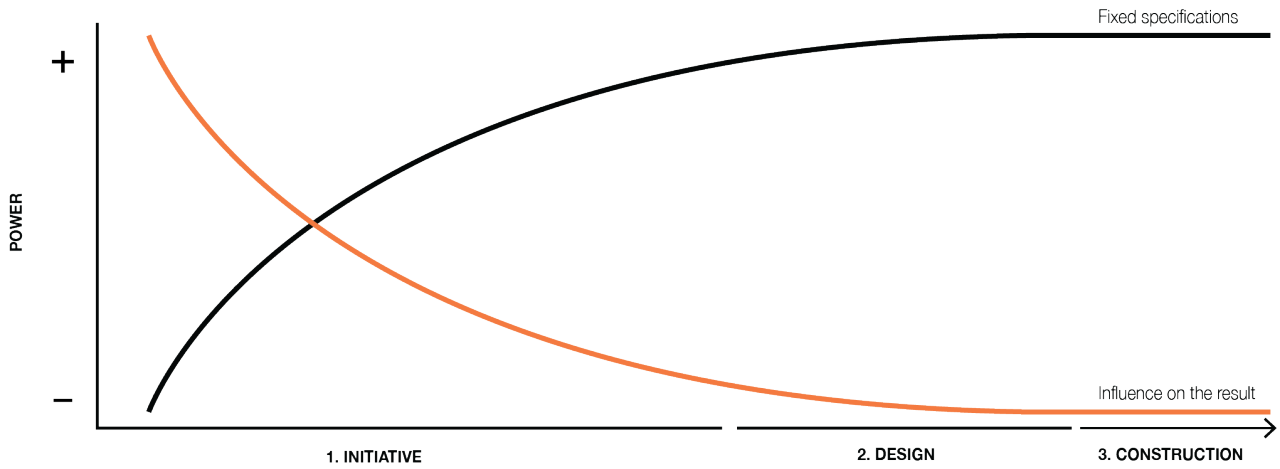


Figure 38: The amount of influence and power during the planning process  
Source: image by author

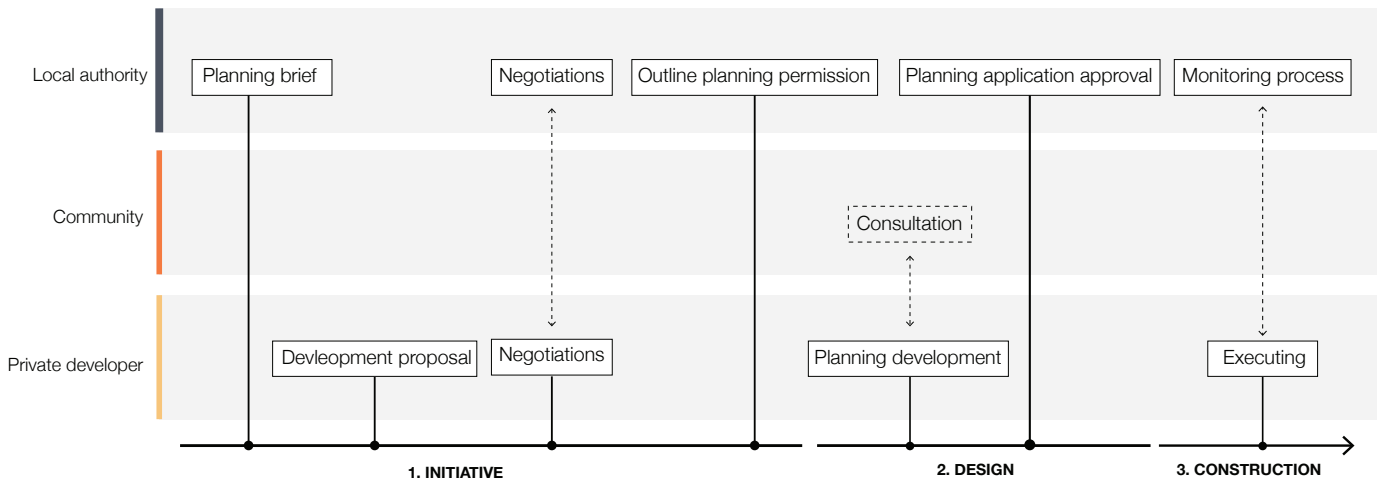


Figure 39: Influences and role of different actors on the planning process  
Source: image by author

developers (Heurkens, 2012) producing either residential or commercial property. This trend towards larger companies operating on a nation-wide scale is growing due to the pressure on the housing market and the need to develop a lot of housing in a short time.

Private developers are smart and big actors in the planning process and have a wide network, and knowledge of the market they are working in. Thanks to the Anglo-Saxon model of England planning process the developer has all the freedom to play on the global capitalistic market. The private developer is well known for its trademark product of large scale mixed-used development and develops based on a profit motif. With building real estate only, the private developer does not aim to build communities and with this they enhance the process of gentrification. Examples of the most powerful property developers in the UK are Barratt Homes, Galliard Homes, Galliford Try, Crest Nicholson, Regal London, Miller Homes, Ballymore group and many more.

Although the private developer is the initiator of urban development in the London planning system, they will be controlled and managed by the local planning authority, through planning policies and planning obligations in the planning brief.

## **2. Public sector: The governments**

Before the introduction of the Localism act of 2011, the public sector in England consisted of a three-tier planning system (see figure 40). This three tier planning system is represented by the different layers of the triangle in figure NUMBER. The layers are organised from the top down based on the level they are operating. The surface of the layers representing the power of the actor and influence and approachability for external influences within the planning process. Since the Localism Act of 2011, this three-tier planning system transformed into a four-tier planning system. The next paragraphs will explain the current role and the instruments of these four tiers of the public sector:

### **• The National authority**

The first tier is the National authority, operating on the level of the England. The National government is required to produce the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) which set out the governments' objectives, central priorities and planning policies as a framework. In the UK, the national government plays a managing role in urban development. The national government is responsible for planning systems and legislation and determines which powers are assigned to lower governments (Heurkens & Hobma, 2014). Based on planning policy statements the central government provides guidelines with regard to spatial planning

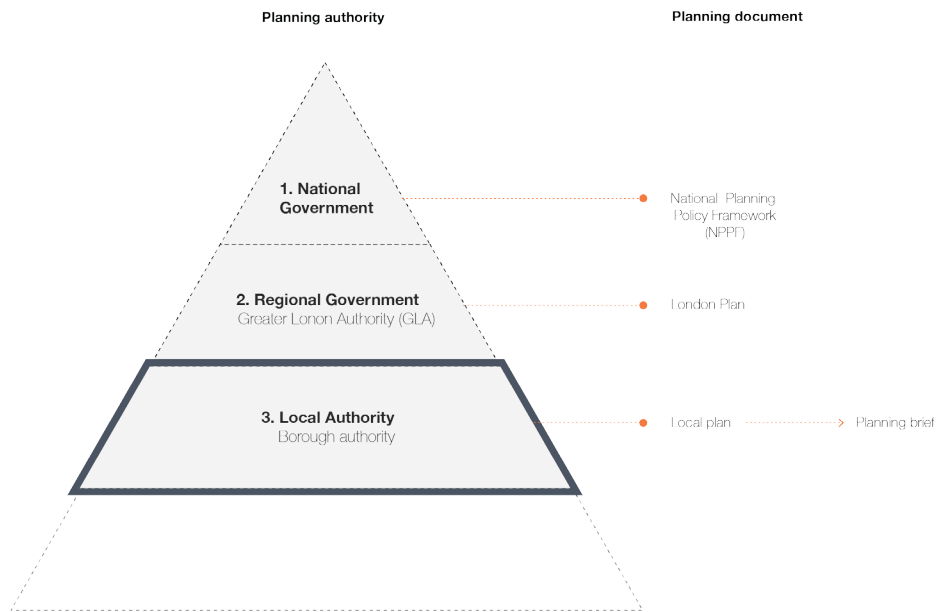


Figure 40: The governmental three-tier planning system before 2011  
 Source: image by author

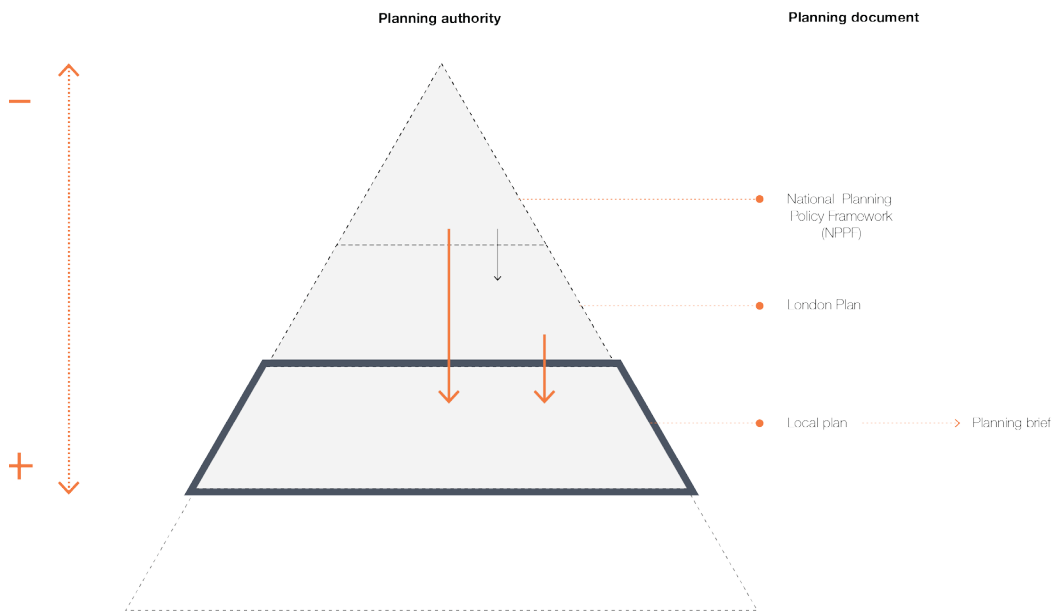


Figure 41: The hierarchy of governmental three-tier planning system before 2011  
 Source: image by author

(Communities and Local Government, 2019). The planning policies of the Planning Policy Framework need to be taken into account by preparing the London Plan, the Local plan and the Neighbourhood Plan (see figure 41).

- **The Regional authority**

The second tier is the Regional authority, operating on the level of the England. England is divided into nine administrative regions which are the highest tier of sub-national division in England. The regional governance body of London is and is better known as The Greater London Authority and consist out of two political bodies; the Mayor of London and the London assembly of 25 members, responsible for promoting economic development, social development and the improvement of the environment. The Mayor and its assembly are required to publish a Spatial Development Strategy (SDS) which is better known as The London Plan (Greater London Authority, 2017c). The London Plan is the overall strategy for London focussing on the economic, environmental, social, cultural and environmental development for the next 20-25 year.

Besides the London plan, the Mayor of London is also responsible for publishing seven London strategies for Environment, Economic development, Transport, Housing, Culture, Health and Spatial Development complementing the London Plan.

The London Authority is only responsible for subjects of strategic importance overlapping multiple boroughs such as London's transport (Transport for London: TfL), fire and emergency planning (London's Fire and Emergency Planning Authority: LFEPA) safety (Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC), economy and large regeneration projects such as the regeneration of the Old Oak and Park Royal and the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (European Commission, 2019). The strategies of the Mayor of London have an advisory role which need to be in line with the National Planning Policy Framework of the national governance (see National authority) and should be carried in action by the Local Planning Authorities (see figure 41). The strategies of the London Plan must be taken into account by London's' local planning authorities while producing the Local plan and by the London communities while producing the Neighbourhood Plan (Greater London Authority, 2017c).

- **The Local authority**

The third tier is the Local authority, operating on the level of a single Local planning authority. Greater London consist out of 32 Local planning Authorities, each representing a single London borough. The Local Planning Authority is responsible for producing a Local Development



Figure 42: The governmental four-tier planning system after the Localism Act of 2011  
Source: image by author

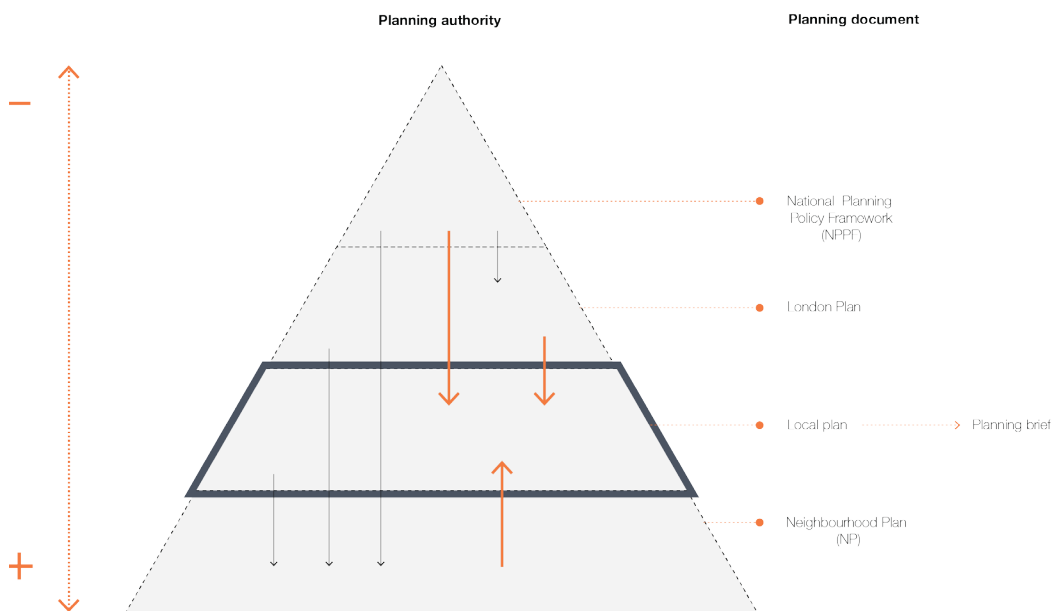


Figure 43: The hierarchy of the governmental four-tier planning system after the Localism Act of 2011  
Source: image by author

Plan, better known as the Local Plan (see figure 41).

