VIEW FROM THE CHAIR

It's not often you come across a different perspective on the city. We're familiar with the views of the architect, the urbanist, the socialist and the politician, for example. But how about the theoretical physicist?

As luck would have it, while stuck in traffic on a bus, I came across a review of a book in the New Scientist, titled Scale: The Universal Laws of Growth, Innovation, Sustainability, and the Pace of Life in Organisms, Cities, Economics and Companies (snappy title!). The New Scientist is not the first place one would instinctively look for insight into the city, but seemingly the city holds a far greater attraction to scientists than I first thought.

The author of Scale, Geoffrey West, is a physicist and a leading scientist studying biology and the behaviour and development of cities. At the Santa Fe Institute, he is a lead research investigator of cities, scaling, and sustainability. His focus is to bring together a number of urban disciplines and complex system theorists to generate an integrated and quantitative understanding of cities. As discussed in the review, cities are considered to behave like organisms that keep on growing (but don’t die) and the bigger the population gets, the more the city’s inhabitants can develop. Bigger cities generate more GDP, more crime, and are more rapid. I'm not entirely convinced that growth results in the speeding up of life within cities, particularly if you are stuck on a bus in traffic. Speed may only be a perception because you can do more, cramming more into each day, but even then, the city allows time to simply sit back, relax and enjoy an espresso, watching people go by, or not if they are stuck on bus.

West considers that cities are also more innovative and inventive, which nicely ties into the topic of this issue of Urban Design – housing estate regeneration – and in particular the pace of regeneration and innovation. For many of us, regeneration provides an opportunity to continually tinker and improve the fabric of the city. And we can be quite confident that in a few years time, someone else will come along and start again or improve matters. Take the London Docklands for example: since the 1980s much of its built area has been twice regenerated, firstly from a redundant dock once essential to the function of London to a city enterprise zone and a place to live, and secondly, to an essential worldwide banking hub that evolved innovative ways to crash global markets. The rapid pace of regeneration can be such that buildings going up today, are ready to come down tomorrow, and projects can get regenerated before they even get off the drawing board (fortunately so in many cases, such as Palumbo’s ambitions for a Mies Van Der Rohe glass tower and accompanying wind swept plaza at Paternoster Square).

Regeneration can create welcoming streets and spaces that provide a robust stage for activity and a backdrop for attractive buildings. Formerly uninviting traffic thoroughfares are now buzzing, tree lined streets full of crazy people and hipsters hanging outside a wifi hub, itself an incubator for innovation, networking and collaborative working that requires little more than a barista and a table football. A slight aside, but such hubs and spaces were pioneered by the 2017 Urban Design Group’s Outstanding Contribution Award winner Alan Baxter, founder of the practice of the same name, which encouraged multi-disciplinary working both in his practice and in the office shared workspaces. Ahead of his time, all Alan Baxter lacked was the espresso machine and the table football.

A downside is that regeneration won’t necessarily address social imbalances. Economics alone dictate that it will still be possible to identify affordable blocks/apartments/houses at 100 paces. And rapid growth won’t necessarily deliver the visualiser’s high quality vertical living environment, offering instead a meagre unaffordable flat on the 23rd floor that overlooks another tower block, and a life of invisible neighbours other than the person you meet in the lift most mornings.

But through regeneration, we have also provided innovative solutions to thorny issues such as replacing the private car with a car club and car share, and perhaps the most honest and effective solution, simply stating ‘you can’t have one’. This is good provided that there is an alternative other than a bus stuck in traffic! I have nothing against the bus, but whereas the private car has innovated its way to not needing a driver (or occupants for that matter), the bus remains in the medieval era, a cramped, slow and disease ridden experience. Give the bus wifi at least, or better still, a barista, and increase its speed and frequency.

Colin Pullan, Chair of Urban Design Group and Director of NLP Planning

DIARY OF EVENTS

14 JUNE 2017
6.15pm Skills for Urban Design
UCL survey findings, plus GLA recent survey of borough design skills with UCL

5 JULY 2017
6.15pm Urban Design Group AGM followed by lecture – to be announced

6 JULY 2017
2.30-5.30pm Urban Design Review of the NPPF convenors Rob Cowan of Urban Design Skills & Past Director of UDG, Roger Evans of Studio Real & Trustee of Urban Design Group, Mathew Carmona of UCL.

AUGUST 2017
Summer Outing to be announced

13 SEPTEMBER 2017
6.15pm Lessons from Vienna & other
Subject to be announced

26 SEPTEMBER 2017
12.30-5.30pm The Future of Clerkenwell Green and Farringdon after Crossrail
speakers William Filmer-Sankey ABA, Ben Hamilton Bailie, and a representative of LB Islington
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Picture Tim Crocker

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An Unpredictable Future

In the last issue of this journal we published a series of articles on the connections between health and the quality of the city environment. Several proposals were put forward to improve the health of the population through good design and by *inter alia* encouraging an active life. In this issue’s Viewpoint, Richard Crappsley returns to the subject to remind us that new technology could affect how people will use urban space in the future in ways that we had not foreseen. In other words, we may be applying yesterday’s solutions to what may soon be yesterday’s problems.

This issue tackles another major problem; how to deal with a very serious housing shortage and at the same time make the best use of a housing stock that was designed for a very different era and has become largely dysfunctional. Most of the contributors agree that as the (mostly public) housing estates of the 1970s were designed with layouts that ruptured the traditional urban grain and the relationship between buildings and streets, the fabric of the city needs mending. There is also consensus that to succeed regeneration schemes have to take into account the wishes of the existing communities. We should however remember (as Andrew Beharrell points out on p.16) when these estates were built, they were seen as the right solution and were welcomed by the residents.

How do we know that current regeneration projects, designed with the best of intentions and the best skills currently available, respond not just to today’s needs but to tomorrow’s? The answer is almost certainly that we don’t know but that we have to do the best we can. We know that as a result of a deteriorating environment and fast technological changes, the way people will live in the future will be different, but we don’t yet have the tools to design for that unpredictable future.

In this country, the UK general election that has just taken place followed the trend of the past 12 months in producing challenging results. Such unpredictable and dramatic events in the world are shaking confidence in well established institutions. In our professions, we can only show humility and accept that our beliefs and the solutions we are offering today may not be the right ones for the next generation.

Sebastian Loew, architect and planner, writer and consultant
spaces underneath its streets. Currently utility companies can install their equipment pretty much when and where they want. The result is a complex and uncoordinated spaghetti-like web of uncharted pipes, cables and conduits. Some streets are so full of this infrastructure that there is no room for anything else, and little scope for further adaptation to modern needs. When utilities need to be replaced or serviced, damage is done to the road structure, and street-workers are put at risk of serious or fatal injury by unmapped cables (there are over 10,000 utility strikes each year). If subsurface spaces were formally designed and positively controlled, there would be the potential for:

- Sub-surface waste management: the pavement blocking bin and bag systems that blight most of the UK’s streets and are hazards for blind and partially sighted people, could be replaced by underground cassettes or pneumatic pipe systems
- District heating systems
- SuDS, rain gardens, pluvial flood risk reduction
- Water sensitive urban design, including rainwater recycling
- Street trees
- High quality street surfaces.

At the first event, UDG director Robert Huxford provided an introductory overview, Peter Jinks of Times Construction, a case study in underground waste collection technology, and John Wilson and Gavin Cunningham of Atkins, an insight into utility design for the Olympic Park, which included district heating and 3D mapping.

At a second event in Birmingham under the aegis of the University of Birmingham, speakers looked at costs and options such as combined utility tunnels. At the most recent event in March, delegates heard about the controls introduced in New Zealand, and AE-COM’s work on a development at the western edge of Cambridge, which includes most of the features mentioned above. An organisation called Think Deep UK has also been established.

These linked events have pointed to a number of requirements including:

- Accurate mapping of all existing utilities
- Building Information Modelling for streets and buildings, covering utilities, drainage, trees, waste management, etc.
- A regime to ensure that the surface below streets is designed and managed. Primary legislation may be needed
- The development of ordered subsurface designs and technologies, including ducts, combined utilities conduits and tunnels, and
- A funding system which will pay for the higher initial capital costs.

The waste and inefficiency caused by the present system is pervasive. We all experience poor quality streets that are permanently being dug up. We should not tolerate this situation.

Robert Huxford, Director, UDG

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**Designing the Underworld**

The Gallery, London 7 December 2016
Birmingham, 1 February 2017
Ecobuild, London, 9 March 2017

The UDG hosted the first of a series of three events aimed at raising awareness of the lost opportunities caused by the chaotic and wasteful way that the UK manages the

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**Africa**

The Gallery, London, 12 April 2017

This event about what urban design can contribute to Africa’s spatial development attracted a full house including many designers of African origin. Daniela Lucchese, topic editor of UD Issue 141, stressed the size and diversity of the African continent, its rapid urbanisation but still large rural population. She proposed a conversation between the audience and the panel, many of whom had contributed to the Africa issue: Colin James, Tom Carter, Tony Lloyd Jones, Hatem Nabib, Omar Sheriff and Sureiya Pochee, focusing on land ownership and tenure; culture, as an integral part of why cities develop and how people are shaping and using them; technology with the example of mobile telecommunication, which has brought fundamental changes to living conditions; and, the lessons that could be learned from Africa and lead to new ways of seeing. Overarching this was the need for urban designers to respect place, people and project, rather than economy and efficiency.

The panellists agreed that land tenure and security were crucial to enable communities to invest in their informal settlements, without which Africa would not be able to cope. However, tenure was interpreted differently in different cultures. For example in Egypt, Islam would prevent eviction from illegally premises while they are occupied. Controlling land tenure was precarious and best relaxed somewhat, as subletting and reselling also eases overall housing shortages. An important task of urban designers was to propose projects, and solutions for upgrading informal settlements. However, the serious lack of urban management expertise was considered the biggest obstacle to urban improvement. Engaging with communities was seen as essential for any policies or projects to be realised. Contrary to here in the West, communities were ‘ready made’ in Africa and did not need to be constructed. This was perceived as a great asset, together with the optimism and energy driving African communities.

The technology question concentrated on professional capacity and how to develop an urban design toolbox appropriate to African conditions. Opinions varied about the usefulness of masterplans. Their best possible contribution was data collection and bringing together stakeholders and communities. The panellists deplored the general lack of professionals in Africa and its antiquated legislation.

The discussion concluded on the role of urban designers, be they of African origin and educated in the West, or Westerners interested in contributing to projects in Africa. Manifestly the contacts established in educational institutions in the West were important, as African ex-students invited their tutors to participate back home in their planning and urban design activity. This event really showed the issues in different parts of the world of great interest to urban designers.