This spatial development framework sets out its planning policies and consist out of a core strategy, proposal map and supplementary planning and guidance documents (SPD and SGP). In the urban development process the local authority is the executor of the planning policies of higher governmental bodies (Citizens information, 2019). The local authority planning authority has legal planning authority in London. And with the ability to translate the London plan into a local plan and give planning permissions with specifying local targets they are key in the urban planning system.

In the initial phase of the urban planning process the local planning authority provides a planning brief. This planning brief originates from policies and requirements of the Local Plan and sets out the local authority's requirements, guidelines and planning policies for the specific site. This planning brief, together with planning obligations can influence the development of the private developer.

Local authorities are responsible for local public services in the borough such as housing, schools, local infrastructure, recreation facilitates, environmental protection and planning. Although they have planning authority where the development takes place, what kind of development (housing, commercial, leisure, etc.) and when this development will take place, they cannot decide in detail what kind of housing and shops will be developed on a site. They also cannot prevent that a particular developer will develop the site.

The Local plan of the local authority has to be in 'general conformity' directly with the London Plan of the Greater London Authority and indirectly with the National Planning Policy Framework of the National government (see figure 41).

### **3. Civil society: The residents/community groups**

Before 2011, communities had little opportunity to influence the future development of their neighbourhood (see figure 38 and 39). Consultation with the private developer about the development only took place halfway the planning process and resulted in minimum influence on the urban development of the neighbourhood. So, the community had little power in the London planning system. But this changed with the Localism Act of 2011. This act introduced new opportunities for communities to influence the future development of their neighbourhood by drawing up a Neighbourhood Plan. The Neighbourhood Plan is a top down policy for bottom up governance and is made by a qualified neighbourhood planning body which is, besides the national authority, regional authority and the local authority, the fourth governmental tier of the public sector actor (see figure 42).

In a Neighbourhood Plan, the local community's aims and vision of neighbourhood development are translated into planning policies. And once the Neighbourhood Plan is approved by the local authority, the planning policies of the Neighbourhood Plan will be part of the planning policies of the Local Plan (Locality, 2018). Therefore the Plan has to be in line with the Local Plan of local authority, the regional London Plan of the regional authority and the National Planning Policy Framework of the national authority (see figure 43) before becoming legal force. Since urban development is based on planning policies of the Local plan, the planning policies of the Neighbourhood Plan influence the planning system indirectly.

This means that if a community decides to make a Neighbourhood Plan, they are involved already in the beginning of the planning process and can influence the urban development processes. This give the community maximum power in the London planning system. So, thanks to these planning policies in the Neighbourhood Plan, the community can influence planning obligations and control the private developer indirectly.

So, a Neighbourhood Plan is a very important tool for communitites to gain more power and really increase the amount of influence communities can have in the planning process of local urban development (Chetwyn, 2018). However, the Neighbourhood Plan is an 'optional' planning document and does not automatically cover the inclusiveness problems in the neighbourhood. Therefore in this research, Neighbourhood planning is used and adjusted to implement the desire towards more inclusive urban development.

The next chapter (chapter 7; [Inclusive] Neighbourhood planning) will explain more about the Neighbourhood Plan and it's strength, weaknesses, threats. Resulting in a new version of the Neighbourhrood Plan, based on the multiple opportunities of an original Neighbourhood Plan.

## **Conclusion**

After having explored the different actors in the current planning system in London, the third sub research question can be answered:

*What actors and instruments currently have planning authority in London, and what is the role of Neighbourhood Planning in London's planning system?*

In the current conservative parliament, the urban planning system in the UK consist of three actors:

- The National authority, regional authority and local authority as the public actor;
- The private developer as the private actor; and
- The community groups as the civil society.

Town and spatial planning in the UK are founded on the privatised and deregulated socio-economic Anglo-Saxon free market system model. The private developer has a lot of power in this system and functions as initiator of urban development in the UK.

At the same time urban development in the UK is strongly influenced by policies, which ensures new urban development strategies to be introduced and implemented in the planning system by policies. In London, the local authority with the Local Plan has legal planning authority. Although, this Local plan should be in line with the planning policies of the rational authority (in the National Planning Policy Framework) and the regional authority (in the London Plan). With the planning policies in the Local Plan, the local authority sets out planning obligations. These planning obligations are a legal agreement between the local authority and the developer and with this an instrument to influence, control and facilitate the development by the private developer.

With the introduction of Neighbourhood Planning by the Localism Act of 2011, the three-tier planning authority shifted into a four-tier planning authority. With the community being the fourth tier. Neighbourhood Planning is a top down governance for bottom up urban development. It gives the community the opportunity to produce a Neighbourhood Plan of their neighbourhood. This plan is an optional community-led planning document in which the community's



vision of local future urban development is translated into planning policies. After approval by the local authority, these policies will be included in the Local plan of the local authority and can become legal force. Thanks to these planning policies in the Neighbourhood Plan, the community can influence planning obligations and control the private developer indirectly.

So, Neighbourhood Planning gives the community a tool to gain power in urban development process. Whenever the community decides to produce s Plan, the community will be included in the London planning system and is able to influence the development from the first stage of the development process, instead of in a late stage. This research uses the Neighbourhood planning approach as a tool to implement the aim towards more inclusive urban development. An improved derivative of the Neighbourhood Plan will be explored in the next chapter, since current Neighbourhood planning will not contribute optimally to inclusive urban development in London.

7.

**[INCLUSIVE]  
NEIGHBOURHOOD  
PLANNING**

## **Introduction**

In the previous chapter the Neighbourhood planning approach was introduced as a new instrument to gain power and influence in the urban development of London. This chapter further elaborates and explores this bottom up planning approach by analysing the advantages and disadvantages of a Neighbourhood Plan. This will lead to a new version, a derivative of the original Neighbourhood plan; the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. For a good structure and comparison of both plans, the chapter will explain the characteristics and stages of both plans one after the other. To begin with the original Neighbourhood Plan.

### **7.1 The Neighbourhood Plan characteristics**

#### **What is a Neighbourhood Plan**

Neighbourhood Planning was introduced by the Localism Act in 2011 by shifting the decision-making power of urban development from national and local government to the local community. It is a top down policy for bottom up governance and aims for a decentralisation of the urban planning power. On paper, a Neighbourhood Plan complements the Local Plan. There where a Local plan is focussing on the borough level, a Neighbourhood Plan covers a smaller district on local community level (Locality, 2018). While the Local Plan is produced by the local authority, a Neighbourhood Plan is created directly or indirectly by the community itself.

A Neighbourhood Plan is a document where the residents of a neighbourhood can share their site-specific knowledge, experience and can start discussions about the area they live in. Neighbourhood Planning reflects the desires, demands and needs of the residents and will represent the aims about future development of their neighbourhood. So, everybody's opinion is being included.

A Neighbourhood Plan is made by a qualified planning body. This planning body is the parish or town council of the specific ward who represents the need of the residents. When there is no town or parish council, a Neighbourhood Plan will be produced by a Neighbourhood Forum, consisting of minimal 21 members living or working in the neighbourhood area (Locality, 2018). Within a Neighbourhood Plan, the aims of the residents are represented and converted in legal planning policies. These policies have to be in line with the policies of the Local Plan, The London Plan of the Mayor, the National Planning Policy Framework of the National government, EU obligations and human right legislation (see figure 42 and 43, chapter 6; Urban planning in London).

Neighbourhood Plans per Borough

- 0
- 1-5
- 11-20
- +20

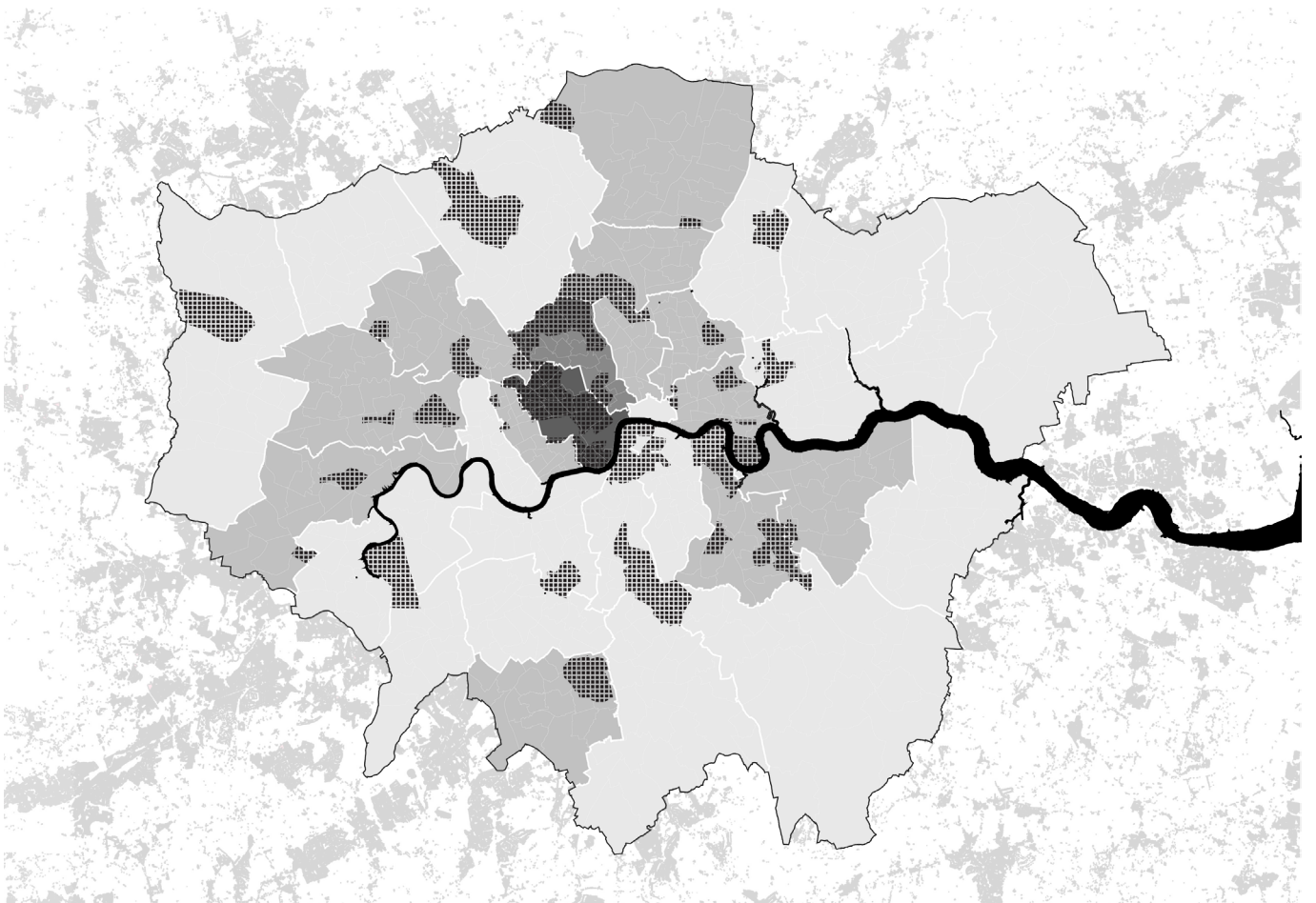


Figure 44: The amount of produced Neighbourhood Plans in London and per borough  
Source: image by author, based on Burton et al., (2019b)

Once a Neighbourhood Plan is approved by the local authority, the site-specific planning policies will be part of the Local plan of the local authority and will be used for setting up the planning brief with planning obligations. A Neighbourhood Plan is an 'optional' planning document. And when the community decides to produce a Neighbourhood Plan, they will be the fourth tier of planning authority in the London planning system (after the National planning Authority, Regional planning Authority and the local planning Authority).

A Neighbourhood Plan can promote positive development of the neighbourhood. It cannot promote less development than described in the Local plan, but it can influence the design, orientation and location of new development. Throughout a Neighbourhood Plan the community can propose the location of new homes, shops and offices, provide new infrastructure, protect and improve the vitality on local high streets and town centres, preserve local green spaces and heritage and have a say on the design of these new developments.

Currently in London, 13 Neighbourhood Plans are actually already made, 3 plans are submitted by the local authority and over 40 plans are being developed at the moment (see figure 44). Majority of these Neighbourhood areas are located in the London borough city of Westminster, Camden and other boroughs north of the Thames river. For a more detailed and up-to-date map of all the Neighbourhood Plans in London see Booklet B, appendix map 2.

### **The importance of a Neighbourhood Plan**

If a community decides to produce a Neighbourhood Plan for their neighbourhood, the community's vision of the neighbourhood becomes a legal force which will be included in the Local plan of the local authority. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the local authority is the executive planning authority in London, giving planning obligations for urban development in a planning brief (Locality, 2018). The private developer needs to follow up these planning obligations. In this way, Neighbourhood Planning gives local communities the opportunity to influence the planning obligations for the private developer indirectly.

Neighbourhood Planning enables communities to be involved in the urban planning process from the beginning on. So by making a Neighbourhood Plan, the community gains more power and a stronger role in the future urban development of their living area.

This is visible in figure 45, where the community will be involved in the planning process from the beginning of on and with this obtain influence and power in the neighbourhood development.