Judith Ryser, researcher, journalist, writer and urban affairs consultant to Fundacion Metropoli, Madrid
The 2017 National Urban Design Awards

London, Victory Services Club, 2 March 2017

Once again the now well-established National Urban Design Awards ceremony took place at the Victory Services Club in central London on 2nd March and as before it was a convivial event enabling the 100 or so attendees to network as well as celebrate achievements in urban design. Taking place just a few days after the slightly more glittery Oscar ceremony in Los Angeles, it was inevitable that jokes referred to mixing envelopes, as well as to that person who is supposed to be the leader of the free world. Throughout the evening, real life entertainment was provided by the Charles Alexander band.

For the first time this year, UDG members had received a full brochure based on the same format as this journal which included all the shortlisted entries as well as articles on the awards, their background, their importance and the way they were judged.

After networking and drinks, the UDG Chair Colin Pullan opened the formal part of the evening, referring to the fact that the awards commemorate the late Francis Tibbalds, ‘a truly great figure who devoted much of his career to advancing the cause of better urban design’, and thanked his widow Janet Tibbalds and the Francis Tibbalds Trust for supporting the event.

The first keynote speaker of the evening was then introduced by Amanda Reynolds – Marcus Wilsher, former chair and current trustee of the UDG, who was also, as part of the IBI Group, one of the joint winners of last year’s Practice Awards. Under the title ‘A Day in the Life’ he referred to his firm’s work undertaken since last year, with particular emphasis on designing for healthy places, an issue now high on the agenda (also covered in UD 142). Active and independent living, access to a healthy diet and social interaction, were some of the themes that Marcus suggested could be helped by good design. Over a hundred years ago engineers and planners reacted against epidemics and managed to eradicate them. Today’s health problems are different but no less serious and we need to deal with them as radically as they did.

After thanking Marcus for his stimulating speech, Amanda explained the awards judging process. The first award of the evening, for student work during the past year, was introduced by Sebastian Loew, chair of the judging panel. From a shortlist of three, the masterplan for Charlton Riverside in Greenwich by four students of the Bartlett School of Planning at University College London (Brian Yuen, Douglas Lee, Cassie Tang and Wilson Wong) was chosen. The winners usually were undergraduate planners; their scheme was particularly interesting in that they had made an effort to keep and enhance industry on a mixed use urban site. Their entry for the award had also made clear the lessons that they had learned in the process. Janet Tibbalds presented the £600 award to be shared by the four students.

The second category, the Book Award was introduced by Louie Sieh who is the convenor of the Book Award panel. Having invited publishers to submit books, the panel had first chosen eight, and then shortlisted four titles. Louie gave an overview of the kind of concerns covered by the current literature – issues than on previous years. She also outlined the criteria that the judges used to choose the winner and how difficult it had been to get to an agreement. However, in the end they all agreed that Housing Cairo: The Informal Response edited by Marc Angelli and Charlotte Malterre-Barthes was the winner. The publisher Andreas Ruby received the award from Janet Tibbalds, and in thanking the UDG mentioned how important such accolades were for a small publishing house like his.

This year, the UDG decided to introduce a new award for Outstanding Contribution to Urban Design. This was presented by Colin Pullan to long-standing UDG patron Alan Baxter for his pioneering work in people-focused design, including street design in Poundbury which created a practical precedent for others to follow, and in the encouragement of multi-disciplinary working both in his practice and in the shared workspace at 70 Cowcross Street. This has become a hub for built environment practices and voluntary organisations, including the UDG.

After an interval for refreshments and more music, Richard Coutts of BACA Architects, last year’s other joint winners of last year’s Practice Awards, gave a second key note speech, He referred to some of his firm’s recent work, particularly dealing with the public realm and connectivity in their Masterplan for Dover waterfront.

The next award category was for the Public Sector achievements. Four short videos presented the submissions of Croydon, Plymouth, South Oxfordshire and Swindon Councils. The winner, chosen by the UDG membership’s voting, was Croydon Borough Council for their work on Connected Croydon. Malcolm Moor introduced the Practice Award that followed. Here too, there were brief presentations of each of the shortlisted schemes by HTA, NODE, Tibbalds and URBED. Like the previous category, the winner was voted for by the membership, and was NODE for the Knowledge Hub Masterplan in Birmingham. The winner of this award receives £1,000 donated by the Francis Tibbalds Trust, to be spent on a UDG study tour or the equivalent.

Finally Roger Evans, one of the UDG’s Trustees, and former chair of the group, introduced the Lifetime Achievement Award, which is given to a person thought to have contributed through a series of achievements throughout his or her career, to progress and improvement in the quality of the urban environment. Roger and Janet Tibbalds...
presented the well-deserved award to Tim Pharoah for his modest approach and persistent commitment, both as a town planner and transport planner, to the primacy of the pedestrian over vehicle movement, thus ensuring that the important components of quality of life in the built environment are regarded. Tim, who until that moment in the evening had been playing the double bass with the Charles Alexander band entertaining the audience, had therefore to perform a double act. He managed to thank the group in a few heartfelt words before returning to play music!

Colin Pullan concluded the formal part of the evening by thanking Janet Tibbalds and the Tibbalds Trust for their support. The band played on and networking continued for a while.

**SHORTLISTED PRACTICE PROJECTS**
Mulberry Park and Foxhill Estate regeneration, HTA Design LLP
Knowledge Hub Masterplan, NODE – winner
Regent’s Park Estate, Camden, Tibbalds Planning and Urban Design
Vaux Brewery, Sunderland, URBED

**SHORTLISTED PUBLIC SECTOR ENTRIES**
Connected Croydon, London Borough of Croydon Council – winner
Plymouth City Centre and Waterfront Masterplans, Plymouth City Council
South Oxfordshire Design Guide, South Oxfordshire District Council
Swindon Residential Design Guide, Swindon Borough Council

**SHORTLISTED STUDENT ENTRIES**
Charlton Riverside Masterplan, Brian Yuen, Douglas Lee, Cassie Tang and Wilson Wong – winner
Lanes You’ll Love, Jo White
Athens: Landscape City, Lucy Feinberg

**SHORTLISTED BOOKS**
Human Ecology – How Nature and Culture Shape our World, Frederic Steiner
Zoning Rules! The Economics of Land Use Regulations
Concurrent Urbanities, Designing Infrastructure of Inclusion, Ed. Miodrag Mitrasinovic
The Urban Climatic Map: A Methodology for Sustainable Urban Planning, Ed. Edward Ng and Chao Ren
Housing Cairo: The Informal Response, Ed. Marc Angelil and Charlotte Malterre-Barthes – winner
Infrastructure, Infrastructure by Design, Marc Verheijen
Landscape and Urbanism: A General Theory, Charles Waldheim
Sharing Cities – A Case for Truly Smart and Sustainable Cities, Duncan McLaren and Julian Ageyman ●

Sebastian Loew

5 Tim Pharoah accepting his award for Lifetime Achievement
6 Publisher Andreas Ruby accepting the book award with Janet Tibbalds and Louie Sieh
7 Three students being presented with the award by Janet Tibbalds
8 Clare Coats representing Alan Baxter receiving the award for outstanding contribution to urban design
9 Vincent Lacovara of Croydon Borough Council, receiving the award for the public sector
Urban Design Study Tours

Vienna 20 – 24 April 2017, led by Sebastian Loew
Further Austrian cities 24 – 28 April 2017, led by Alan Stones

Not surprisingly Vienna has been at the top of the Mercer’s index for quality of life for the past 8 years (for comparison, London is No.39). The reasons for such a high score may not include urban design specifically but, as the participants in the UDG tour observed, they may well be the result of good thinking about how to manage a city and how to make it attractive, inclusive, comfortable and healthy.

At present 50 per cent of the area of the city is open or green space and in spite of the population growth, and the consequent amount of new building, the authorities intend to maintain this proportion by applying strict standards to new development. They are also creating a city-wide open space network to ensure that everyone has easy access to ‘high quality spaces of leisure and exercise’. Vienna’s other important policy relates to mobility: the current strategic plan (STEP2025) aims for a modal split in which 80 per cent of the population uses public transport, cycling or walking and only 20 per cent travel by car. Even today the car usage is only 28 per cent, much lower than that of public transport.

Our group of 27, some of the time joined by Alan Stone’s 17 faithful followers, were able to judge and take advantage of the city’s amenities during the four day visit. Lodged in a tower overlooking the vast redeveloped central station, we managed to visit a wide range of both historic and new areas.

After a couple of short walks around the oldest parts of the city, we had a very informative introduction to the planning strategy of the city authorities - the above mentioned STEP 2025 - by Pia Piava of the Vienna city planning department. The city is building some 10,000 dwellings a year, most of it subsidised and on brownfield land, although this is increasingly hard to find; so it is also rehabilitating existing housing and building on small infill sites. Other policies include protecting employment in the city and collaborating with surrounding local authorities to reduce commuting by car. Following the talk, a guided visit by coach allowed us to admire first hand the quality of new housing developments: medium rise, high density but with generous open space and local amenities. One striking feature was the mixture of tenures in the same building, with the first four floors being subsidised social rented and the top two privately financed. In addition to the Nordbahnhof area, we visited the campus of the new Business University with the stunning Zaha Hadid library, and the more business oriented and high rise Donau-City. The visit ended with a tour of the famous Vienna Ring, the wide boulevard that replaced the fortifications at the end of the 19th century and became the preferred location for grand public buildings and private palaces. To end the first day we made a quick detour to see a couple of Hundertwasser buildings, eccentric and surprising in what seems to be a conservative city.

The morning of the second day was spent visiting an area outside the Ring, including the large Museum Quarter located in the former stables of the Emperor, and the recently partly pedestrianised and partly calmed Mariahilfer Strasse, Vienna’s answer to Oxford Street, which showed what could be done here. The morning ended with a visit to the Naschmarkt, a large linear market located on top of the covered river Wien. Otto Wagner is better known as a Secession architect but he was also an urban designer. His dream of creating a boulevard failed but he managed three apartment houses splendidly decorated in Secession style. He was also responsible for a series of underground stations and a number of public buildings, including the superb Postal Bank. Our group spent the afternoon walking through the historic centre within the Ring, a Unesco heritage site, where baroque and Secession monuments mix with gothic churches and contemporary buildings. The variety of styles within a harmonious unity is one of the striking characteristics of the city; another is the abundance of small independent shops. In addition most of the centre is either pedestrianised or calmed to the extent that it feels pedestrian. We moved from the over the top baroque Hofburg, the residence of Austrian emperors, to the 1912 Looshaus, and from Otto Wagner’s pavilions at Karlsplatz to Rachel’s Whiteread’s Holocaust memorial, walking through narrow and sometimes cobbled streets, unchanged for centuries.