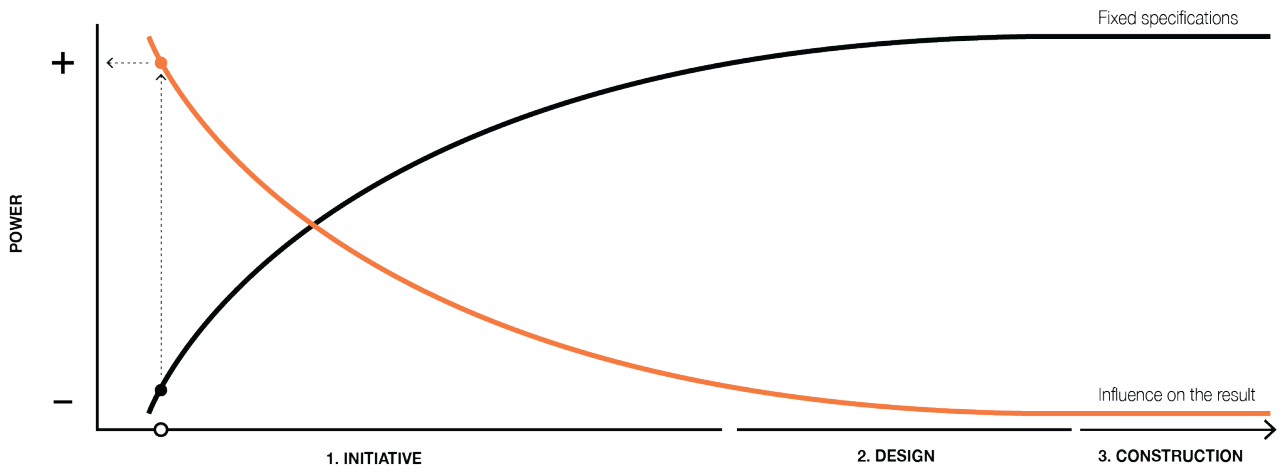


Figure 45: The influence and power of the community in the London planning system WITH a Neighbourhood Plan  
 Source: image by author

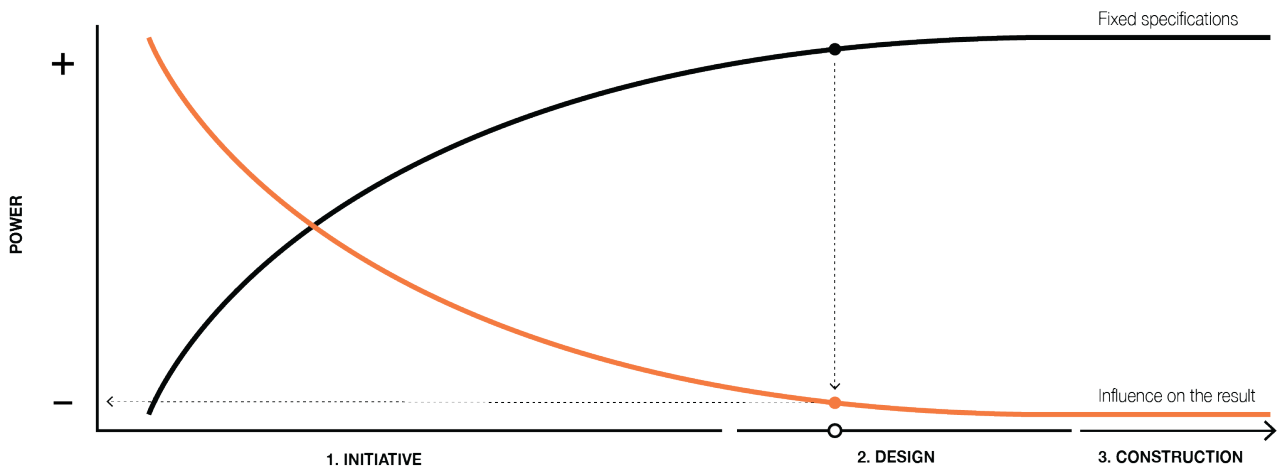


Figure 46: The influence and power of the community in the London planning system WITHOUT a Neighbourhood Plan  
 Source: image by author

If communities decide not to make a Neighbourhood Plan, consultation between the private developer and the community about the development only takes place halfway the planning process. In this late stage, planning obligations are already set out and the influence of the community about the development will be minimal. This is visible in figure 46, where the community will be involved in the planning process only halfway the planning process, resulting in minimum influence and power in the urban development of their neighbourhood. In this situation, a Neighbourhood planning body does not exist. The four-tier planning body functions as a three-tier planning body until the community produces a Neighbourhood Plan. Whenever a community decides not to make a Neighbourhood plan, the planning system operates just like the situation before 2011, as a three-tier planning system (see figure 40 and 41, chapter 6; Urban planning in London).

So, Neighbourhood Planning can really increase the amount of power communities can have on the urban planning process and can influence local development in their neighbourhood (Locality, 2018) .



## **7.2 A Neighbourhood Plan process**

The process of a Neighbourhood Plan consist out 3 stages (Locality, 2018). The first stage can be seen as preparation of making the plan. In stage 2, a Neighbourhood Plan will actually be produced where after the Plan can be examined and submitted in stage 3 (see figure 47). In the figure, the different stages are represented by an icon. Each stage includes multiple steps

### **• Stage 1: Getting started**

The preparation stage of a Neighbourhood Plan process will start with an application for the designation of the neighbourhood area at the local authority of the Borough. The boundaries of the area are not determined in advance but can be established by a Neighbourhood Planning body itself. So, the area can cross multiple ward, parish and district boundaries. The next step is to designate a qualified Neighbourhood Planning body. This planning body consist out of a town or parish council representing the needs of the community (Locality, 2018). Where there is no town or parish council, a Neighbourhood Forum will lead the process of a Neighbourhood Plan. The Neighbourhood Forum is a group of minimum 21 members living and/or working in the area with high interests in the future development of the area. The application of the Neighbourhood area and the Neighbourhood Planning body both must be officially submitted by the local authority.

This application should include a map of the area and will be approved and published.

Once the Local planning Authority have approved the Neighbourhood area and the Neighbourhood Planning body, this local authority is legally obligated to help the Neighbourhood Planning body by providing information and advice during the process of the Plan.

### **• Stage 2: Producing a plan**

In the second stage of the process, the Neighbourhood Plan is being produced.

In the beginning of this stage it is important to identify key local partners such as local councillors, local organisations, local community groups, educational/cultural institutions etc. This engagement of the community in a Neighbourhood Plan is important because it will give you a better understanding of the neighbourhood, it will avoid future conflicts and will help getting overall approval during the submission and referendum in the last stage. The local partners, together with the local authority, should help you with reviewing existing evidence or develop new evidence about the neighbourhood (Locality, 2018). There are no regulations of the content and the structure of the Neighbourhood Plan. This will be determined by the planning body and can differ per Neighbourhood Plan. It could deal with a wide range of

issues, or it could focus only on one or two issues. It is useful to structure a Neighbourhood Plan based on these themes in order to keep structure in the document.

The issues of the different themes can be identified thanks to the help of the evidence from the local stakeholders. Besides formulating the issues and challenges, it is also important to identify the vision and the overall aims for future development about how the neighbourhood should look like in about 15-20 years (Locality, 2014).

Since a Neighbourhood Plan will become part of the Local Plan of the borough, the visions and aims of the community should be translated into multiple policies which set out key details. This might be a specific action or contain a set of criteria/requirements which should be pursued. The policies in a Neighbourhood Plan must be in line with the policies written in the National Planning Policy Framework, the London Plan, local policies in the Local Plan of the borough, EU obligations and human right legislation. These are the basic conditions a Neighbourhood Plan needs to meet.

• **Stage 3: Bringing a plan into force**

In the third and the last stage of the process, the Neighbourhood Plan will be examined and submitted. Before official submission of the Neighbourhood Plan to the local authority, the proposed Plan will be the subject of a consultation. The plan will be published to all the residents, interested consultation bodies and the local stakeholders of the previous stage who provided evidence.

All the comments of the draft version of the Neighbourhood Plan should be considered and adjusted before official submission to the Local Planning Authority of the borough. The local authority will check whether the Neighbourhood Plan meets all the basic conditions and will appoint an independent external examiner who should criticize the plan. After eventually modifications of the Neighbourhood Plan, the local authority will arrange an open referendum where the resident of the neighbourhood can vote whether they want their Local Planning Authority to use the produced Neighbourhood Plan to help deciding planning obligation in the specific neighbourhood. If more than 50 per cent of the residents vote positive, the plan will be brought into force and will soon be part of the Local Plan of the Local Planning Authority (Locality, 2018).

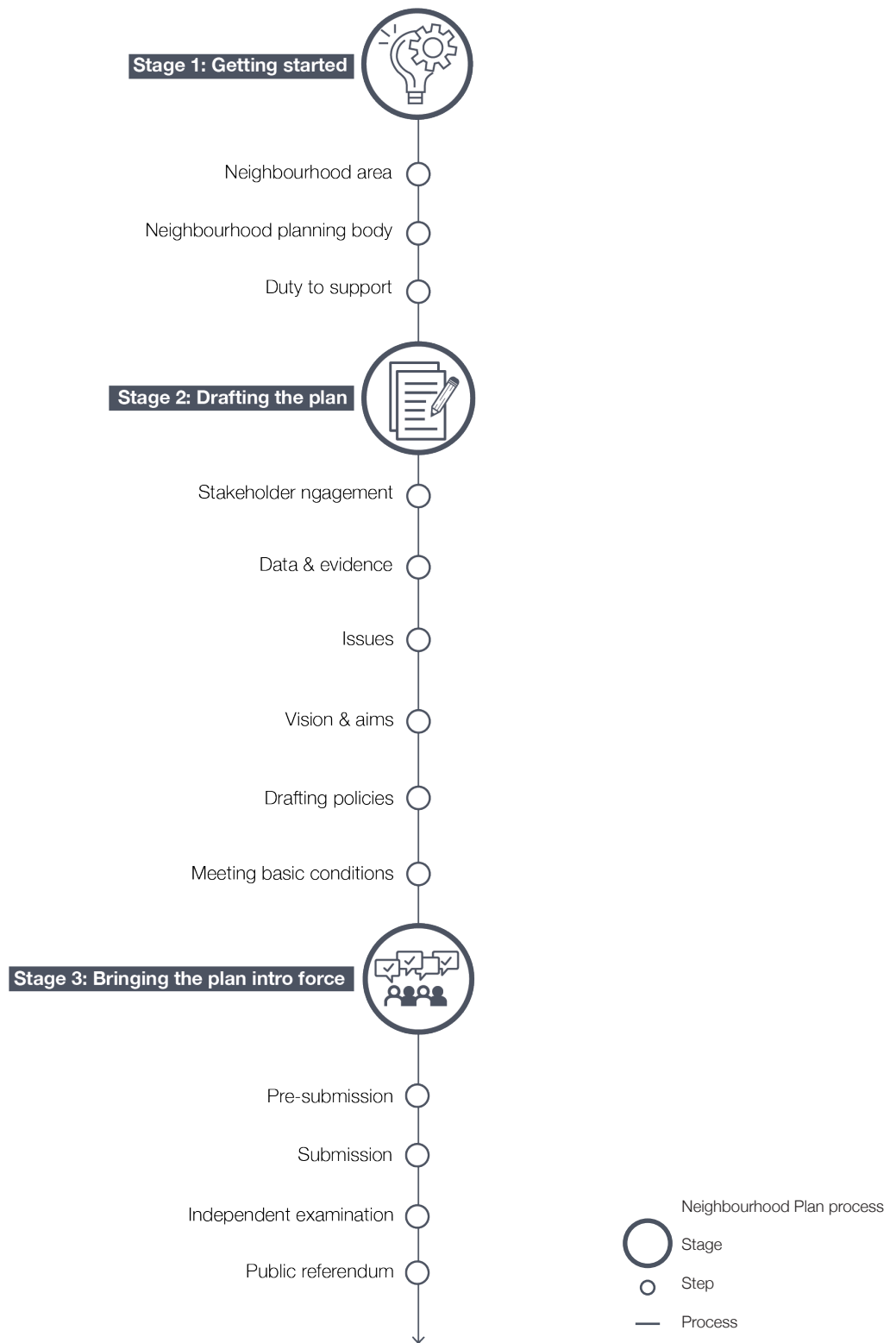


Figure 47: Stages and steps for producing an original Neighbourhood Plan  
 Source: image by author, based on Locality (2018)

### **7.3 The opportunities of a Neighbourhood Plan**

Neighbourhood Planning is facing multiple advantages and disadvantages. These will be analysed in this paragraph based on a strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities. Since the Neighbourhood planning approach is introduced in London just recently, and the Plan takes a couple of years to produce, literature about any evaluation of the Neighbourhood Planning approach is minimal.

#### **Strengths**

Neighbourhood Planning is a top down governance for bottom up approach and gives the community the opportunity to be direct involved in the planning process of their neighbourhoods (Locality, 2018). A Neighbourhood Plan is led by a qualified community planning body and whether this body is a parish council or a Neighbourhood Forum, the planning body is in direct contact with the residents of the neighbourhood area. The Neighbourhood Planning body develops together with the community a shared vision in order to tackle social issues on a local scale and better meet the community's need (Locality, 2018).

After producing the Neighbourhood Plan, all the residents of the neighbourhood are invited at a public referendum where they can vote whether they approve or disapprove with the planning proposals in the Plan. So, the plan really represents the aims of the local community. At the same time, producing a Neighbourhood Plan will strengthen the connection with the neighbourhood and the community. A Neighbourhood Plan will establish a dialogue within the neighbourhood, especially when the planning body is a Neighbourhood Forum. A dialogue between different residents, but also with and between other stakeholders, organisations, local partners and the local authority. Bringing local community together is a good opportunity to interact, get to know each other and to find out new things, new areas and new residents in the neighbourhood area. This will boost the social interaction and the social cohesion within the community (Burton et al., 2019a). A Neighbourhood Plan gives the community the opportunity to influence and steer future planning of the Neighbourhood and with this gain more power in the planning system. This could help repair the lack of faith in the local authority.

#### **Weaknesses**

To start with, Neighbourhood Planning lack focus of inclusivity. Since the scope and the subjects being covered in the Plan are based on the needs and the demands of the local community, the Plan does not automatically covers the subjects of inclusiveness. Due to the complexity of the processes of gentrification and displacement and the unfamiliarity of the

subject 'inclusivity' within the community, the Plan does cover rather more obvious, operative and local topics such as parking plots, places to walk the dog and garbage annoyances.

Additionally, producing a Neighbourhood Plan is a huge time and energy taking commitment for the community. The average time to make the plan is in between 18 months and 3 years (Locality, 2018). Within this time the desires of the population must be collected, the plan must be created, submitted and approved by as well the external committee as the resident's referendum. Making a Neighbourhood Plan takes besides time, also a lot of money. The cost for producing the Neighbourhood Plan, costs for publicity, cost for organising meetings and the cost for hiring professional consultancy can vary between £20.000 and £86.000 (Locality, 2018). These costs (up to £15.000) are only automatically be funded by the government when the Neighbourhood Planning group is a parish council. When the Neighbourhood Planning group is a Neighbourhood Forum these costs must be separately granted by application to locality or other funding (Burton et al., 2019a).

The overall scope and complexity of a Neighbourhood Plan depends on the engagement of the community, the size of the population, the content of the neighbourhood (regional or national importance) and the amount of issues included in the Neighbourhood Plan. But overall, making a Neighbourhood Plan is a complex process since all Neighbourhood Plans need to meet 'the basic conditions' of the planning law and must comply with local strategies, national policies, EU obligations and human right legislation. Especially when the planning body is a Neighbourhood Forum, producing the Plan is a prolonged and complex process. The Neighbourhood Forums mostly are not familiar with the terms used in these documents and lack expertise in producing such a plan. Besides the lack of expertise in governance and policy, there is also a lack of locally available resources and skills in the neighbourhood to define planning policies (Burton, 2019a). In the absence of this knowledge, the Neighbourhood Forum is forced to hire professional consultancy. Especially when the planning body is a Neighbourhood Forums, engagement with professional technical consultancy is found to be necessary. Hiring this technical consultancy has multiple disadvantages.

- First of all, it is not always clear by the Neighbourhood Forums what kind of expertise they need. Neighbourhood Forums with a lack of planning skill do mainly also not know what technical profession could help to complete the job.
- Second, hiring professionals is very expensive and will cover a big part of the Forum's already small budget.

- Also, the communication between the Forum and the consultant can be tough. The consultancies mainly do their work separate from the forum and use specialized language which will alienate the Forum from the process (Burton et al., 2019a).

So, the biggest weakness for Neighbourhood Forums is that there might be a gap between social and planning issues since the enthusiasm for improving the local area is high but the interest and knowledge in planning is limited.

### **Threats**

A Neighbourhood Plan is an 'optional' planning document and although since 2011 more than 100 Neighbourhood Plans are produced successfully, Neighbourhood Planning is not accepted evenly throughout London and the rest of England. Research of Burton shows that more than two-third of all the Neighbourhood Plan of England are produced in rural areas. Compared to barely 30 percent produced in urban areas. A key difference between Neighbourhood Planning in urban and rural areas, is that neighbourhoods in cities, just like London, are more often unparished. Due to the absence of a town council or parish council in most cities, the unparished communities first have to make extra effort by designating a Neighbourhood Forum before starting to produce their Neighbourhood Plan. The community needs to initiate the process of a Neighbourhood Plan by forming a Neighbourhood Forum. So, the desire to produce the plan must come from the residents themselves.

Besides the unequal implementation of Neighbourhood Plans between urban and rural areas there is also an unequal implementation of Neighbourhood Plans between wealthy and less wealthier areas (Burton et al., 2019a). This also has to do with the fact that a Neighbourhood Plan in cities will be produced by a Neighbourhood Forum instead of a town or parish council. Deprived areas are less likely to start the process of a Neighbourhood Plan (Burton, 2019a). Nationally, more than 35% of the produced Neighbourhood Plans are in the 20% least deprived areas, while barely 4% of the completed Neighbourhood Plans or Neighbourhood Plans in production are from the 20% most deprived areas. In London this is even worse. (for more information about the deprivation level in London see chapter 5; Gentrification in London). As visible in figure 48 almost none of the Neighbourhood Plans in London is made in deprived areas and just a few of these Neighbourhood Plans are situated in Opportunity Areas (see figure 49).

When comparing the map of Neighbourhood Plans with the map showing areas of gentrification (see chapter 5: Gentrification in London') there is almost no overlap. While especially in these areas which will be exposed to huge urban growth and face processes of gentrification it

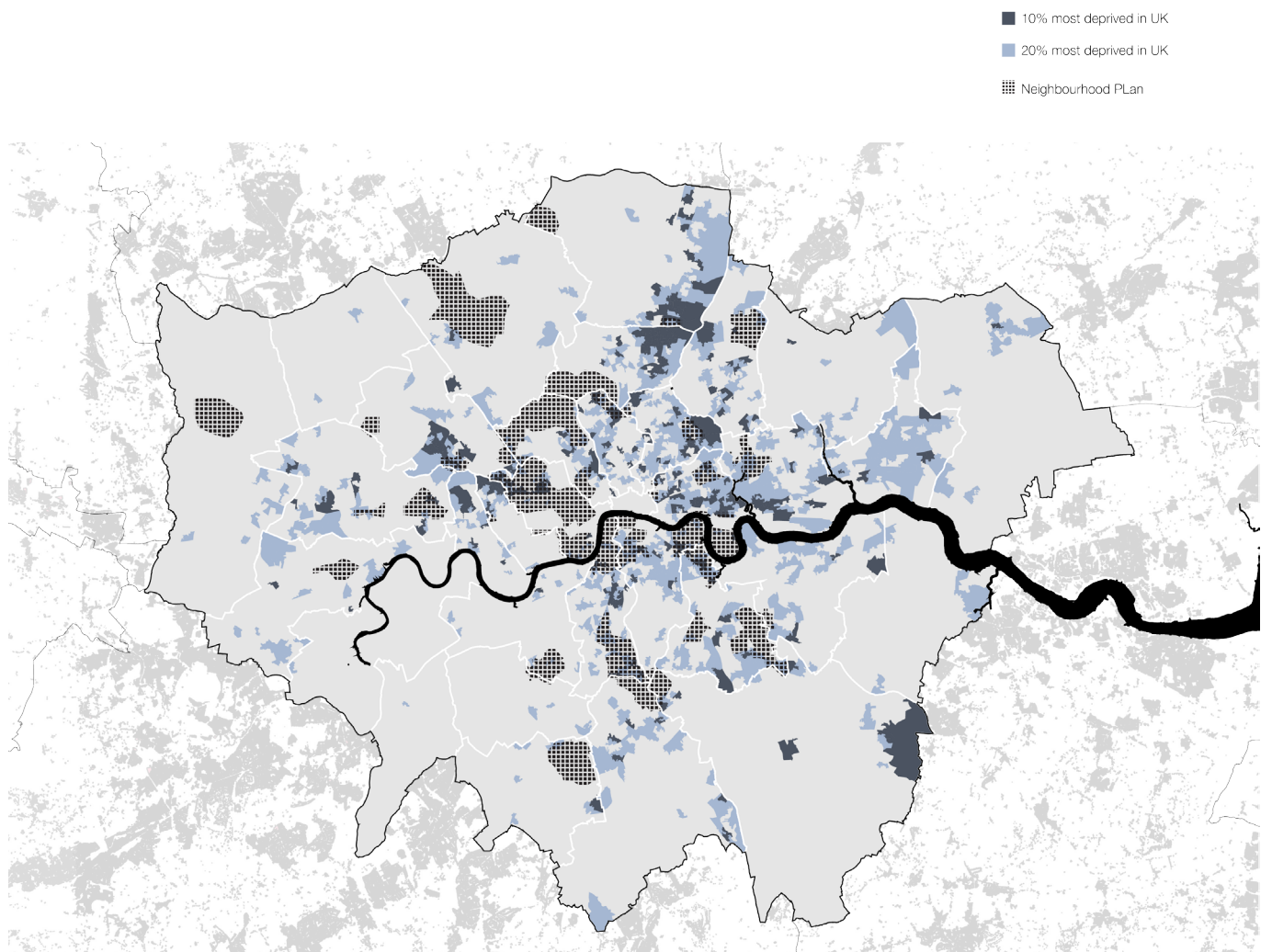


Figure 48: Neighbourhood Plans not being made in deprived areas in London  
 Source: image by author, based on Burton et al., (2019b) and data store Greater London Authority (2019)

is important to involve the community in the planning process in order to shape high quality development for future and the original residents.

Compared to town or parish councils, Neighbourhood Forums are at a disadvantage. Besides the fact that establishing a Neighbourhood Forum is an additional step in the process, the civil parish council has much more and broader powers than a Neighbourhood Forum and is more familiar in producing planning documents. Therefore, collaboration and the relationship with the local authority is very important for the Neighbourhood Forum (Burton et al., 2019a). On paper, Local Authorities should help the Neighbourhood Forums producing a Neighbourhood Plan by providing better evidence and more detailed information of the area. But in reality, this is not always happening. Local Authorities lack support and resources and do not know anything about the small scale of the neighbourhood (Burton et al., 2019a). The lack of support might be caused by the fact that Local Authorities are faced a budget decreasing since 2010 and at the same time are insisted to focus on delivering the Local Plan. Some Local Authorities also struggle adapting to the empowering of the community and the different role in the planning process they now have (Burton et al., 2019a).

Due to the time, energy, commitment, expertise, money and the lack of support it takes to produce this complex Neighbourhood Plan, it is not attractive and pleasant for a Neighbourhood Forum to start the procedure of making the plan for the community. Neighbourhood Planning in this state does not seem to be optimised perfectly for the use in unparished urban areas such as London.

So, the overall threat for Neighbourhood Planning is that the Plan is not designed to function optimal in urban (deprived) areas such as London. Since the Neighbourhood Forum of these urban areas encounter a lot of problems with making the plan choose not to make the plan. Especially the places exposed to huge urban growth fail to gain power in the planning process.

### **Opportunity**

The research of Burton (Burton et al., 2019a) together with analyses of the strengths, weaknesses and the treats of Neighbourhood Planning leads to multiple recommendations how the original Neighbourhood Plan should be improved. These recommendations emphasize the strengths and improve the weaknesses and threats of the current Neighbourhood Planning approach (see figure 50).

The opportunities are:

- Supporting Neighbourhood Planning

Neighbourhood Planning in areas without parish or town council relies heavily on the Neigh-



▣ Neighbourhood PLan  
▣ Opportunity Area

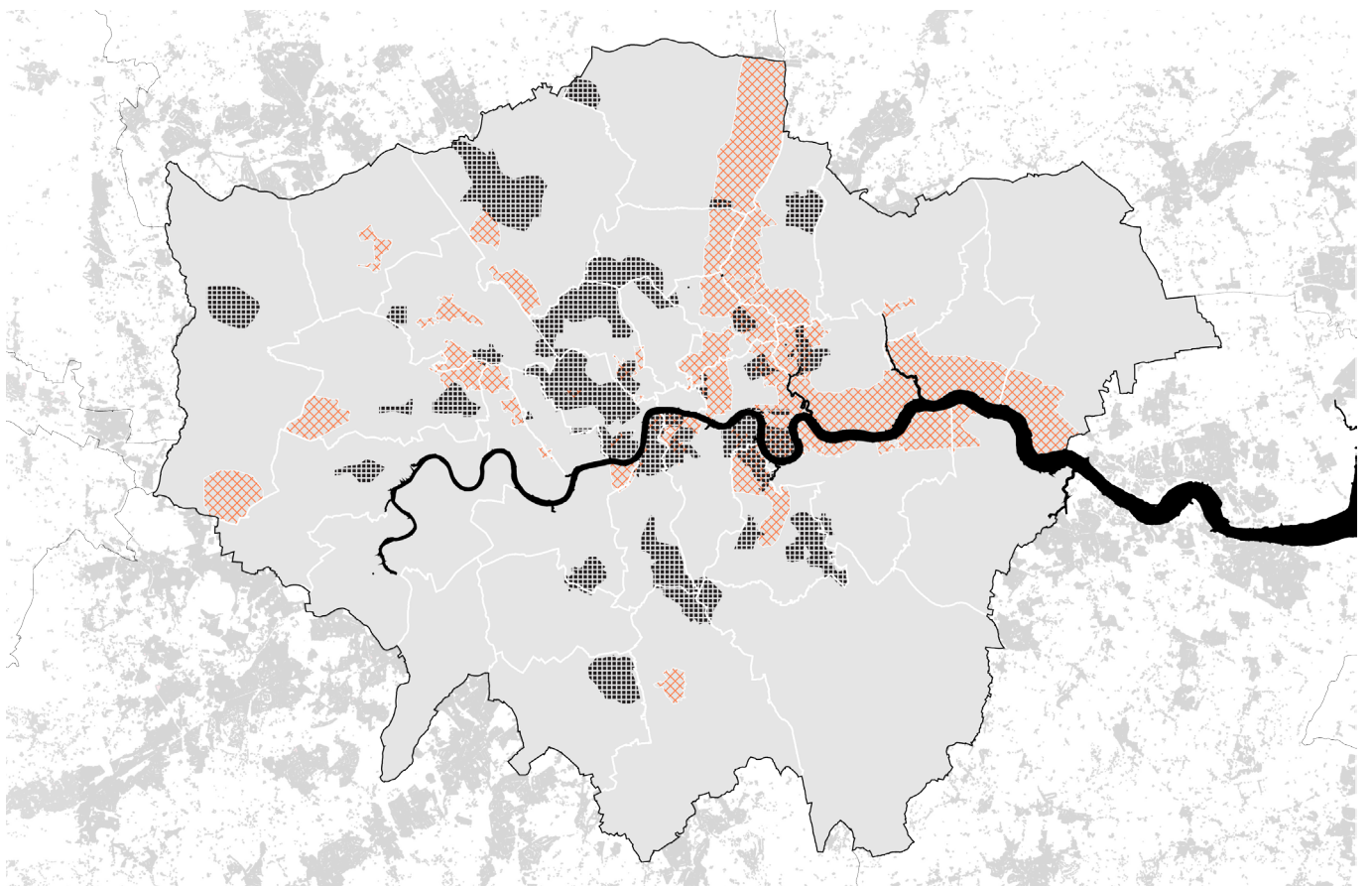


Figure 49: Neighbourhood Plans not being made in Opportunity Areas  
Source: image by author, based on Burton et al., (2019b) and Greater London Authority (2017c)

bourhood Forum. Especially these community planning bodies need the help and support of the local authority. When local authorities acknowledge this and take a more proactive role by helping to form the Neighbourhood Forum and by helping collecting evidence base. The local authority should see a Neighbourhood Plan as an extending, instead of opposition of the local authority and the Local Plan. This starts with referring more to Neighbourhood Planning in the Local Plan in order to take off more activity within the local authority to support Neighbourhood planning (Burton, 2019a). Also specifically appointing one of the local authority councillors, who is familiar with the Neighbourhood area, as mediator between the Neighbourhood Forum and the local authority, should help a better support for the Neighbourhood Forum. A better collaboration between the Neighbourhood Forum and the local authority should result in bigger trust in the local authority and the community.