On Sunday morning, we toured the entirely new district of Aspern Seestadt which will house 20,000 people by 2028, and offer about the same number of jobs. Though at the moment only about 6,000 residents have moved in, the streets with shops, landscape and street furniture, park and a lake are already there. The place has a feeling of urbanity and as elsewhere in Vienna, buildings are of uniform height but of varied designs, creating a harmonious but not uniform ensemble. After this stimulating tour of Seestadt and for the rest of our stay in Vienna, the group divided to visit different urban attractions of the city: Karl-Mark Hof, a major and magnificent example of inter-war social housing, still functioning and in impeccable condition; the renovated 1899 Gasometers, now converted to residential and commercial uses; some Secession villas, the gardens of the Belvedere Palace, etc. As was the case in previous UDG tours, many lessons could be learned from what other cities are doing in planning and urban design, and Britain doesn’t come out very well in the comparison. Colleagues admired the careful coordination of public transport, the thoughtful street furniture and traffic control, the high level of social housing construction, the mix of uses, the open spaces, and commented that in most cases Vienna’s successes were the result of a strong public sector willing to invest and manage for the benefit of its population.

Further Austrian Cities

Eighteen of the participants in the Vienna tour continued towards Austria’s second, third, fourth and fifth cities, Graz, Linz, Salzburg and Innsbruck. As a quarter of Austria’s population lives in the capital, these cities are in a much smaller league, and, with the exception of Linz (pop. 181,000), are not contemplating the peripheral expansion necessary around Vienna. Linz, capital of Upper Austria, is unusual in having a well-established industrial and employment base and independent art scene. In recent years it has hosted the iconic Ars Electronica Centre (Treusch Architecture 2009) and the Lentos Art Museum (Weber and Hofer 2003) on the
Danube frontage, and is now developing the 4,000 residents Solar City in a peripheral location linked by tram to the city centre. A former tobacco factory by Peter Behrens has been acquired by the city and is being transformed with workspaces and other uses.

Graz (pop. 222,000) capital of Styria, has a beautiful historic centre nestled below a castle hill, its main street and market square fronted by baroque mansions, with delightful alleys and courtyards behind. It too has hosted iconic architectural interventions, such as the revamped Kastner and Öhler department store by Szyszko Witcz and Kowalski with its panoramic roof terrace, the Archigram-inspired Modern Art Museum by Peter Cook and Colin Fournier, and more recently a dramatic new railway station by Zechner and Zechner. The active architecture scene from the 1970s onward was known as the Graz School, and the city continues its design focus with its status as a UNESCO Design City. (Coincidentally Karla Kowalski, Colin Fournier and the two UDG tour organisers are all 1969 alumni of the Architectural Association Department of Planning and Urban Design).

Salzburg’s (pop. 150,000) picturesque old town, dominated by the Hohensalzburg castle, former seat of the Prince-Archbishops, is popular with tourists, who also throng to the annual music festival. Much of the historic centre is dominated by the extensive 18th century Residenzpalace and cathedral, commissioned by the Prince-Archbishops. Italian designs. The sole modern intervention is the Museum der Moderne art gallery, a horizontal building attached to the neo-gothic former Café Winkler, which acts as a counterpart to the Hohensalzburg castle on the Mönchsberg on the opposite bank of the river Salzach.

Innsbruck (pop. 112,500) capital of the Tyrol, is also centred on a royal palace, the Hofburg, seat of the Habsburgs before they moved to Vienna. Its main street, the Maria-Theresien-Strasse, is fronted by imposing baroque town houses, but also by the wavy-fronted Kaufhaus shopping centre by David Chipperfield. All this would have been set off by a dramatic mountain backcloth, had not our day been one of unremitting rain and low cloud. The lack of visibility also precluded enjoyment of the new funicular railway leading up to otherwise spectacular views from the Hungerburg, with stations and structures by Zaha Hadid. Innsbruck is not alone in having elevated views over the city: Graz and Salzburg have cable railways up to their castles, and Linz has Europe’s steepest tramway leading up to the Pöstlingberg, with extensive views over the Danube and the city centre.

Three of the cities we visited retain extensive tram systems. Graz has six lines, Linz three and Innsbruck three. All are planning future extensions. Salzburg, however, has a network of 11 trolleybus routes, which replaced trams in 1941. All the cities apart from Salzburg have rebuilt their main railway stations with sub-surface concourses, in the case of Linz and Graz putting their trams underground to facilitate interchange. Unsurprisingly, all the cities have pedestrianised their main streets and squares, those with tram systems allowing trams through the pedestrian zone. Austrian cities have a tendency to focus their main squares on elaborate baroque columns, the one in Linz being a copy of the ornate Trinity Column in Vienna, built in thanksgiving for deliverance from plague in the late 18th century.

Our rainy day in Innsbruck intensified next day into heavy snow, resulting in a Tyrolean late-winter wonderland and disrupting our rail journey back to London. Fortunately we managed to make up time and avoid being stranded en-route!

Sebastian Loew and Alan Stones, architect-planner, urban design consultant

1 Both UDG groups in Nordbahnhof new development
2 Zaha Hadid library in the new Vienna business university
3 A street in Seestadt Aspern
4 Vienna’s Karl Marx Hof, inter-war public housing development
5 Main square in Graz
6 Graz Modern Art Museum
7 Main square in Linz
In the 1920s Aldous Huxley described Los Angeles as 19 suburbs in search of a metropolis. And whilst LA has claim to a heart around the old Mexican pueblo, its centre is far less evident than in any other city of its size. Banham offers no more than a footnote on downtown ‘for that is all it deserves’. Instead, the focus is on the suburbs of Watts, Santa Monica and Venice Beach, as well as the strips connecting them, especially the twelve miles of Wilshire Boulevard.

Like other outside commentators – Rasmussen in London, Mary McCarthy in Florence – Banham provides a detached and perceptive view of his subject. Whilst not uncritical, the book is ultimately a love letter to a city that breaks all the European rules of compact and concentrated spatial organisation. Quoting Richard Austin Smith, Banham says that the LA will only be fully understood by those who can move freely through its diffuse urban texture: ‘...so, like earlier generations of English intellectuals who taught themselves Italian in order to read Dante in the original, I learned to drive in order to read Los Angeles in the original’.

On his journey Banham explodes some myths. Whilst LA is undoubtedly a city of the automobile, its form was not made by it. Instead it was the railways that first linked distant townships and the city spread seaward from the hills, rather than growing inland from the port. The Camino Real, the old Spanish military road, provided another, north-south axis. Banham emphasises the vital role of water and power supplies in the city’s growth, a topic familiar to viewers of Polanski’s Chinatown.

Banham makes a surprising and questionable claim of Los Angeles as a walkable city, pointing out that the 12 mile commercial strip of Wilshire Boulevard is only one block deep, and with residential development immediately behind, allows in theory at least, only a short stroll to work or to the shops. The book does not set out to be an architectural guide of Los Angeles, on the reasonable grounds that others had already done that job. But the author writes well about the houses of the wealthy in the Hollywood Hills, designed and beautifully crafted by Richard Neutra, Frank Lloyd Wright and Rudolph Schindler. Noting trends in contemporary architecture, Banham praises a new studio designed by a young Frank Gehry.

Turning to commercial buildings, Banham likens them to making a hamburger. Bread and the beef patty provide the structure, but garnish is also needed (it seems that slivers of red apple were de rigueur in 1971). So too with buildings on the strip, their simple shed-like forms vigorously embellished with all manner of colours, decoration and signage. In making this observation Banham anticipates Venturi and Scott Brown’s inquiry, Learning from Las Vegas.

Like many classics, Los Angeles is both of its time and timeless. Almost half a century has passed, the city is even bigger and much else changed; greater intensification downtown, a heightened environmental awareness, even, at long last, an operational rapid transit system. But it is still a city facing high levels of deprivation and homicide, fuelled by drug crime, gangs and racism.

What does Banham’s book offer to urban designers today? The vibrancy of LA is evident, but the city is an extreme contrast from the European urban model, with its well-defined and fine-grained core ringed with suburbs on a walkable scale. LA is the product of an exceptional set of circumstances, almost certainly unrepeatable. The book is hardly a manual of best practice and at one level serves as a counterblast to the doctrines of Banham’s contemporaries, Kevin Lynch and Jane Jacobs. This alone makes it a refreshing read.

The vitality of the text matches that of its subject, without being tempted to its sprawl. The monochrome photographs are well chosen, if sometimes rather sootily reproduced, and there are useful maps drawn by Mary Banham.

Geoff Noble, urban design and heritage consultant

1 Rayner Banham Loves Los Angeles https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WlzONbC-YD0

READ ON
Peter Hall, 1998, Cities in Civilisation, Weidenfeld and Nicholson
Deyan Sudjic, 1992, 100 Mile City, Harcourt Brace.
Mike Davis, 1990, City of Quartz, Vintage
Robert Venturi & Denise Scott Brown, 1968 Learning from Las Vegas, MIT Press
My Favourite Plan – Peter Larkham

Copenhagen ‘Finger Plan’ (Fingerplanen) 1947

WHY I LIKE IT ....
This ‘plan’ is both powerful image and visionary proposal. In recent decades, we have lost to a considerable extent the art of communicating the vision of planning and urban design to a broad public. This plan presents a very striking and simple image. That cover image alone is memorable (and fairly accurate): it is the equivalent of Frank Pick’s remarkably simple and effective London Underground schematic map. In the UK, during and immediately after the Second World War we produced dozens of ‘advisory’ or ‘outline’ plans, with numerous illustrations (maps, graphs, photographs, drawings, even paintings) but the specification for development plans following the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, soon pushed us to much more text-heavy plans. These may be full of evidence-based and relevant ideas, but they certainly don’t come across easily to the lay reader.

We might forget that not everyone has a well-developed spatial awareness (the rise in satnav use alone might tell us this!). Reading and interpreting maps and understanding scale, are learned skills not innate knowledge. Relating text to real places on the ground, and how they may change over time, is equally problematic. So a plan that manages to catch the public attention with simple graphics, and sticks in the collective memory for decades, is intrinsically likeable.

The outstretched fingers, interweaving settlement and open countryside, have formed an enduring and effective relationship between urban, peri-urban and rural. It has influenced many other places to think of features such as green wedges rather than green belts.

WHAT TO LEARN FROM IT
This plan has two lessons for us: first, of course, is to push us to communicate more clearly, and perhaps more simply, the complex messages that our professions produce from the mass of evidence that we collect and analyse. It suggests that effective graphics need not be data-rich and complex. In this light we might also reconsider our effective use of new technologies: we need to seize the opportunity afforded by high-tech graphics and communication media, but not to over-complicate our communication. After all, many of us are, if not technophobes, then at least not wholly comfortable with the latest gadgets.