- Improving the Neighbourhood Planning process

The driving force for the community to produce a Neighbourhood Plan is seeking to have a voice in the large new developments in their neighbourhood (Burton, 2019a). This will give them the opportunity to tackle local social issues.

When the community is more involved in the planning process, this will bring more positive attitude towards urban development. But, due to the complexity of the Plan, the community has to deal with planning issues in order to tackle the social issues. The community should get help by tackling these planning issues in order to maintain this positive attitude towards urban development. The process and complexity of a Neighbourhood Plan can be improved by tackling these planning issues. This can be done by providing the community extra knowledge and tools

- Focussing on deprived urban areas

Research found out that Neighbourhood Plans are being produced more in rural, non-deprived areas with town or parish council, and less in urban, deprived areas with a Neighbourhood Forum (Burton, 2019a). This means that the Neighbourhood Planning strategy of the national governance might work on the scale of whole England but is not efficient for urban areas facing deprivation such as London. Therefore, a revised version of a Neighbourhood Plan in London is necessary. This means that there is room and opportunity to design a Neighbourhood Plan especially for neighbourhoods in London which are risking gentrification

The weaknesses and treats of the Neighbourhood Plan will be used for improvements (see figure NUMBER). These improvements, together with the strengths and opportunities will

result in a strategy on how to use a Neighbourhood Plan as a tool towards more inclusive urban development in neighbourhoods in London risking processes of gentrification. Applying the inclusive strategy on the Neighbourhood Plan result in an inclusive new version of the Plan: the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. This Inclusive Plan stimulates inclusive urban development and is especially designed for neighbourhoods in London risking gentrification. The characteristics, the importance and the different stages of the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan will be explained in detail next

#### 7.4 The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan characteristics

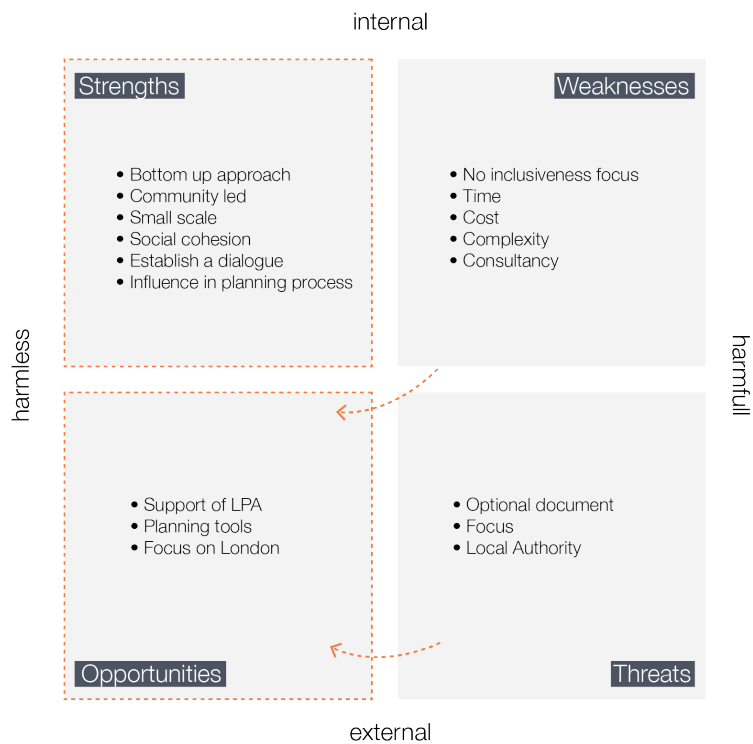


Figure 50: Transforming the weaknesses and threats into opportunity and focus on the advantages of the Neighbourhood Plan  
Source: image by author

### **What is an Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan?**

The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan is a new version, a derivative of the original Neighbourhood Plan (see figure 51). This Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan is a planning document for urban development of the neighbourhood, created by the community, focussing on more inclusivity in the neighbourhood with the following characteristics:

- Inclusion focus

Where the original Neighbourhood Plan does not have a specific layout and a specific focus, the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan specific focus on inclusivity. With producing the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan, the community will become aware of the processes of gentrification and the negative effects gentrification has on the neighbourhood. The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan helps to prioritize the demands and desires of the Neighbourhood Forum by putting the demand for inclusive urban development at the top. This will be done by focussing on 3 main topics within the document; housing, services and public space

- Supporting Neighbourhood Planning

The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan in London will be produced by a qualified planning body. This planning body consist of 21 community members living or working in the neighbourhood area and is better known as Neighbourhood Forum. All community members of the area are allowed to become part of the Neighbourhood Forum. The Neighbourhood Forum will be supported by the local authority via an appointed local councillor. This local councillor is familiar with the Neighbourhood area and functions as mediator between the Neighbourhood Forum and the local authority. This local councillor will help the Neighbourhood Forum with forming providing evidence base and local partner engagement.

- Improving the Neighbourhood Planning process

Just like the original Neighbourhood Plan, also the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan is a complex, time-consuming job with a lot of responsibilities for the Neighbourhood Forum. The community members of areas facing gentrification overall lack expertise and the knowledge to produce such complex plans. In order to compensate this lack of expertise, they often spend a lot of their budget for hiring professional consultancy. In order to respond to the lack of skills of the residents, the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan provides Inclusive Patterns. These Inclusive Patterns are a translation of the urban planner's knowledge about inclusivity into clear and understandable examples how to develop towards more inclusive urban devel-

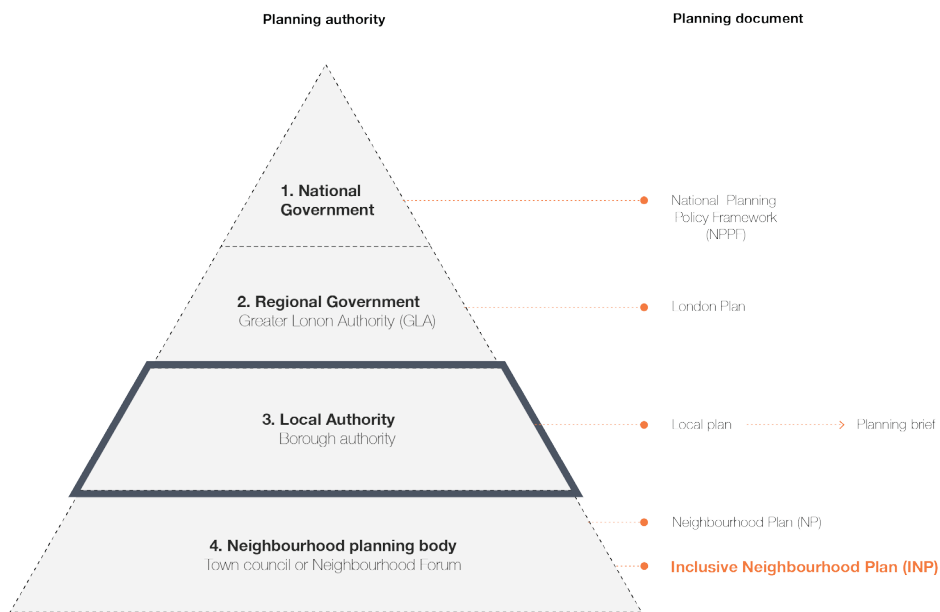


Figure 51: The Inclusive Neighbourhood P<sub>L</sub>an as derivative of the original Neighbourhood Plan  
Source: image by author

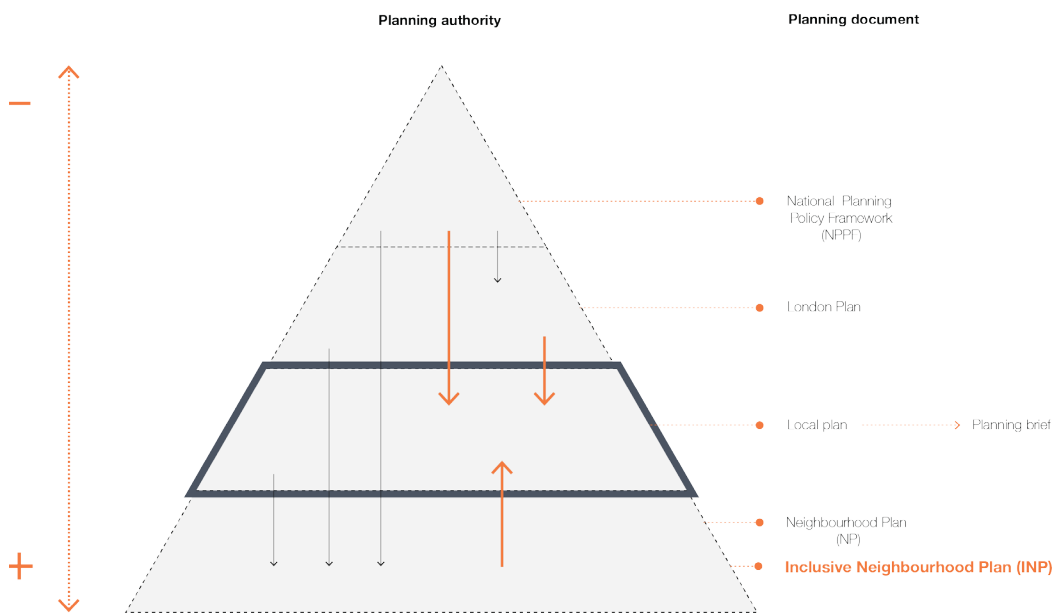


Figure 52: The Inclusive Neighbourhood P<sub>L</sub>an within the existing hierarchy and power of the four-tier planning system of London  
Source: image by author

opment. The Patterns derive from the 3 x 3 scheme (see figure 53) towards inclusive urban development and are a result from combining the elements of indirect displacement with the pillars of inclusivity (see 4 'Gentrification, displacement and inclusivity). The patterns will be explained in detail in part B of booklet B; Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan

The Inclusive Patterns will help the Neighbourhood Forum to improve the accessibility, diversity and community about housing, services and public space in your neighbourhood and contain the nine following subjects:

- Housing patterns
  1. Open community
  2. Housing mix
  3. Communal backyard
  
- Services patterns
  4. Town centre Network
  5. Service mix
  6. Cultural facilities
  
- Public space patterns
  7. Walkable neighbourhood
  8. Decentralized urban green
  9. Communal public realm

These Patterns are especially created for the Neighbourhood Forum and will help translating the community's vision and objectives into planning policies. A detailed explanation about these Inclusive Patterns can be found in part B of booklet B; Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan.

### **The importance of a Neighbourhood Plan**

An Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan will be used as a tool to implement the need for inclusive urban development in the planning process. The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan is a powerful tool to help translating the community's aims and demands about future development of a neighbourhood into legal planning policies.

The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan is a legal planning document and has the same rights as the original Neighbourhood Plan (see figure 52). With this planning document, the community

## Pillars of inclusivity



Figure 53: Overview of the 9 inclusive patterns within the 3x3 scheme of the elements of displacement and the pillars of inclusivity  
Source: image by author

can gain more decision-making power in the planning system in London towards more inclusive urban development. Once the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan is approved by the local authority, the site-specific planning policies will be part of the Local plan. When the Inclusive Plan is submitted, the community will be the fourth tier of planning authority in the London planning system (after the national planning authority, regional planning authority and the local planning authority). If the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plans are more focused on the aim towards inclusive urban development these aims will be included in the planning process from the very begin on.

The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan has been specially designed for areas with a high-risk facing processes of gentrification and gentrification-led-displacement. These areas are defined as deprived areas being part of an Opportunity Area (for more information about these Opportunity reas see chapter 5; Gentrification in London). These areas have an urgent need for inclusive urban development. Inclusive Neighbourhood Planning is extremely important in areas risking gentrification since these areas will be exposed to huge urban densification and intensification what can lead to the displacement from the original residents out of the neighbourhood. It is therefore important to steer developments in these areas towards more inclusive urban development instead of exclusive urban development.