A second lesson is the enduring power of a plan. The finger plan is still an essential part of the Copenhagen’s planning, being regularly reviewed and updated. We shouldn’t throw out one generation’s powerful ideas when the next generation changes the bathwater. A simple plan, effectively communicated, can be responsive to changing circumstances and needs. In this case we now have a sixth finger, with the development of Ørestadt, and the Øresund bridge link to Sweden and Malmö in particular. The plan is accommodating new forms of growth, transit-oriented development, and other aspirations of sustainable development and urban form. Surely effective design and planning should aspire to this; nearly seven decades of influence must be cost-effective.

Information on the current draft revision is available at: https://erhvervsstyrelsen.dk/fingerplanrevision-20162017
Designing Streets for Good Health: Now and in the Future

Richard Crappsley speculates how driverless vehicles could help or hinder objectives of ‘healthy’ street design

Cities face a number of critical health-related issues, such as impacts of poor air quality, sedentary behaviour leading to disease, and an increasingly aged population. Issue 142 of *Urban Design* explored how these complex and multi-faceted problems can be addressed at different urban scales, from the city to the street. As an urban designer working on street design and guidance within both UK and US contexts, I believe that retrofitting our streets to make them ‘healthier’ is an essential part of addressing these issues. The health benefits of street design are now being explicitly discussed through the ‘complete streets’ movement in both Latin and North America, and in the UK through the new Healthy Streets approach being promoted by the Greater London Authority and Transport for London as well as through the Design Council’s Active by Design programme. This is great news, but we have a new challenge on the horizon: what will the arrival of autonomous vehicles (AVs, aka driverless cars) mean in terms of street design and health?

**A HEALTHY APPROACH TO STREET DESIGN**

Streets are the main component of cities’ public realm, and the part we use daily. They are also a significant proportion of total land area: in London 12.3 per cent of land area is given over to streets, almost as much as the land area occupied by buildings (13.4 per cent)\(^1\). Taking a ‘complete’ or ‘healthy’ approach to street design means maximising the public good that can be achieved from this infrastructure. Fortunately for us, urban designers, it seems that the design principles we have long been advocating form the essential components of healthy street design. It’s not rocket science, and it’s not new. It’s about taking a people-focused approach to street design, including:

- **Reallocating road space** away from vehicles – fewer and narrower lanes, less on-street parking, more space for walking and cycling, whilst maintaining space for public transport. Ultimately this is about reducing demand for car travel by making other modes more attractive, in turn reducing traffic emissions and personal injury collisions.
- **Pedestrian facilities** of excellent functionality, with pedestrian footway zones of comfortable width, uncluttered by furniture or other obstructions, and well-designed crossings that meet desire lines; all making it easy for people of all ages to walk, help combat sedentary lifestyles and reduce disease risk.
- **Bicycle infrastructure** that supports safe and comfortable cycling regardless of age or confidence, providing protection or separation on busier roads, promoting sharing on quieter roads, and connecting into a wider network.
- **Slowing traffic** using design elements like narrow traffic lanes, tight corners and visual elements to encourage steady and slow driving, making streets generally safer and more comfortable for non-motorised users.
- **Greening** using trees and planting to combat urban heat island effects, manage stormwater runoff through sustainable drainage, and shade streets during hot weather to support active travel choices.
- **On-street activity**, through provision of space for both formal and informal activities – e.g. parklets and café seating – or facilitating space for casual uses and social interaction, making streets places that people want to spend time in.
- **Safety and security** measures to dissuade crime and enhance sense of personal security such as good visibility, pedestrian-focused lighting, activity and natural surveillance.
- **Comfort** for all, including reducing the impacts of traffic noise, providing shelter from weather, and ensuring regular spaces to stop that provide a variety of seating to meet different user needs.
- **Equitable access**, which not only means accessibility for people with limited mobility, but also making streets welcoming and available to all, regardless of personal characteristics.

**HOW MIGHT AVS HELP CONTRIBUTE TO HEALTHY STREETS OBJECTIVES?**

The people-focused approach to streets outlined above is based on our collective experience as urban designers, within the context of relatively gradual changes in transport technology. However, rapid change is coming in the form of AVs, with significant implications in terms of street design. The transition period to a full AV fleet replacing manually-driven vehicles on the roads will be a matter of several decades, subject to the interplay between technology, culture, and regulation; however, it is likely that AVs will appear on our streets within a few years. We need to explore the design implications now, considering how they may affect our experience of the street environment, and maximise their contribution to a healthy street approach.

Articles written on the likely effects of AVs have focused on how they are likely to change travel experience from a driver’s perspective. Conjecture about their impact on street design has been limited to vehicular considerations, such as that carriageway space will be able to be used more efficiently; that fewer on-street parking spaces will be required due to the prevalence of a shared use model of ownership; and that AVs will become mobile places in their own right within which one can work, rest or play. As yet there has been little discussion about how they might influence people’s experience of streets and places. This is something that Steer Davies Gleave are about to investigate through a design research project,
specifically examining the implications for different place typologies within UK and US contexts. The results of this work will be shared later this year, but in advance of this, I want to explore some potential street design implications.

There is a broad consensus amongst those who have written about AVs that replacement of manually-operated cars will be beneficial in terms of health. Certainly it seems likely that removing human error from the dangerous activity of driving will reduce highways-related personal injuries and deaths. Assuming AVs are electric vehicles, or use a hybrid engine, then tailpipe emissions will be reduced or eliminated, greatly improving local air quality (though emissions will still be generated at point of energy production), and noise pollution will also be lowered. AVs may also help improve health equity by offering those who cannot drive for reasons of disability or age, a personalised means of transport, provided a shared model of vehicle use operates.

In relation to street design there has been conjecture about reduced spatial requirements for parking AVs, both on- and off-street, and the benefits arising from repurposing road space to create better pedestrian and cycling facilities, new public spaces, and additional greening. This seems plausible in theory, but it will depend on cultural and policy shifts. How people adopt AVs, and whether they opt for private ownership or shared usage, will influence parking provision and design. If the majority of AV users adopt the shared model, drop-off and pick-up spaces will be required, either kerbside or off-line, with vehicles circulating to depots for storage when not in use. If people prefer owning their own AV then we will require similar parking provisions as now. There is a role for transport and planning authorities here to manage usage through regulation and policy. For instance, city centres could be restricted to shared AVs only, to help reallocate road space, and use of shared AVs could be encouraged through subsidies, taxation or planning policies.

The ability for AVs to operate in closer proximity to one another also suggests that more efficient use of road space could be made, leading to further release of carriage-way space for other uses. Given that most cities have high levels of traffic congestion in the peak periods, it seems more likely that the existing road space will simply be retained to better accommodate peak demand. AVs may also attract people from other modes of transport due to ease of use, reduced congestion, a higher level of comfort, and the opportunity for more flexible use of travel time, potentially leading to demand for more vehicles within the same space. This will however depend on the type of trips people use AVs for. In the transitional period from manually-operated vehicles AVs are likely to be slow, with much stopping and starting due to interactions with other road users, so they may well be used for shorter ‘first and last mile’ type trips rather than longer distance journeys. Therefore it is plausible that AVs actually work against active travel choices; people may choose AVs for ‘first and last mile’ trips instead of walking and cycling, potentially exacerbating health issues by increasing sedentary behaviour.

In terms of street design, we can also speculate that AVs offer long term potential to reduce the amount of highways-related items on streets such as traffic signals, car-related signage, road markings etc. thereby making streets less cluttered. However, there will be a long transitional period where vehicular traffic will be a mix of AVs and manually-operated vehicles, and hence much of this infrastructure will have to remain for many years to come. Moreover, once full transition of the vehicle fleet has been achieved interactions between AVs, cyclists and pedestrians will continue to occur within the street environment. Traffic signals for instance are essential to allow pedestrians to cross higher speed and busier roads. Because AVs will be risk-averse by design, pedestrians will, in theory, be able to cross at will, but in busy areas such as city centres this may disrupt traffic flow so much as to make travel by AV near impossible. Additionally, from a human perspective, less able-bodied or confident pedestrians may be dissuaded from using the street if they have to step out in front of AVs travelling at high speed or if AVs are travelling bumper to bumper.

Does this mean that AVs will only really be suitable for trips in places where chances of human interaction are fewer, such as residential streets, distributor roads and motorways, and less suitable for high streets or city centres? From here, it is easy to imagine that some might suggest separation of people and traffic in particular areas, which would be a retrograde step following the decades of work by urban designers to combat such an approach, and certainly not in line with healthy street design principles.

**FINAL THOUGHTS**

Of course there is a swathe of other considerations related to AVs to be addressed from technological to ethical – and my speculations above will continue to be speculations for some time, until we can understand the implications of AVs through real-life experience. Nonetheless, as urban designers we should be thinking now about what AVs could mean in terms of the human experience of streets, both in the long term, but also in the significant transition period within which the vehicle fleet will be a mix of AVs and manually-operated vehicles.

Whether AVs help or hinder healthy street ambitions really depends on whether we work to integrate them into our streets. The approach to integration must be based on the established principles of good street design, wherein a people-focused approach is essential. We should seek to develop design principles that promote this approach, and influence policy and AV regulation to ensure a positive outcome for all.

Richard Crappesley, urban designer, Steer Davies Gleave

1 http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/land-use-ward/resource/5e1d75cb-b991-4e37-97b6-e00ee0279e6e
Estate Regeneration

Peter Frankum emphasises the importance of learning from past mistakes

The regeneration of post-war housing areas provides a reminder of how past drives for housing growth were delivered at the expense of place and an understanding of how neighbourhoods and communities can be fostered through good urban design. We live in another period where housing growth is a policy priority and the focus is on delivering large scale housing developments with a drive for new large communities. Whilst the extent of delivery is problematic, it is important to remember that we, as urban designers, have a responsibility to learn from the past and create lasting sustainable places.

A common aspect, highlighted in articles of this issue of Urban Design, is that the regeneration of many of our post-war housing estates exposes primarily a failure of the experimental nature of the urban form and not just the failure of building typologies and construction methods. Typically, as Hilary Satchwell and Lizzie Cowan (Tibbalds) and Andrew Beharrell (PTE) point out, many of these estates were modernist interventions, which made no attempt at responding to their context. They were often stand-alone sculptural modernist forms in a wider open environment. Hence due to their insular nature, we are talking about estate regeneration rather than neighbourhood regeneration.

Nevertheless, whilst the urban fabric of such post-war developments may be questionable and in many instances has failed, vibrant communities have still live in them. In order to deliver successful and renewed places, the starting point should be to provide a helping hand for existing communities to prosper and grow, through a high quality and better connected place to live. There are numerous examples where community needs have not been fully considered and regeneration projects have struggled or failed to deliver. The benefits of good urban design need to be explored with existing residents and a thorough engagement strategy is an essential part of the masterplanning and phasing processes. Retaining residents as part of estate regeneration should be a priority as emphasised by Alanna Reid’s article, which shows the community leading the regeneration. This ownership of place is at the heart of sustainable lasting regeneration.