By designing the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan especially for areas with a high risk of gentrification processes, the communities in these areas will be encouraged to form a Neighbourhood Forum and influence the urban planning system towards inclusive urban development in their neighbourhood. In this way they gain easier and stronger power in urban planning system in the city. Neighbourhood Forums of neighbourhoods with a high risk of gentrification willing to produce a Neighbourhood Plan will be requested to produce the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan instead of the original Neighbourhood Plan (see figure 54).

Neighbourhood Forums of neighbourhoods not facing gentrification willing to produce a Neighbourhood Plan will being recommended produce the original Neighbourhood Plan, even though they will not be forbidden to make an Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan.

When the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan will be implemented from the beginning on in the planning process it will have maximum impact for further planning and planning obligations. With encouraging inclusive urban development in the beginning of the planning process, exclusive urban development can be prevented, and processes of gentrification and displacement will be minimized



■ High risk gentrification

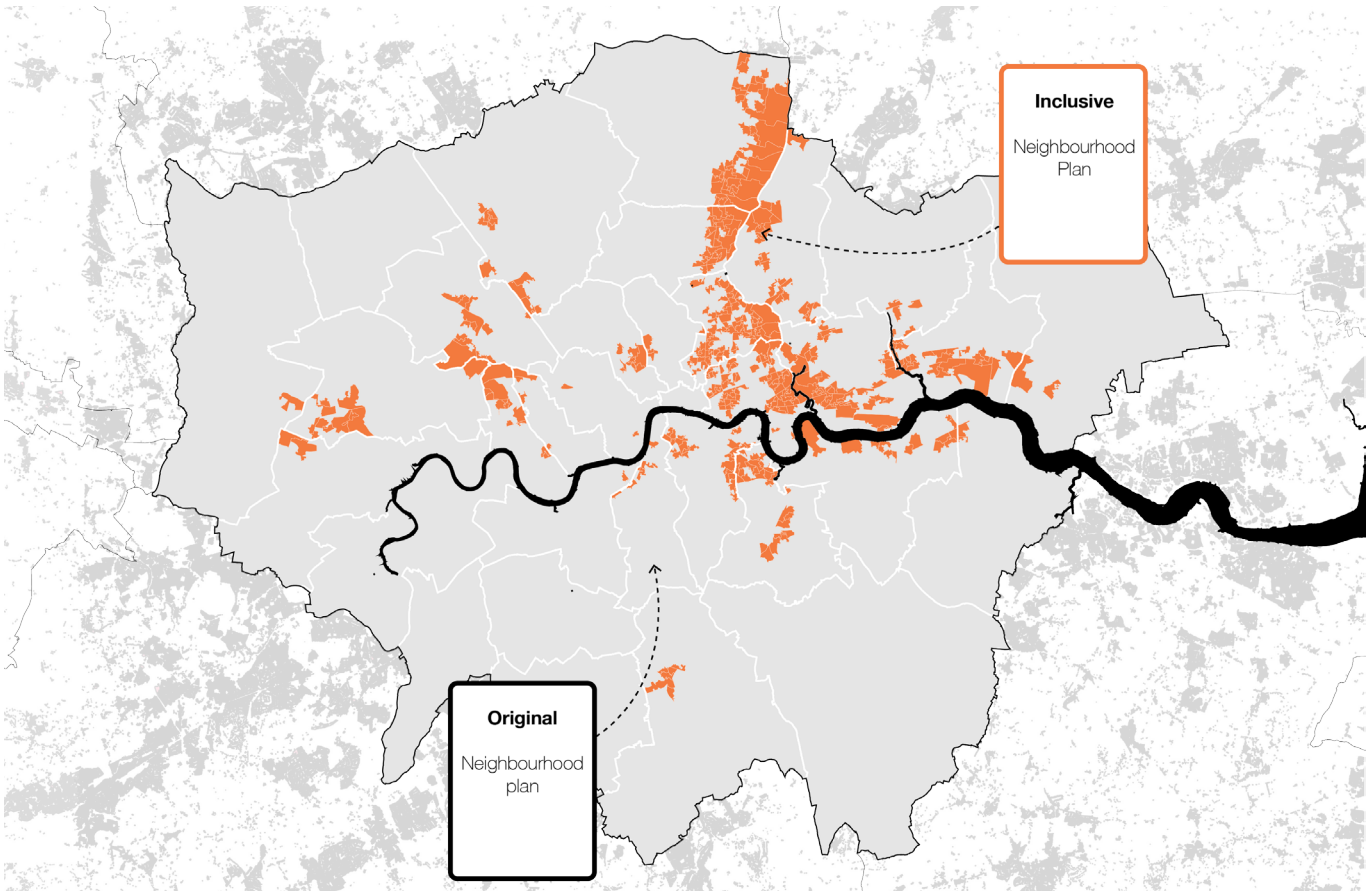


Figure 54: Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan especially designed for neighbourhoods risking gentrification

Source: image by author

## 7.5 The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan process

There are 6 main stages in the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan process. The first stage can be seen as preparation of making the plan. In stage two, three and four the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan will be applied on your own neighbourhood. The inclusivity patterns will help you with this. The last stages, stage 5 and 6 will help you and your Neighbourhood Forum to bring the strategy into force and to monitor, control and maintain the inclusivity in the neighbourhood. In the figure, the different steps within the stages are represented by a dot on the line (see figure 55). Whenever the small dot is orange aligned, this means that the inclusivity patterns will help you by accomplishing this step.

### • Stage 1: Getting started

The preparation stage of the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan process will, just like the original Neighbourhood Plan, start with an application for the designation of the neighbourhood area at the local authority of the Borough. This application should include a map of the area and will be approved by the local authority and published within the neighbourhood. The boundaries of the area are not determined in advance but can be established by the Neighbourhood Planning body itself. The next step is to find out whether the specific neighbourhood is one of the areas in London risking processes of gentrification now or in the near future. (The areas risking processes of gentrification are illustrated in orange at chapter 5; 'Gentrification in London') If the specific neighbourhood have high risk to face processes of gentrification, the planning body requested to produce the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan instead of the original Neighbourhood Plan. Is the specific neighbourhood NOT covered in orange? In that case, the next steps will be followed by the planning body. Is the neighbourhood not projected in orange? Then inclusive urban development is not required in the neighbourhood and the original Neighbourhood Plan is being recommended.

The next step is to designate a qualified Neighbourhood Forum. The local authority will appoint a local councillor who will help the Forum with creating awareness, suggest a Neighbourhood Centre and help with finding members of the Neighbourhood Forum.

The Neighbourhood Forum represents the diversity of the community and is a dynamic and continuously changing group, consisting of original and new residents of the neighbourhood. The Forum will come together on a regular basis (one to four times a month) depending on the current moment of the process.

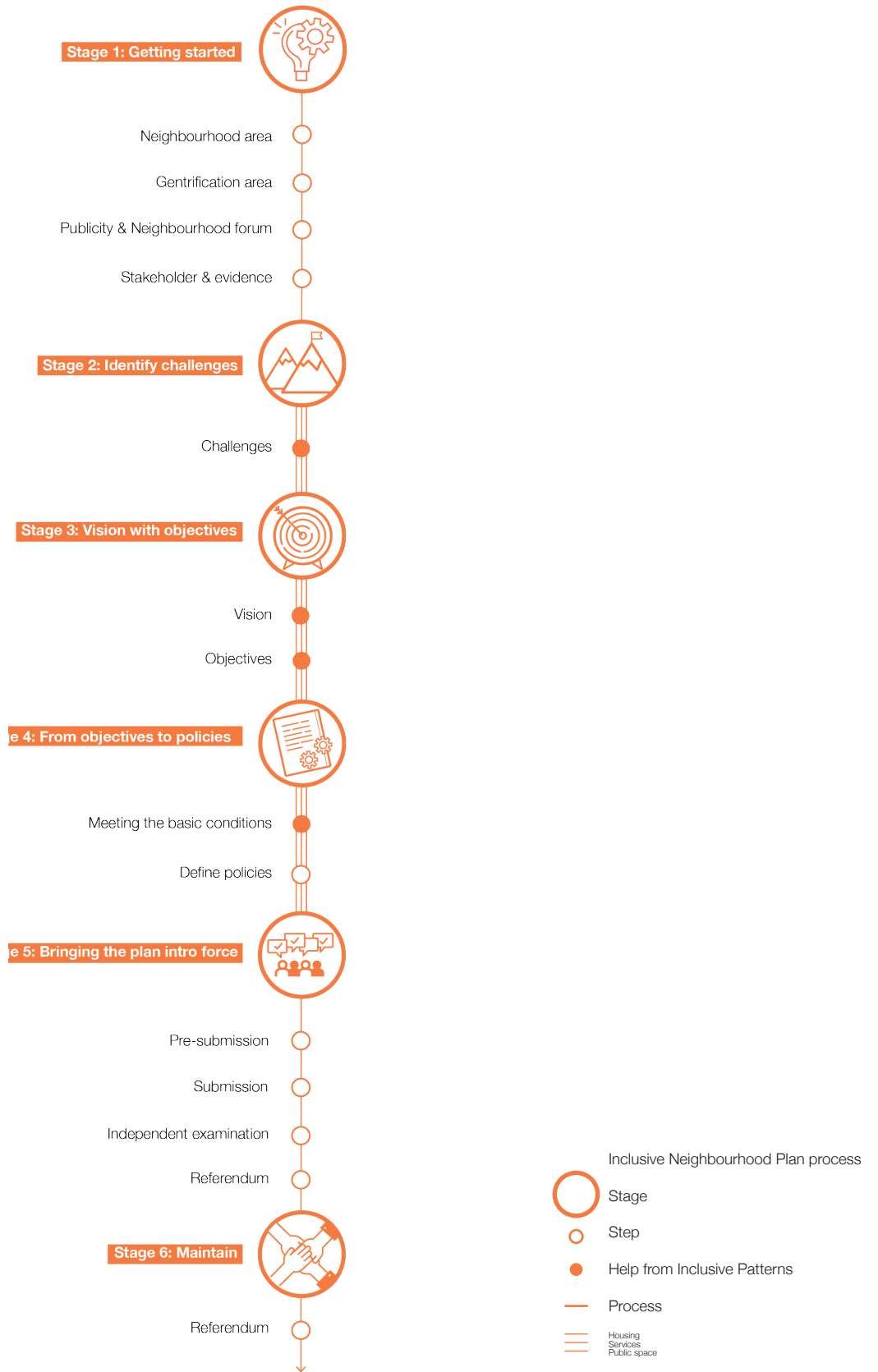


Figure 55: Stages and steps for producing an Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan  
 Source: image by author

From this stage on the Neighbourhood Forum needs to engage with local stakeholder, partners and the community to collect existing and new evidence which will be used while making the Inclusive Plan.

• **Stage 2: Identify the challenges**

The second stage is the first actions for making the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. First it is important to set out the challenges the community is facing in the neighbourhood. These challenges are subdivided into at least three themes; housing, services and public space. The inclusivity patterns can help you with defining challenges, by creating awareness about the lack of housing, services and public space inclusivity in your neighbourhood. The challenges must be supported by qualitative and quantitative data and will represent the opinion of all the residents in the neighbourhood.

• **Stage 3: Develop a vision with objectives**

Stage three is all about developing a common vision and defining multiple objectives of the future development of the neighbourhood. The vision and the objectives are linked to the elements of the challenges and consist at least out of the themes; housing, services and public space. The vision and the objectives will be developed by the Neighbourhood Forum at the same time. The inclusivity patterns will help the Neighbourhood Forum by defining objectives. Each pattern already includes multiple objectives which can be used literally or need small modification.

• **Stage 4: From objective to policies**

In stage 4 existing policies will be analysed and new policies will be defined. The new planning policies of the Neighbourhood Plan are required to meet the basic conditions. These are the policies and requirements stated in the National Planning policy framework, the London Plan, the Local Plan, human rights requirements and the requirements of the EU. In the Inclusive Patterns the National and regional policies have already been analysed and summarised. An important task for the Neighbourhood Forum is to do the same for the Local Plan. After analysing the different policies and requirements it is up to the Neighbourhood Forum to formulate new policies.

By defining new policies, the objectives of the vision of stage 3 will be used and translated into official planning policies. These policies in the Neighbourhood Plan will become official planning policies and can carry legal weight for future urban development in your neighbourhood.

- **Stage 5: Bringing the plan into force**

In the last fifth stage of the process, the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan will, just like the original Neighbourhood Plan be examined and submitted. Before official submission of the Neighbourhood Plan to the local authority, the proposed Plan will be the subject of a consultation. The plan will be published to all the residents, interested consultation bodies and the local stakeholders of the previous stage who provided evidence.

All the comments of the draft version of the Neighbourhood Plan should be considered and adjusted before official submission to the Local Planning Authority of the borough. The local authority will check whether the Neighbourhood Plan meets all the basic conditions and will appoint an independent external examiner who should criticize the plan. After eventually modifications of the Neighbourhood Plan, the local authority will arrange an open referendum where the resident of the neighbourhood can vote whether they want their Local Planning Authority to use the produced Neighbourhood Plan to help deciding planning obligation in the specific neighbourhood. If more than 50 per cent of the residents vote positive, the plan will be brought into force and will soon be part of the Local Plan of the Local Planning Authority (Locality, 2018).

- **Stage 6: Maintain**

The work and collaboration of the Neighbourhood Forum and the local partners does not stop after a Inclusive Neighbourhood being produced, examined and the planning policies be included in the Local plan. Because now the time has come to monitor and control the executing of the planning policies as desired. This stage is a more passive stage in which the Neighbourhood Forum will gather 2 till 4 times a year in order to and evaluate the development in the neighbourhood and to revise their Inclusive Plan, if necessary. This stage emphasize the importance of feedback and evaluation in order to keep improving the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan and the local development.

A more detailed and step-by-step explanation of the different stage of a Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan can be found in Booklet B, Part A; the step-by-step roadmap.

This roadmap is a document that is especially developed for the community willing to gain more power in the planning proces. Therefore it is written in clear and understandable language, directed to the community. The roadmap provides information about the stages with usefull tips and gives case study examples for better help and support.

## Conclusion

After having explored the Neighbourhood Plan in London, the fourth and last sub research question can be answered: *How can Neighbourhood Planning be used and improved to stimulate inclusive urban development in London?*

Within this research, Neighbourhood Planning is used as instrument to implement and promote inclusivity in the urban development of London. With the Neighbourhood Plan, the community develops planning policies in order to tackle social issues on a local scale. These planning policies will be included in the Local Plan. Since the local authority facilitates and controls the private developer through planning obligations derived from the Local Plan, the Neighbourhood Plan can influence these planning obligations and control the private developer indirectly. So, via Neighbourhood Planning, a strategy towards more inclusive urban development can be translated into legal force planning policies. However, the original Neighbourhood Plan has, also disadvantages. The most important weakness and threat is that a Neighbourhood Plan does not automatically cover the gentrification and displacement issues of the neighbourhood. Therefore, Neighbourhood Planning should be improved to stimulate and encourage inclusive urban development in areas with high risk of gentrification. This results in an inclusive derivative of the Neighbourhood Plan; the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan (see figure 56). This Plan is based on the strengths and respond on the disadvantages of the original Neighbourhood Plan. With the following improvements:

- Focus on inclusivity: An Inclusive Neighbourhood plan focuses on inclusivity by bringing more awareness about inclusive urban development. With the help of Inclusive Patterns, the community has the skills to develop towards better accessibility, diversity and community of the housing, services and public space. This focus is necessary to contribute to inclusive urban development.
- Focus on gentrification areas: The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan especially focus on areas in London with high risk of gentrification and with an urgent need for inclusive urban development. Because the original Neighbourhood Plan does not provide optimum results in deprived urban areas facing rapid urban development.
- Support: The Neighbourhood Forum of an Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan gets help from a local councillor of the local authority with providing local partners and evidence base. This will deal with the lack of support of the original Neighbourhood Plan in the unparished areas of London and will make a better report towards inclusivity
- Improving the process: The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan will come with a clear and understandable step-by-step roadmap. Together with the Inclusive Patterns, this roadmap will make the process of the plan, less complex. Without this roadmap, the community will lack skill and expertise to make such a complex planning document on their own.

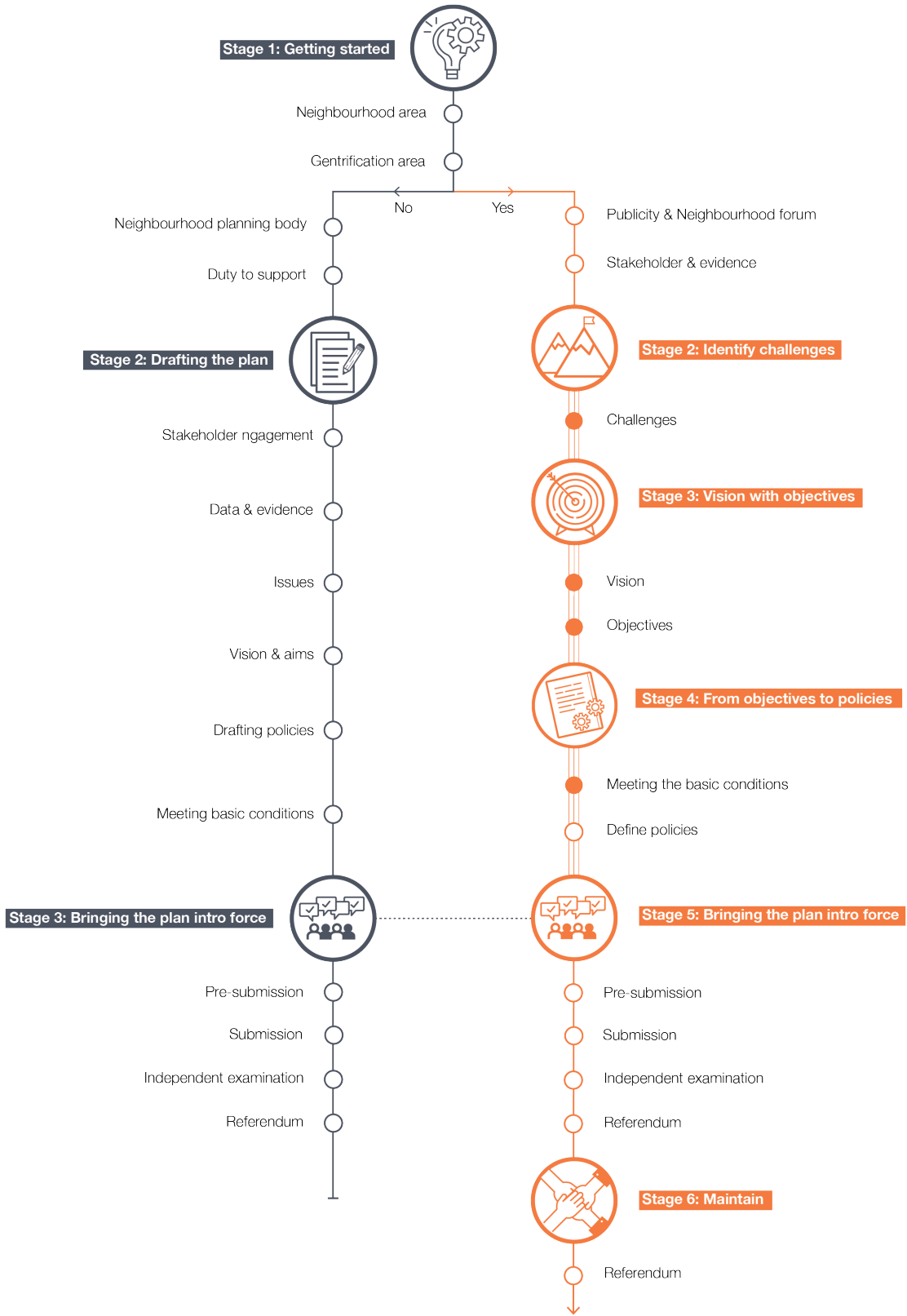


Figure 56: The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan as derivative of the original Neighbourhood Plan, without changing the current planning system. Source: image by author

8.



**CONCLUSION  
AND  
REFLECTION**

## 8.1 Conclusion

The thesis consists of two booklets. The first booklet (booklet A) covers the research part of the thesis, while the second booklet (booklet B) includes the outcome, the end design product of the research. The booklets can be read separately but complement each other as a whole. The thesis set out the aim to minimize the process of gentrification-led-displacement in London. The main research question

*Within the existing London planning system, how can Neighbourhood Planning support inclusive urban development in order to minimise the processes of gentrification-led-displacement?*

contains four sub research questions. These sub research questions are answered at the end of every chapter throughout the thesis and contribute to answer the main research question.

Gentrification is urban development defined as the revitalization, renovation and renewal of run-down inner-city environment through an influx of more affluent persons. Once the process is taking place, it will soon also influence adjacent/surrounding neighbourhoods. Gentrification is a complex process, which is sensitive to context and time. The form and characteristics of gentrification has changed over time into new build gentrification as currently the most common form of gentrification. New-build gentrification describes the transition of former vacant or brownfield land into high-density, large scale, high rise, monotone, exclusive residential areas, especially intended for the higher social economic residents. The process of gentrification can be recognized by multiple social and physical indicators which contribute to exclusive urban development.

Based on spatial analyses these indicators of new build gentrification are, just like in other global cities, clearly visible in the global city London. The areas in London risking and/or facing processes of gentrification are deprived neighbourhoods which are part of an Opportunity Area. London Opportunity Areas contain vacant brownfield land and have capacity for large-scale, new build gentrification development. By mapping the deprived Opportunity Area neighbourhoods there can be conclude that areas with high risk of gentrification are located mainly in east inner London boroughs with the London Borough of Tower Hamlets as the borough with one of the most neighbourhoods risking gentrification. The exclusive urban development of the gentrification process is mainly intended for the higher socio-economic population groups and will change and influence the urban development of surrounding neighbourhoods. Original residents living in surrounding neighbourhoods of the new build gentrification area will be indirectly displaced to outer London boroughs because they are (or feel) forced to move out of their neighbourhood due to the rapid change of their housing, services and public space. This exclusive urban development is urban development is led by

the state and the private developer and will enhanced and even increased social and spatial inequalities in the city. In order to mitigate urban development with exclusive characteristics, it is desirable to strive towards more inclusive urban development in London. When developing the elements of indirect gentrification (housing, services and public space) towards the pillars of inclusivity (accessibility, diversity and community), inclusive urban development can be achieved. Thanks to this inclusive urban development everybody in the neighbourhood benefits equally from the new opportunities that comes with the urban development of the neighbourhood.

After spatial and literature research have investigated that a lot of neighbourhoods in London are risking processes of gentrification and that inclusive urban development can help with mitigating and minimising these processes of gentrification, this research further explores how the aim and strategy towards inclusive urban development can be implemented in the planning system of London.

The first thing important to know, is that the UK planning system is a solid and complex system, based on policies. The aim towards inclusivity needs to be in the form of policies in order to work. The second thing important to know is that the London Planning system consist of three actors. The private developer, the different tiers of governance and the civil society. Within the privatised and deregulated Anglo-Saxon free market planning system of London, the private developer is the powerful initiator of urban development. At the same time, the local authority with the Local Plan, has legal planning authority and influence, control and facilitate the development by private developer through a planning brief. The planning brief is a document which summarises the broad vision, requirement, the planning obligations / planning policies for the development of a particular site.

This research leaves this complex and solid system intact in order to adapt as much as possible on the existing system, and to implement the strategy towards inclusive urban development via one of the actors; the civil society. Because, since the Locality act of 2011, the civil society have the ability to gain more power in the urban planning process in London thanks to Neighbourhood Planning. A Neighbourhood Plan is a community-led planning document in which the community's vision of neighbourhood development is translated into planning policies. After approval of the Plan, these policies will be included in the Local plan of the local authority and can become legal force. Thanks to these planning policies in the Neighbourhood Plan, the community can influence the planning brief and control the private developer indirectly.

The Neighbourhood Planning has been investigated and explored as an instrument to implement and promote inclusivity in the urban development of London in the last chapter of the thesis. Since a Neighbourhood Plan does not automatically cover the gentrification and displacement issues of the neighbourhood, Neighbourhood Planning should be improved to

stimulate and encourage inclusive urban development in areas with high risk of gentrification. This results in an inclusive derivative of the Neighbourhood Plan; the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan. This Plan is based on the strengths and respond on the disadvantages of the original Neighbourhood Plan. By using a derivative of a Neighbourhood Plan, the current planning system is not adjusted.

The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan has the same planning approach as the original Neighbourhood Plan and can influence exclusive urban development led by the state and the private developer towards more inclusive urban development. An Inclusive Neighbourhood plan focuses on inclusivity by bringing more awareness about inclusive urban development. With the help of 'Inclusive Patterns', the community has the skills to develop towards better accessibility, diversity and community of the housing, services and public space. This focus is necessary to contribute to inclusive urban development. The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan especially focus on areas in London with high risk of gentrification and with an urgent need for inclusive urban development. In these deprived there is a lack of support and knowledge of the community to make such a complex planning document. The Inclusive Plan will cope with this by ensuring help from a local councilor of the local authority with providing local partners and evidence base. The Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan will come with a clear and understandable step-by-step roadmap. The provision of a detailed 'Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan roadmap' together with the 'Inclusive Patterns' will help the community producing the Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan step-by-step. This roadmap clearly describes the different steps of the Plan, gives useful tips and demonstrates the steps in a case study. The 'Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan roadmap' and the 'Inclusive Patterns' can be found in booklet B.

So, a derivative of the existing Neighbourhood Planning approach, an Inclusive Neighbourhood Pan, will support inclusive urban development in London. In this way the processes of new build gentrification and indirect displacement will be minimised. So the neighbourhood and its resident are in front of the dicission whether they would like to see the neighbourhood develop in an exclusive way or an inclusive way (see figure 56).

With this inclusive urban development socio- economic and spatial inequality in London will not enhanced and all the different socio-economic population groups in London will profit equally from the urban development and the growth London is facing. London will be an inclusive city, a city for everybody!