Much of the research and projects highlighted in the articles illustrate how post-war modernist estates were very inefficiently laid out. Many assume that the combination of towers and deck access blocks were high density. The reality is that the sculptural form of the blocks as well as the urban form, were in fact inefficient. In many cases, traditional streets and low and medium-rise housing increase density, whilst delivering a more manageable environment with a clear definition between public and private realms. The Savills article demonstrates how through the complete streets approach densities can be increased whilst creating a stronger urban form and an improved and more valuable place.

All studies have shown that a sustainable approach creates a connected grid of streets, a clear definition between public and private realms, a comprehensive response to the wider context and easy access to local facilities. This is as simple as learning from successful places from the past. Adopting such an approach will deliver new neighbourhoods with a sense of ownership and community. It will also create an adaptable and sustainable environment capable of evolving over time without the need for major intervention.

Although most examples described are from London with the assumption that similar situations can be found in other parts of the country, two articles deal with very different contexts. Marcus Adams explores community involvement in more general regeneration in China and the Middle East. Didier Joseph-François shows a much greater respect in France towards the original estate design and indicates that poor management and broken promises caused the problems affecting a typical 1960s modernist grand ensemble.

We still see experimental schemes coming forward for delivering regeneration. We must continually ask ourselves ‘will they create lasting places or will we be revisiting them in twenty years’ time?’ Sensible, connected and complete streets not only provide value, but above all help to create lasting neighbourhoods with a strong sense of identity and community. This is the clear message from this issue’s articles.

Peter Frankum, Head of Savills Urban Design Studio
Altered Estates
Andrew Beharrell shows that it is possible to reconcile competing interests in estate regeneration

We hear a lot about how and where to meet London’s estimated demand for at least 50,000 new homes a year: building towers, densifying the suburbs, releasing Green Belt land, and creating more homes on housing estates. There are widely varying estimates of the potential capacity of London’s estates to accommodate additional homes. Savills put it at 400,000, whereas Centre for London, in a report launched in September 2016, estimate 80,000 – 160,000 homes. These are all big numbers.

Estate regeneration has become a very controversial subject, and that’s why four architectural practices – PRP, HTA, Levitt Bernstein and Pollard Thomas Edwards (PTE) – joined forces in 2016 to make a series of recommendations on how best to meet the challenges of today and published a report, Altered Estates. Then in December, the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG) published its Estate Regeneration National Strategy, including design guidance closely based on the principles in the report.

We have been involved with the regeneration of housing estates for four decades: we started to advise communities and councils on estate improvements soon after the last concrete panel was craned into place in the mid-1970s. Since then we have worked under successive political initiatives and funding models to improve, remodel or replace dozens of estates in London and around the UK, most involving some kind of mixed public and private funding. We have seen what works and what does not. In part, our report focuses on the crisis of unmet housing demand in London and the South East, but the processes we recommend are relevant across the UK, even if the problems and opportunities are very different.

This article focuses mainly on the design sections of the report, including the way in which housing estates tend to form islands of difference, with distinct boundaries and an approach to urbanism and architecture which contrasts with their surroundings. However, as urban design does not exist in a vacuum, it also discusses the political and funding contexts which have shaped these places and continue to shape attempts to change them.

THE LEGACY OF POST-WAR ESTATES

In January last year, the former Prime Minister stated: ‘Step outside in the worst estates and you’re confronted by concrete slabs dropped from on high, brutal high-rise towers and dark alleyways that are a gift to criminals and drug dealers’. Whether readers identify with his rather apocalyptic vision of Britain’s worst council estates, or dismiss it as the view from Chipping Norton, it probably encapsulates the beliefs of many of the electorate.

In the 1960s and 70s nearly three million homes were built by local authorities
in Britain. Many incorporated new ideas about town planning, the design of the home, and methods of construction. These estates have been, and continue to be, the main focus of major regeneration initiatives, including Mr. Cameron’s declaration of action on so-called sink estates. Like many observers, he believed that non-traditional design is a significant part of the problem. Regeneration specialists know that the issues are far more complex, but most would agree that design can contribute to social and economic success or failure.

**WHOSE ESTATE IS IT ANYWAY?**

There has always been tension between the priority to be given to existing residents and the potential of estates to increase housing opportunity for the wider population, but now this has become polarised into two fiercely opposed positions. In one corner are those who believe that housing estates belong to those who live on them and only their views should count in determining the future, and increasingly their preference is to be left alone. In the other corner are those who regard housing estates as public assets, which local authorities have a right and a duty to use to meet wider needs, including more homes, at affordable prices, for middle-income households. The views of both camps deserve respect.

A genuinely balanced community will contain a range of housing types and tenures for all sorts of households across the spectrum of age, ethnicity, income, occupation and size. It will also balance the needs of existing communities with the aspirations of outsiders, who would like to settle in the area and invest in it if only the opportunity was there.

Many residents and their champions in the media think that estate regeneration is no longer delivering balance: the proportion of affordable to market homes is dwindling, the definition of affordability is shifting, the cost of market homes is soaring, and the buyers of those homes seem like remote aliens, far removed from being ‘people like us who have a bit more money’. They condemn estate regeneration as ‘social cleansing’ and a ‘war on social housing’.

So, we need to be clear about the objective of estate regeneration: is it to improve the lives of those who live on and around existing estates, or is it to make more effective use of public land to help solve the housing crisis and widen access to home ownership? With care, patience and respect we can and should be able to do both.

**APPRAISING THE OPTIONS AND ENGAGING COMMUNITIES**

Successful estate regeneration starts with two essential processes. Options appraisal is a proven technique to describe and assess different scenarios and establish the case for change. It requires:

- Clear objectives
- Examining a wide range of options including Do Nothing
- Holistic financial and social criteria
- Objective and transparent assessment of costs and benefits
- Realism about the prospect of delivery

Early, wide and honest community engagement, alongside thorough options appraisal, provides a firm foundation on which to work up proposals for change. In deciding whether to support or oppose regeneration, existing residents and businesses will rightly demand clarity about their future. The rehousing offer comes first: don’t over-promise and don’t use design as a distraction from deeper issues. Do test opinion at key stages along the way.
IMPROVE RATHER THAN REPLACE?
Efforts to correct the deficiencies of post-war estates began the moment the last ones were completed in the mid-1970s and have continued ever since. Some improvements have been successful but others now seem wasteful examples of treating the symptoms rather than the cause. Those estates which combine failures in urban planning, poor building layout and physical deterioration ultimately need more radical change; upgrading can only delay the inevitable.

Infill development can be a good solution, but sometimes it too is a short-term pragmatic answer. Dover Court in Islington is a successful example. It is a popular estate, but with a poor external environment and wasteful areas of under-used land with capacity for 70 new homes. High local land values mean that homes for sale can pay for homes for social rent and for transformation of the public realm.

BACK TO THE FUTURE
Post-war estates looked to the future and often turned their backs on the urban fabric around them. They can be inward looking, impenetrable and disconnected from their surroundings. Current best practice in urban design has evolved in precise reaction to the modernist dogma of post-war estate planning and has re-embraced traditional placemaking.

So, we begin with a process of visible mending: we look for the frayed edges of the pre-existing street pattern and we lay down a new network of streets and squares which connect them up, so that the new blends into its surroundings. At the Packington Estate this included reinstating historic streets and creating two new London squares. Higher density apartments at the centre of the site were complemented by family houses around the edge, fitting in with the scale of their surroundings; we even created a neo-traditional housing terrace to complete a fractured Georgian square.

Transforming an estate into a connected neighbourhood is much more than a design process. It challenges the perception of the estate as a place apart, and of its residents as different from their neighbours. This is a very sensitive issue: many residents are fearful of barriers being taken down and thus losing their identity as an estate.

MIXED COMMUNITIES AT SUPERDENSITY
In 2015 the same group of architects collaborated on *Superdensity: the Sequel* (www.superdensity.co.uk) which explains how to create successful neighbourhoods at high density. The focus is on the importance of street-based urban design in the creation of mixed communities and the advantages of mid-rise over high-rise development.
development for the integration of different tenures and control of management costs. All of this has become very relevant to estate regeneration.

Different tenures are occupied in different ways, and it’s a challenge to design for their integration and practical management. We aim to mix them seamlessly within neighbourhoods and to minimise visible difference. But we are also realistic about the need for separate entrances, different management regimes and the affordability of shared facilities. Recent media coverage of ‘poor doors’ is a simplistic reaction to a complex issue. A traditional street of terraced houses or mansion blocks handles this effortlessly, with people across the income spectrum living side-by-side but benefiting from separately managed common spaces to suit different incomes and needs. This gets harder at very high densities.

Post-war estates were often built to a low density, at a time when urban populations were falling, and this potentially allows them to be updated in ways that create many more homes, as well as better places. But the reduction of public investment means that providing new affordable homes on estates is becoming mainly or entirely dependent on cross-subsidy from homes for sale. Building new homes for market sale on estates has become the normal way to meet the social objective of home ownership, the practical demand for more homes and the financial need to fund change through cross-subsidy from market sales.

The government’s commitment to home ownership is welcome but it comes at a potential cost to those who cannot buy. Government needs to take a non-ideological look at the true impact of Right to Buy on estates. Although the policy has helped to diversify tenure, the practical effect has been a huge increase in the cost of leaseholder buy-outs, along with controversy, uncertainty and delay.

The combined impact of policy pressures could either make estate regeneration unviable or make unsustainable demands on cross-subsidy from market homes. This pushes density to controversial levels and leads to an imbalance of market-sale properties, instead of a spectrum of homes for rent and sale.

**HOW TO PAY FOR IT**
Finally it is worth mentioning two examples of successful estate regeneration from the extreme ends of the spectrum of funding solutions. The Housing Action Trusts in the mid-1990s were a high point both for grant-funding and community representation. Although unthinkable today, they do show what can be achieved through government investment in rented housing.

By contrast, 276 new council homes at Thames View East in Barking were recently built with no grant and no cross-subsidy: the scheme was funded by overseas investment secured against the rental stream. UK council housing is regarded by the market as a positive asset.

So, let’s hear more about investment and less about subsidy, and let’s use this valuable commodity to improve conditions for existing residents and to create additional homes for a more diverse population.

Andrew Beharrell, Senior Partner, Pollard Thomas Edwards
Download the report from www.alteredestates.co.uk

7 The Packington Estate before and after regeneration
8 A new neo-Georgina terrace on the Packington estate to fit with the surroundings
Picture Tim Crocker
Modernist high-density housing estates created between the early 1960s and the late 1970s populate British cities in significant numbers. Very often these were created as council housing on former bombsites or following slum clearance. Sometimes they work seamlessly with the wider townscape but more often they stand out, they feel different and ‘other’.