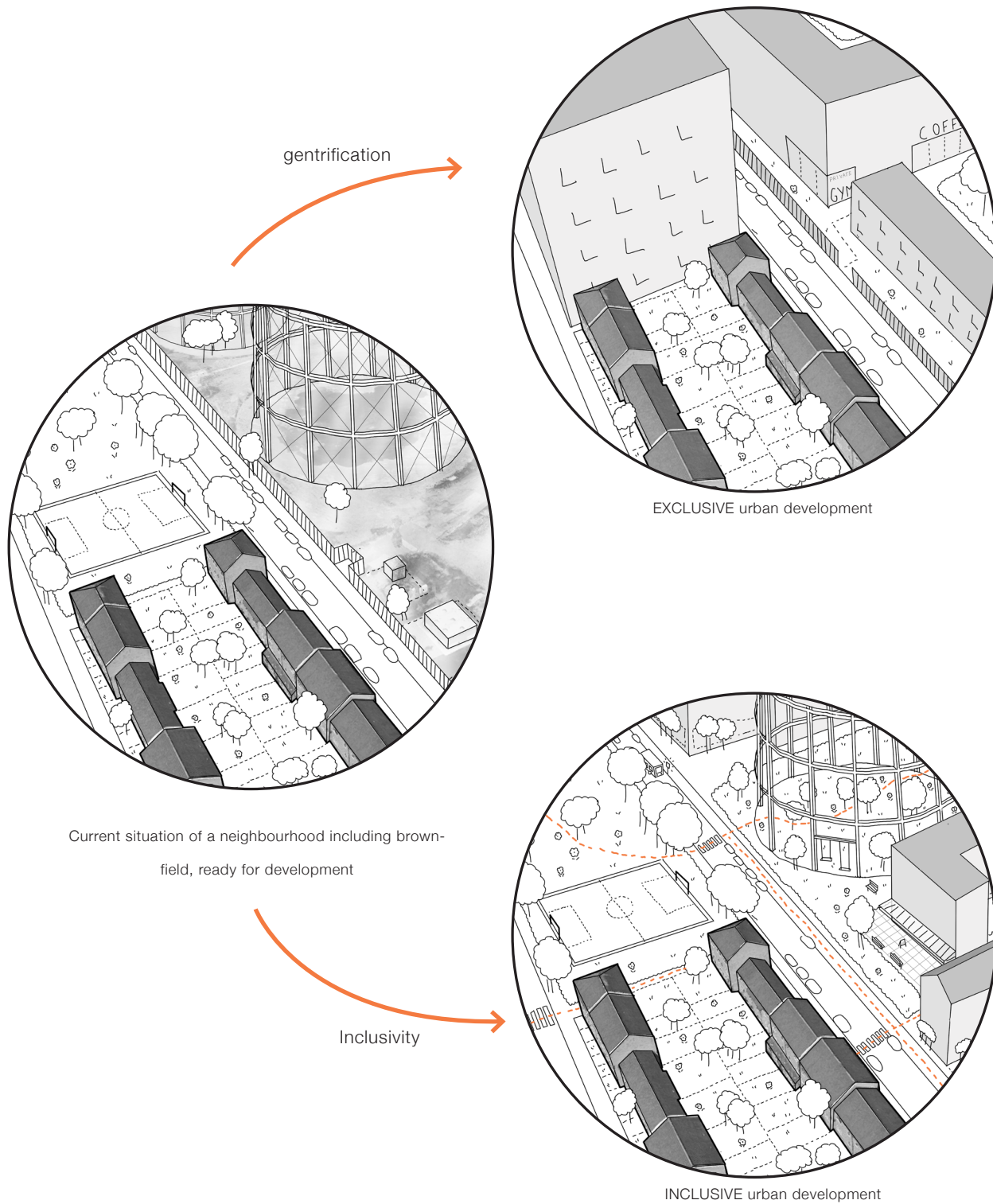


Figure 56: The spatial outcomes of an Inclusive Neighbourhood Plan in order to minimise and mitigate the processes of new-build gentrification and indirect displacement  
 Source: image by author

## 8.2 reflection

### Limitations and further research

During the thesis and the research some difficulties were faces based on the subject and the scope of the research and. Whole books can be written about literature of the concept gentrification, social mix, inclusivity, exclusivity, social sustainability and the global city, capitalism neo-liberalism etc. But one study year is not enough time to write complete books. Therefore, sometimes the relations between different concepts of the literature are not as detailed as described the books.

The main subject of the research, gentrification, is a collective name for multiple processes and trends in the city at the same time. These trends are as well spatial as social. There is not one specific map that shows the process of gentrification and gentrification-led-displacement in the city. So, the first limitation of the project is that the term gentrification is in a way a subjective term and is in the research directly related to the process of displacement.

Assuming that were processes of gentrification are visible also displacement will take place. In the research, the processes of current and future gentrification are mainly based on two maps: The ration of Multiple Deprivation in the city and the map of Opportunity Areas. This represented for me that the original residents living in specific neighbourhoods are disadvantaged and that these groups and neighbourhood should face a lot of urban development. These maps combined with the map of current Neighbourhood plans brought me to the insight that there is an urgent need for inclusive urban development in these specific neighbourhood to reduce further gentrification and gentrification led displacement. Another person doing the same research might use other maps and spatial indicator of gentrification. The areas facing gentrification might vary per person. These areas will also vary per time. In the spatial research a lot of gentrification research is done by using and comparing data from the most recent available data. Data from the Census 2001 and 2011.

Although this research relates spatial and governance design, further research can focus more on the financial/management part of these inclusive urban development. During the research, a lot of investigation was made to find a financial system for the neighbourhood that could cover the costs for inclusive urban development. Inclusive development will cost a lot of extra money what is not in the budget of the Local Authority of London. Therefore, a company or a foundation with a lot of goodwill is necessary. After a lot of research and interviews about finding a brand that could finance these development (branding urbanism)

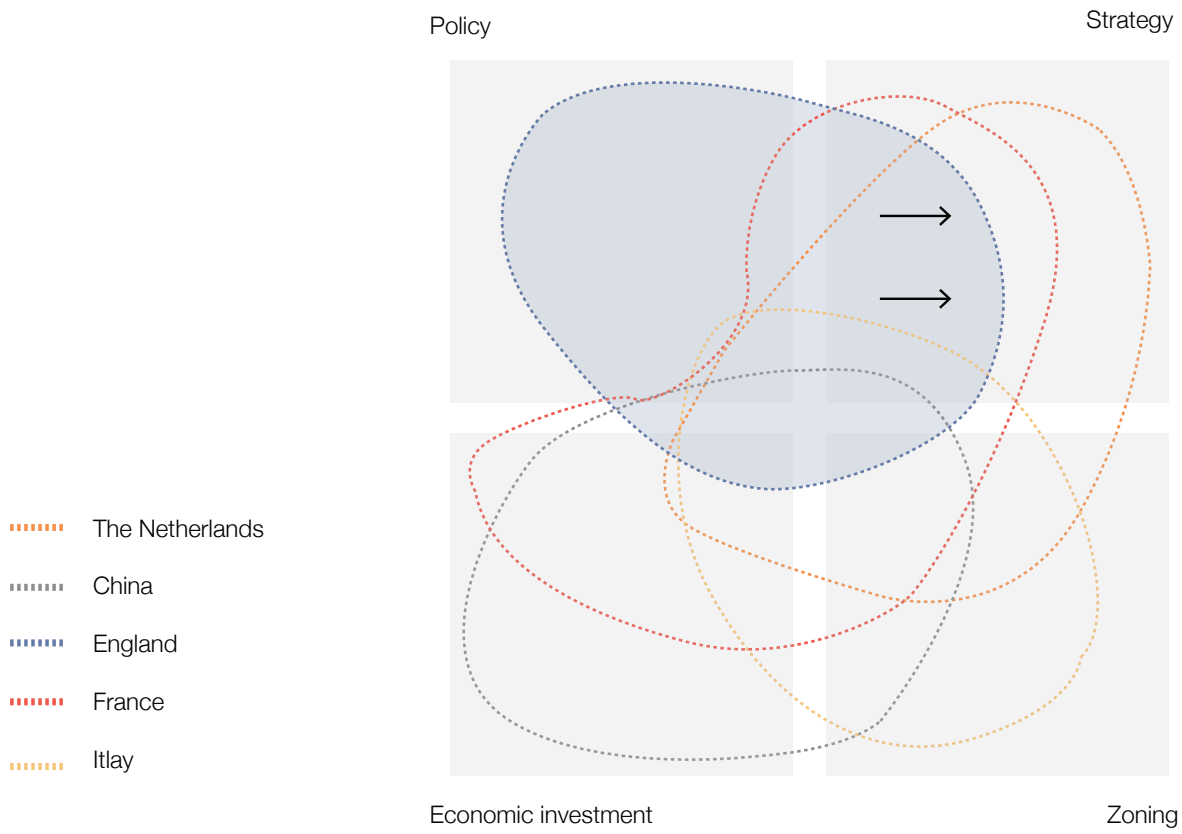


Figure 57: Implementing the strategy towards inclusive urban development via policies (Nadin, 2019)

the attention went to the system of Neighbourhood Improvement Districts (E. Heurkens). This will be perfect material for another research.

#### Relationship research and design

This thesis is focussed on the social implications of spatial urban development. With urban development, gentrification and displacement as main terms of the research. So, this means that research is a major part of the thesis. The research contained out of 3 parts: The theoretical research, the spatial research and the governance research. Whereas the theoretical research was literature in general, the spatial and governance research was focused on one specific city. The theoretical part of this research was the backbone of the thesis. And every element of the design elaborates on the research. Without the knowledge obtained in the literature the city specific spatial and governance research could not have been developed. The conclusions of the three chapters of the research resulted in a new strategy to minimise the social implications of spatial urban development in the case of London. This is a translation from theory to design.

This strategy is the result and also the design of the thesis. A spatial design included the spatial elements for inclusive urban development for specific areas, and a governance design with proposals of more support and new collaborations between actors.

At the end of the thesis the strategy design is applied on a test case study in order to test and to see the results of the strategy more in detail.

#### Transferability

This graduation thesis focuses on a specific city at a specific time. But that does not mean that the outcomes and conclusions of the research cannot be converted and being used at other locations of time periods. The research and strategy design are transferable on other cities and in other time and to other themes.

The theoretical part of this research is the backbone of the thesis. In this part the relation of gentrification as exclusive urban development is explained together with the impact spatial design can have on reducing this exclusivity. So, from literature derives that spatial design really can have impact on the social problems caused by gentrification. This is already a huge step towards answering the main research question. This literature research is not location specific and could be applied in multiple cities.



The challenge now is, how this aim to design to inclusive urban development can be implemented in the planning system of a specific country and city. Since planning and governance is context based. In some countries this inclusivity will be much easier to apply in the planning system than in other countries and cities. So before just implementing the results of the literature research on a city it is very important to understand the city and the planning system and policies of the city. This means, that the approach towards more inclusive urban development is country and/or city specific

In London for example, town and country planning is based on policy, while the Netherlands insert urban planning based on a strategy approach. This brings me to the second transferability of this research: Politic time in London.

The strategy to implement inclusive urban development in the planning system is based on the current relationships and dominance of the different actors in the planning system. The strategy is most efficient to implement by the actor with the most dominance of the most opportunities to take more power in the planning system of that time. The planning system approach in London before the Localism Act of 2011 was very different than after 2011. So the strategy made in the master thesis for London at this moment, will not automatically guarantee of success in different politic time.

#### The larger social context

London is not the only city in the world dealing with processes of gentrification and gentrification led displacement. Due to the globalisation, the trend to live in the city and the growing importance and occupation of high skilled workforce in the service economy people are attractive as never been before. Worldwide there is a lot of pressure on cities. Cities need to grow and develop in order to come close to meet the needs of the growing population. The financial recession, declining economy and the decreasing risk developers wanted to take caused even more pressure on the development of the city. Cities are focused on growth. Due to this pressure a lot of cities are therefore now dealing with growing housing prices and increasing property and ground value. At the same time, globally, the private developer gain power and space. Cities and especially attractive city centres are becoming elite spaces since they are not affordable for every individual in the city. Socio-economic lower population groups are being forced out of the city and there is a lack of social sustainability in the social unequal city.

This research is in line with these worldwide problems. With new-build gentrification (revital-

isation of vacant land) as most common form of urban development, the planner can influence the characteristics of this development. The planner and developer should design towards more inclusivity in urban development in order to create more equal cities for all its residents. Where everybody is able to benefit from that what the city has to offer.

#### Role as urban designer / Relation topic and Urbanism track

The role of an urban designer is as unique as every project is. The main role of the Urban designer is to be as flexible as possible. There are no fixed tasks for the Urbanist, he needs to adapt on the location, the country, the planning system, the collaborative stakeholders etc. This is set in the Urbanism studio complex cities. The city is a complex organism and is in constant growth. The city is not an island, isolated from the rest of the world. But the city is a representation from the trends going on in the world. The urban designer is not only a spatial designer but also in some way a governance designer.

The urban designer can have multiple roles in the planning process. And the role of the Urban designer is as unique as every project is. That is exactly what we learned during the master track Urbanism. Adjusting our general knowledge about planning and design on specific sites.





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**Appendix Table 1; Calculation of percentage surface risking gentrification per borough**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Borough surface (ha)</b>	<b>Gentrification area (ha)</b>	<b>Gentrification (%)</b>
Kingston upon Thames	95577	0,00	0
Croydon	221531	3758,28	1,70
Bromley	384782	0,00	0
Hounslow	143963	3857,04	2,68
Ealing	143316	14096,93	9,84
Havering	290344	4526,05	1,56
Hillingdon	298793	1811,52	0,61
Harrow	130636	0,00	0
Brent	111722	12433,53	11,13
Barnet	224736	7699,91	3,43
Lambeth	68960	2041,43	2,96
Southwark	74302	10583,27	14,24
Lewisham	90386	12205,16	13,50
Greenwich	121846	15668,09	12,86
Bexley	155843	1190,39	0,76
Enfield	213269	45292,50	21,24
Waltham Forest	100433	15895,94	15,83
Redbridge	145950	2736,98	1,88
Sutton	112339	0,00	0
Richmond upon Thames	147465	0,00	0
Merton	96599	0,00	0
Wandsworth	88129	302,41	0,34
Hammersmith and Fulham	42258	9648,63	22,83
Kensington and Chelsea	31252	2225,91	7,12
Westminster	55416	494,23	0,89
Camden	56276	5809,66	10,32
<b>Tower Hamlets</b>	<b>51013</b>	<b>23446,34</b>	<b>45,96</b>
Islington	38373	1704,97	4,44
<b>Hackney</b>	<b>49209</b>	<b>28416,14</b>	<b>57,75</b>
Haringey	76590	14130,55	18,45
<b>Newham</b>	<b>93417</b>	<b>36694,04</b>	<b>39,28</b>
Barking and Dagenham	93239	19531,45	20,95
City of London	7489	0,00	0

Figure 58: Calculation of neighbourhoods with high risk of gentrification  
Source: image by author, based on