‘Council Estate architecture is still overwhelmingly associated with being trapped, with the disappearance of individual lives and personalities into warren-like structures, where they fall off the radar of mainstream society’.

Estates an Intimate History, Lynsey Hanley (2007)

Many modernist estates have positive, often sculptural and formal qualities. But they were intentionally designed not to fit in or follow existing or historic street patterns. As a result, they tend to be much less positive at street level, and many do not perform well in terms of the principles of good urban design.

‘When very old buildings have to be demolished because they are no longer safe or because they do not any longer conform with the living and working conditions which we expect, we should think very hard before deciding to simply erect new buildings on the ground plans of the old’.

The Shape of Towns, Kurt Rowland (1966)

Modernist housing estates were about systems of building, pure building forms and ‘machines for living’. They expressed a vision of a new future that would see us living at higher densities to reduce the need for urban sprawl, and allow larger areas of communal open space rather than old-fashioned private gardens. Relating to the street context was seen as being about the past and therefore not a particular concern. Even the idea that streets needed to relate to ground level, to other people, and create a coherent place as we now understand it, was not a relevant consideration.

VISIONS OF THE FUTURE

Modernist estates can be regenerated and integrated into the wider context.
Tybalds Estate, Camden:
2 Existing layout
3 Proposed layout

after. Another is Cromer Street in Camden, where modernist blocks relate to the street pattern and step along it in a regular rhythm. At Alexandra Road, also in Camden, the street within the estate just about manages to relate to its context. But there are also many more poorly planned schemes that have continuously failed to work well as integrated bits of city, despite internal and external improvements and small-scale interventions through numerous funding programmes.

URBAN DISCONNECTIONS

These modernist interventions have created physical and social disconnections within urban areas. The sense of difference between public and private housing endures and has not been as positive as may have been intended at the time. The poor legibility, ill-considered ground level treatments, incoherent routes, and the lack of overlooking mean that these places feel different in a way that has a negative impact on how integrated they, and by extension many of the residents, feel in the surrounding area.

Other concerns with modernist estates relate to entrances, circulation, changes in level, and the relationship of living accommodation to open space. These factors influence not only activity on the surrounding streets, but also how safe and overlooked residents feel. Maintenance and care is often poor, particularly for the external areas and circulation. Over the course of many years, this has built up negative associations and means that what does work well is easily overlooked.

The writings of Jane Jacobs and others, and the creation of the Urban Design Group in 1978, identified a series of problems that were being created by these grand modernist visions. Buildings set in open space, that relate poorly to their surroundings were a significant part of the growing problems of social isolation and poor community connections, rather than some clever approach to placemaking.

Many people moving into these estates did feel like pioneers going into a new world with inside bathrooms, large windows, balconies and a sense of space. The homes were light and well planned and the space standards imposed by the government (Parker Morris Standards) ensured that sizes of homes were relatively generous. However, as time moved on, estates suffered from poor maintenance and as a result they have gradually been improved, updated, redeveloped, or redesigned. Most of the worst examples have already been replaced because they also became a focus of wider social problems.

THE ROLE OF URBAN DESIGN

Only now are many of the less problematic estates being considered for redevelopment or densification. This is an important opportunity to consider the wider urban design issues and the kind of integrated towns and cities we want to live in. Given that modernist estates can be seen as part of the reason that urban design exists as a discipline, how can urban design principles be used in their regeneration? Is it possible to reintegrate high-density modernist estates back into their context without wholesale demolition? Are some estates so hard to reintegrate well that it is more efficient and better to start again?

In our work at Tibbalds, we have been exploring these questions for a number of years. We use the principles of urban design to restructure small and medium urban estates through the careful placement of new development. This delivers much-needed new homes, and also enables the modernist blocks and wider context to work well together. This approach also has the potential to reduce the sense of difference and otherness captured by Lynsey Hanley in her description of her own experience of living on a large council estate so unlike the homes and streets that she saw other people living in. The following are three examples of our work on existing estates.

REPAIRING A BROKEN HISTORIC URBAN GRAIN WITH CONSIDERED REPLACEMENT

The Bourne Estate is an early 1900s Grade II listed housing scheme in Clerkenwell consisting of two halves, divided by the east-west link of Portpool Lane. The northern portion of the estate has a coherent urban structure of a super-sized perimeter style block facing outwards, with ground floor retail onto the most public parts of the busier surrounding streets. Inside, the perimeter wall blocks are arranged into linear courtyards, more domestic in scale. The internal blocks are arranged so that entrances face one another across a courtyard with front doors and balconies opening out onto shared spaces.

The southern part of the estate was only partially completed, with part of the perimeter block in place and two internal blocks that reflect the pattern of development in the northern portion of the estate. Two modernist blocks and a
The main aims of the urban design proposals for the estate regeneration developed with residents by a team including Tibbalds, Mae, Duggan Morris and Avanti architects, were to sensitively stitch the new buildings into their surrounding context. A plan for carefully inserted new buildings seeks to ‘ground’ the modernist blocks and provide physical linkages to the historic streetscape supporting both legibility and activating ground level frontages, connecting the Tybalds Estate into the wider historic street pattern. The proposals involve sensitive infill development that help to make the estate feel like a part of the wider context and are delivered without the demolition of existing homes.

REPLACING MONOLITHIC MEGASTRUCTURES WITH STREETS AND URBAN BLOCKS

At the Myatts Field North Estate in Lambeth, large-scale linked urban blocks separated pedestrian routes from ground level car parking, with an almost complete dislocation from surrounding streets. An internalised pedestrian street and external poorly defined open spaces had become a focus for crime and antisocial behaviour. Earlier regeneration strategies had sought to redesign the entrances and circulation to the blocks but were only partially successful, possibly because of the lack of engagement with the wider context.

A later masterplan in the mid 2000s looked at redeveloping the remaining monolithic blocks keeping only smaller scale buildings that could be successfully accommodated into a new layout. This new masterplan developed by PRP in response to a Tibbalds development planning brief retained some existing buildings but replaced most of them with new urban blocks that related to both the wider townscape and historic street patterns. All the new streets are aligned with, and relate to the scale of the surrounding street pattern.

In conclusion, there is an urban design led approach to estate regeneration that is about creating streets, but that also allows the positive qualities of modernist estate planning to be retained and reintegrated into their context. Where appropriate this can enable residents to stay in their homes, and improve the quality of their environment, at the same time as providing new homes.

Hilary Satchwell and Lizzie Cowan, Tibbalds Planning and Urban Design

1 Lynsey Hanley, 2012 Estates, An Intimate Story, Granta

series of smaller scale buildings were built in the 1960s, bearing little relation to the strong grain of the wider estate. In particular Mawson House sat directly against the established grain and blocked key routes, impacting in particular on legibility.

As part of an urban design strategy and masterplan prepared by Tibbalds working with Matthew Lloyd Architects, this block was replaced with a new more sympathetic one that follows the established urban grain of a perimeter block with complementary internal blocks, courtyards and spaces.

The block that faced onto Portpool Lane to the west of the estate stopped abruptly, with a blank facade and a single storey tenants’ hall, caretaker’s facilities and sub-station. These offered a poor quality, incoherent edge to a series of public spaces in front of Gooch House. Here, a new perimeter block with a strong corner extends the model of the older estate, reflecting its urban form. The block wraps back into the estate to provide continuity, enclosing the new public space and creating a better street relationship with Gooch House.

SENSITIVE INFILL DEVELOPMENT TO STITCH AN AREA INTO ITS HISTORIC CONTEXT

The Tybalds estate in the London Borough of Camden comprises a range of post-war modernist social housing blocks of between four and 14 storeys and is surrounded by the historic streets and spaces of the Bloomsbury Conservation Area.

Like many post war developments, the Tybalds Estate had its historical street pattern replaced with large slab blocks and other smaller concrete framed buildings set in open space. At the time this would have been part of a grand vision for a new way of living, but today the spaces and areas around the buildings are mostly poorly laid out, rarely used and in much need of improvement. The buildings provide little activity at street level, fail to enclose or define the surrounding space, or create a sense of ownership. The current arrangement of buildings and spaces makes the estate alien to its neighbouring streets and the surrounding terrace housing. This otherness has led to feelings of social exclusion and of people being different to the wider community.
London: An estate regeneration scheme in the shadow of the Shard was the opening description of the Leathermarket Joint Management Board (JMB) estate regeneration proposal that passed across my desk last summer at the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG). The Department had recently launched an expression of interest exercise to take forward Prime Minister Cameron’s ambition to ‘transform 100 estate areas’ and allocate a total of £172 million support funding to kick-start high quality regeneration projects across the country.

As a newly formed engagement team within DCLG, we were seeking proposals that soundly demonstrated what would be coined the ‘three pillars’ of regeneration: a commercially viable scheme, local authority partnership, and robust community engagement. Alongside an estate regeneration practitioners panel, chaired by the Housing and Planning Minister, we were engaging with local authorities, developers, housing associations and community groups across the country to compile an Estate Regeneration National Strategy that would exemplify high quality approaches and act as a Government-endorsed benchmark for all future schemes.

When Leathermarket’s proposal was submitted last year, we as a team were on the lookout for approaches that would avoid the traditional battlegrounds that have characterised inner city housing regeneration and on the hunt for smarter, more collegiate ways of improving homes and lives.

Leathermarket, Southwark

Alanna Reid describes a successful process of community-led estate regeneration in London

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Leathermarket Tenant Management Organisation

Leathermarket JMB is a tenant management organisation responsible for nine housing estates (consisting of 1,050 tenants and 450 leaseholders) in Bermondsey, Southwark. The organisation derives its name from the prominence of the leather trade in Bermondsey during the late 19th century. Indeed, anyone who has spent time in the area, particularly within Bermondsey Street itself, will notice that in urban design terms, the streetscape does a fantastic job in paying homage to the area’s historic light industrial usage.

A Tenant Management Organisation (TMO) is a means by which council tenants and leaseholders can collectively take on responsibility for managing the homes they live in. The first TMOS were set up after the Housing Rents and Subsidies Act 1975 allowed local authorities to delegate housing management to Tenant Management Co-ops, via a formal management agreement. By the mid-1980s, around 60 Tenant Management Co-ops were managing approximately 5,000 homes.

In 1994, the Government introduced the Right to Manage, giving local authority tenants a statutory right to take on the management of their council housing for the first time. By forming a TMO and following the Right to Manage Regulations (later streamlined in 2012), tenants can take over responsibility for housing services, such as repairs, caretaking and rent collection, from their landlord. There

1 London: An estate regeneration scheme in the shadow of the Shard
are currently around 200 TMOs led by volunteers across the country, managing around 70,000 council properties.

In 1994, a group of tenants in the Leathermarket Neighbourhood forum – a group established to relate to the then Neighbourhood Council Housing Office in Southwark – set up a steering group to govern the process for taking over the running of the Leathermarket homes. Under the terms of the statutory process, an indicative ballot of Leathermarket area residents was held and revealed that the vast majority of residents were in favour of setting up a TMO. After an 18-month period spent planning how services would be delivered and a further formal ballot, Leathermarket JMB was created on 1 April 1996.

FROM MANAGEMENT TO REGENERATION
By law, the Leathermarket JMB must hold continuation ballots with tenants every five years to test continued support and changing needs. After the 2011 ballot, where 78 per cent of tenants took part in the ballot and 93 per cent voted in favour of continuation, the TMO questioned whether the design and usage of the estate was as effective as it could be.

Following this ballot, Leathermarket conducted a micro-scale housing need assessment. The survey identified significant under-occupancy from an original generation that had already spent a lifetime on the estate, raising family members who had long since flown the nest. The survey also identified over-occupancy, now an increasingly common symptom of acute housing need in the capital. The conclusion from this process was clear: a better fit of the existing stock was needed. As the Leathermarket team explored how existing residents could be best re-housed, they began to consider how infill sites within the estate could be maximised to deliver additional units.

To fully maximise this opportunity, the TMO hired Igloo, a development manager of Bermondsey Square fame, and applied for Community Right to Build funding. This was a DCLG initiative that enabled local communities to undertake small scale, community-led development. From 2012 to 2015 communities could apply for a share of £17.5 million to develop projects. Leathermarket’s successful application to the Greater Local Authority (GLA) for £325,000 of this pot enabled them to commission Bell Philips Architects to carry out early master planning and an initial feasibility study for possible infill development.

With the receipt of such funding came the responsibility of stewarding public money and a desire for legitimacy among the development industry. The Leathermarket board therefore resolved to establish a separate entity to oversee prospective regeneration ambitions. The Leathermarket Community Benefit Society (CBS) would consist of a separate board of resident and expert co-opted directors to keep this new development arm separate from the TMO’s management responsibilities. As a result of the feasibility study, Leathermarket CBS identified their first development opportunity on an underutilised garage court on the Kipling estate. The proposal was for 27 new affordable homes, enabling up to 104 better fit local allocations to help families across the JMB estates, whilst freeing up properties for Southwark’s housing allocation list.

Although Leathermarket CBS were putting in place measures to give their organisation currency within the property development world, the team recognised the need to ensure that the
scheme remained resident led and endorsed. As a result the CBS encouraged resident volunteers to participate in the scheme’s design and specify their personal preference on individual units.

Walking through the estate area on a sunny Easter morning, CBS resident Director Jo Vignola recalls the design process:

‘Initially, residents were sceptical of the development. Yet, once we explained to them that this was their project, attitudes changed. We had around 40 to 50 residents experimenting with the model the architects had developed, moving the proposed blocks to create a skyline they felt happy with. They had their say on this and more, right down to the colour of the walls, the fittings of the kitchen...’

This collaborative design process was a leading reason why the scheme was shortlisted for the Housing Design awards in 2016.

Meanwhile, Southwark Council had been setting ambitions to deliver 11,000 new council homes across the borough by 2043, with a commitment to deliver the first 1,500 by 2018. Perhaps it was both this broader self-imposed pressure and a history of nearly 20 years of partnership working with Leathermarket that assured the Council to fully back the project. The Council resolved to transfer the leasehold to the TMO in 2016 and fully granted funded project has at least got them started; the ownership of the completed Kipling garage site will no doubt be a useful asset for the financing of future projects.

In the estate regenerations stakes, Leathermarket CBS’s Kipling development is a unique case study. Though unlikely to deliver impressive, quick fix numbers up-front, if the ambition of 700 net additions is to be realised, it is a form of regeneration-cash-boost more-than-100-housing-estates-receive-regeneration-national-strategy of future projects.

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LEATHERMARKET OF THE FUTURE

The Department recently announced the allocation of £30 million enabling grant funding and £2 million commercial capacity building grant to 105 estates. This included £135,000 awarded to Leathermarket for design and feasibility work on their next infill project (a former nursery site within their Lawson estate) and to develop a wholesale estate improvement plan. Of course Leathermarket will have the challenge of financing the construction opportunities going forward, in a market where public subsidy is scarce. But it seems their first fully granted funded project has at least got them started; the ownership of the completed Kipling garage site will no doubt be a useful asset for the financing of future projects.

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HUMAN SCALE, LONG GAME REGENERATION

When Leathermarket’s expression of interest for funding for future phases of development across other estate areas (outlining a total ambition to deliver an additional 600 homes) entered my caseload last year, I was extremely curious to understand just how this had worked. I wanted to meet those responsible for the apparent success of a small scale, community-led estate regeneration project taking place in the heart of central London in the shadow of the decade’s biggest real estate project in the capital. I wanted to understand how it could be possible to achieve net housing development, albeit on a small scale, where residents and tenants are the actual drivers of development and change, not merely bystanders or token sounding boards.

Sitting down with Andy Bates, JMB manager, I see that it certainly hasn’t been an easy or speedy process. As a former Housing Officer for Southwark, who left to join the Leathermarket JMB when it was founded in 1996, I ask him why he thinks it works.

‘There’s something more human scale about what we are doing here. There’s no remote decision making. We know exactly what is happening in these homes and we’ve got face-to-face accountability if something goes wrong. There’s no hiding for us’.

Alanna Reid, Senior Executive Officer, Department for Communities and Local Government.


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Today, whether in the West or East, we face the same challenges of how to build new forms of urbanism fit for 21st century life, more sustainable towns and cities that are safe, healthy and uplifting. For more than twenty years JTP has been utilising collaborative approaches to urban regeneration throughout Europe, believing that it is only when the talent, energy and commitment of the public, private and community sectors are brought together, that truly sustainable new places can be created.

In our experience, local people can play a vital role in shaping and delivering the places they live and work in, and over the years we have pioneered participatory planning techniques to inform every stage of a project, from inception through to long-term management.

THE PARTICIPATORY PROCESS
Along the way, we have learned that it is critical to understand the difference between participation and consultation. Participation means inviting people to play a meaningful role in shaping their own future. Consultation without participation is simply asking people to pass comment on what has already been decided by others, and can prompt a negative reaction or breed outright hostility.

The structured charrette process employed by JTP enables local people to work with a multi-disciplinary professional design team in a collaborative fashion, to create highly specific visions and masterplans which add value at every level, physical, social, environmental and economic, resulting in resilient and valuable places.

Structured as interactive, multi-day design workshops, charrette working not only provides benefits in terms of input and quality, but can also greatly increase the speed of the design and approval process. It is a hands-on approach where ideas are translated into plans and drawings, and benefits from taking participants through feedback loops which build understanding and support. Feedback loops occur when a design is proposed, reviewed, changed, and represented for further review.

The success of the charrette methodology lies with the skill and experience of the team facilitating the event, who require the ability to engage and inspire stakeholders, successfully manage logistics, mechanics and team working, as well as more traditional skills associated with urban regeneration including vision building, masterplanning and effective graphic communication.

In recent years it has been interesting to be commissioned projects in Abu Dhabi and China, to learn how these techniques perform in different cultural and political context and gain more global insights into the efficacy of this approach for urban regeneration.

SHAHAMA & BAHIA
JTP and landscape architects Gillespies were jointly appointed by Abu Dhabi Planning Council and The Emirates Foundation to engage with the local community in the preparation of the revitalisation plan for Shahama & Bahia.

The brief was to shape future development in response to economic and population growth, liberalised real estate laws, and significant foreign investment.

1 Aerial View of Changzhi Island, Zhejiang Province, China, designed by JTP and now built
Somewhat surprisingly it also included the urban regeneration of existing neighbourhoods less than 20 years old.

Running a participatory process in Abu Dhabi required careful thought about specific cultural issues around gender, and the creation of two working environments. These Majilis or ‘places of sitting’ were tent structures specially erected on site, one for men and children and another for women, to allow them to work independently, but on the understanding that they would come together to report back.

In addition to local community representatives, participants included stakeholders from transport planning, the sports council, environment agency, health authority, education council, the police and local school children. Through facilitated workshops and hands-on planning, we quickly developed an overview of the serious social impacts of recent development.

Shahama & Bahia had been structured around zoned land uses and use of the car, with neighbourhoods forced apart by four lanes of traffic and large service corridors. These roads had been built parallel to the coast, blocking the cooling sea breeze and creating stifling heat in the streets, which had no trees or buildings close enough to provide shade. Coupled with an overall lack of density and compactness and of local facilities, planning decisions had created a situation where no one walked, played or gathered outdoors.

The direct impacts on everyday life included social isolation for women and children, and a lack of physical activity, leading to poor health and substantial increases in diabetes and obesity. Current predictions for future life expectancy in Abu Dhabi, one of the richest countries in the world, show significant reductions within one generation, with the structure of the built environment being a major factor.

Working with local people, we developed a regeneration vision for a more liveable community, focused around themes of culture and identity, health and wellbeing, education and knowledge, and environment and sustainability. In physical terms, new street layouts were orientated to capture the off-shore breeze, public spaces were designed with sociability in mind, and streetscapes were organised to create green and shaded pedestrian routes, with improved accessibility to new local facilities and services. Housing typologies were also explored, including the introduction of contemporary versions of fareej, neighbourhoods formed from clusters of homes placed around a central courtyard or outdoor recreational space, with small paths to connect homes to one another and to other community facilities and public spaces.

LIANGZHU

A second opportunity to test participatory planning beyond a European context presented itself when JTP was invited to run a weeklong community planning process in the new town of Liangzhu. Built by Vanke, one of the largest developers in China, the design of the town was based on years of research into what makes a model community, and is widely regarded as an exemplary urban project.

Given the political context and social norms of the country, it was unusual – courageous even – for Vanke to suggest engaging with the existing residents of the town, and to invite feedback on what was and wasn’t working to inform future phases of development. At the start of the participatory process, it was clearly difficult for local people to be openly critical of the project, but as trust and confidence grew, significant issues were raised regarding provision of health and education services. This led to broader discussions about the lack of say that residents had in the day-to-day running of their local community.

With Vanke already looking for ways to reduce their responsibility for the long-term management of the town while keeping the values that they had introduced, discussions turned to the idea of local self-governance. The final result of the participatory process was the creation of a management body made up of local people, governing the day-to-day decision-making for Liangzhu, effectively a town council which while the norm in the West, is a concept unheard of in China.

FINAl THOUGHTS

The projects in Shahama & Bahia and Liangzhu allowed us fascinating insights into the efficacy of participatory planning beyond the Western context in which it was pioneered, and reinforced our view that this is a highly versatile methodology that delivers huge benefits for urban regeneration.

Wherever we operate, working in collaboration with local people we encounter similar issues, responses to the participatory process, and final outcomes. There is generally a large disconnect between the agencies tasked with undertaking urban regeneration, and the local communities they ultimately affect. There may well be large-scale public consultation, but
few agencies involve local people in a truly meaningful way. As a result, regeneration tends to be focused on visible bricks-and-mortar projects, rather than wider revitalisation that includes the complex social environments that underlie everyday life, the realm in which people’s hopes and dreams are played out.

This constitutes a huge missed opportunity. Our experience has made us firm advocates of the ‘wisdom of crowds’. Bring together a broad range of local people, of different ages and backgrounds, and you will rapidly gain deep insights into the workings of the local area. No one understands a place better than the communities who use it on a habitual basis and share the same experiences, the joys and frustrations of life that build powerful collective perceptions and memories.

Across the UK, in Europe and now in places like Shahama & Bahia and Liangzhu, we find people to have almost identical aspirations: affordable housing, local jobs, less traffic, more green space and opportunities for their children. A common concern for public and private sector clients commissioning participative processes for the first time, is that this approach will open Pandora’s box, unleashing demands for new facilities and services that cannot be met. But this is rarely the case; instead people tend to be modest in their aspirations, often suggesting remarkably simple and effective courses of action to solve their own problems.

Over the years we have also observed how the public’s response to being invited to participate tends to unfold in the same way: to begin with they vent their frustration at a multitude of local issues seen as outside of their control. This requires neutrality, active listening, and empathy to move beyond. People are then surprised to be asked their opinions on the future, and moreover, to be granted an opportunity to be creative. At this point negativity starts to dissipate, interest and engagement increases, people rise to the challenge and a palpable sense of energy develops in the room. As interesting ideas come forward, advocates emerge and new friendships are forged around shared interests and aspirations. One constantly understated benefit of using participatory techniques in urban regeneration is that these processes actually strengthen communities, marshalling local residents from a multitude of disparate voices into collective entities with a clear point of view, and making local political buy-in for urban regeneration plans easier.

While these commonalities played out in a manner very similar to our European experience, working in the different politico-cultural contexts of Shahama & Bahia and Liangzhu also created new challenges. At a practical level, the logistics of organising and facilitating community events overseas requires careful consideration, in particular overcoming the language with interpreters skilful enough to draw local people into discussions, establish rapport and act as a conduit for the experience of the JTP team.

By far the most demanding issue in Abu Dhabi, China and other work abroad is how to maintain momentum and make things happen after the event. Operating within unfamiliar social norms and different systems of governance can be disorientating, and knowing who to ask, in what way, in which forum, is critical to the long term success of urban regeneration developed through participatory processes. For this reason, we have developed a network of local partners, who have a great understanding and affinity for what we believe in and the way we go about it, and who help guide us through cultural intricacies and ensure benefits are delivered on the ground.

Marcus Adams, architect and urban designer, Managing Partner at JTP responsible for strategic planning and management.
The village of Mons-en-Baroeul is located a few miles north-east of Lille in northern France. Historically it straddled the road from Lille to Roubaix, the 19th century capital of the French textile industry. Starting in January 1958, a major development plan was put forward to transform the village into a growth centre for the Lille conurbation, capable of offering an alternative to the then current forms of suburban extensions which were seen as problematic; and to promote Mons-en-Baroeul to the rank of satellite city by enhancing its urban character, creating a scheme which would be at the same time homogeneous at the local scale and spectacular at the level of the conurbation. These were the planning principles framing a proposal that would soon be labelled the largest ‘priority development area’ (known as a ZUP) north of Paris.

Councillors wished to transfer the municipal civic centre to this new neighbourhood, to create a cultural centre, to mix single family housing with apartment blocks, to provide employment, leisure and commerce as well as housing, to separate cars from pedestrians and to offer large public open spaces and planted avenues. Such a brief seemed like a recurrent dream of the ideal city for 15,000 new residents, adjacent to an old settlement of 10,000 inhabitants.

In April 1960 the Mons-en-Baroeul ZUP was designated and named la plaine de Mons. It originally covered 110 hectares and included 4,600 dwellings. A first model was presented by the architect to the city council in June 1961 and the scheme for housing and related amenities was approved in February 1962.

A CHANGE OF DIRECTION
Soon, the original goal of offering an alternative to disorderly suburban growth was shaken by the central government’s wish to create a new town just next door, on land covered by 13 local authorities. In 1968 a public organisation (equivalent to a New Town Development Corporation) was established to develop the new town of Lille-Est, which later in 1970, following the fusion of three local authorities, became Villeneuve-d’Ascq. The immediate consequence for New Mons was the loss of its image as a symbol of modernity; thereafter it was transformed into a large estate (grand ensemble), totally ordinary and with the addition of successive public sector housing projects, entirely at odds with the initial objectives of balance and coherence between different uses. The planned civic centre and the public spaces were abandoned, and the scheme was gradually modified to comply with chaotic and constantly changing briefs, which specified the number of dwellings allocated to various builders, with little regard to the quality of the buildings or the integrity of the urban whole.

Throughout the ZUP’s history the number of dwellings built varied frequently and the minutes of the local council meetings show a gradual inflation: at the start of the project in 1963, 3,957 dwellings are mentioned, but soon after the local paper, La Croix du Nord, suggested 4,600, adding with malice: ‘the city invades the countryside; there are victims!’ By 1967, the figure had risen to 5,600 dwellings and then reached 6,600, of which only 18 per cent were individual houses. Rapidly the original idea of ‘the beautiful city’ disappeared behind the simple need of mass producing social housing. This was managed by a public-private enterprise with insufficient resources and little experience in this kind of development. It was a serious indictment of a centralised and
incoherent planning system which was moving towards the segregation of people and land, and whose harmfulness and dis-functionality would become apparent less than ten years later. Undoubtedly, the poor quality of life resulting from over-densification of the ZUP, led to a revision of the government’s urban policies and to such programmes as ‘the social development of neighbourhoods’ or banlieue 89, which were fairly well subsidised. tackling the reduction in density and the provision of services in the estates.

SUCCESSIVE URBAN RENEWAL SCHEMES
Between 1975 and 1990, the ZUP lost 5,000 inhabitants on the basis of planned demolitions. Thus started a slow path towards a better urban quality and one that avoided the worst aspects of social segregation. Following a number of more-or-less successful emergency improvements, including a first attempt at thermally insulating the building façades, the local authorities and central government committed on three occasions - 2004, 2009 and finally in 2014 - to a vast programme of urban regeneration, considered one of the most important in France. For the period 2009-14, this programme received more than €40m in subsidies, which generated over €200m of works, and resulted eventually in the designation of Nouveau Mons as an Ecoquartier: a new district heating system using wood as fuel was installed, complemented by solar and photovoltaic panels; another 450 dwellings were demolished; 1,000 were rehabilitated to a high standard of environmental quality (HQE); 600 new dwellings were built as traditional urban blocks of mixed tenures; and 800 dwellings were provided with controlled entrances, private parking and open spaces. The carriageways were reduced to provide landscaped areas and space for active mobility; cultural and social amenities as well as a covered market have been provided around the town hall to reinforce its centrality. In addition Nouveau Mons has policies for economic revitalisation and social support. However this story doesn’t end here: the latest programme dating from 2014 and with a planned duration of 10 to 12 years, aims at continuing the urban transformation to achieve the dream of a sustainable city, balanced in its social characteristics and effective within the metropolitan development context. This remains a valuable ambition although slow in its implementation.

Under the arcades of the commercial street, between the paving, the moulded columns and the coffered ceiling you can observe a modernist reinvention of the traditional Parisian urban models.
TRANSPORT AND CONNECTIVITY
Another chapter of this story deserves consideration: the provision of public transport. In the 1950s, the village of Mons-en-Baroeul had 126 trams daily linking it to Lille and Roubaix, and from the end of the 19th century, they were first powered by horses and then by electricity. The southern neighbourhoods of the village were linked by bus to Flers and Lille with a provision of 125 daily services (both ways). There was seemingly little to complain about. However in the 1950s and 1960s, government policies were geared to allowing everyone to have access to a private car - considered necessary for a good standard of living. Space therefore had to be made available for cars and lorries to move easily on the old or newly paved roads. Trams were hence considered an obstacle to fluid movement. Gradually, between 1956 and 1965, the lines serving Mons-en-Baroeul were closed and replaced by buses with diminishing frequencies. Only with the extension of the underground's line 2 in 1995, did Nouveau Mons finally get a comfortable transport service.

A WINDOW TO WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN
Today you can wander in and around the Europe housing block and commercial centre, built from 1966 onwards, to rediscover the atmosphere of what could have been a sketch for a beautiful city of the early second half of the 20th century. There, under the arcades of the commercial street, between the paving, the moulded columns and the coffered ceiling you can observe a modernist reinvention of the traditional Parisian urban models, such as the Place des Vosges or the Rue de Rivoli. You can have the pleasure of walking securely between vistas of buildings and vegetation, reminiscent of the times when public space and urban design were still considered a civic art.

In May 2001, the central heating plan and the electrical transformers of Nouveau Mons were listed as historic witnesses of the links between art, standardised materials, industrial aesthetic and traditional know-how. The heating plan was much more that a functional building. It was and still is a cathedral of light and matter, a hymn to human skills and their capacity to mould materials. This listing is a reminder that quality architecture remains a lively thought for the future of the city.

Didier Joseph François, councillor in the city of Lille, responsible for the architectural quality of urban projects and public spaces.
(tr. Sebastian Loew)
Good urban design must work for everyone who uses a place for living, working, playing or visiting, both now and in the future. This is the essence of social and commercial sustainability. To achieve this, designers can learn a great deal from existing successful places. Historic urbanism has a great deal to teach, although this does not mean slavishly copying architectural styles; rather understanding the language and hierarchy of streets and how they allow for simple buildings, capable of change and adaptation over long periods, for the benefit of generations of users.

Unfortunately in the past, some significant design mistakes have been made which have left communities in sub-standard environments at high social and economic cost to residents. There is a significant risk that some new housing schemes, both completed and currently in production or planning, will repeat exactly the same mistakes as were made 50 years ago and cost local authorities, landlords and local residents dear. Action is needed to prevent this happening and to ensure that good urbanism is widely practiced.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES
Savills has recently produced research which proposes that the best way to utilise land in a viable way, achieve maximum efficiency on it and create neighbourhoods that are enduringly popular with residents, is not to replace old blocks of flats in poorly functioning open space with new ones of similar type, but rather to create new streets of terraced housing and mid-rise mansion blocks with, where appropriate, the occasional retention and re-use or refurbishment of old blocks. This type of development would also contain neighbourhood employment, services and shops and is termed ‘complete streets’ for the purposes of the report. Whilst the demonstration studies focus on London examples, the issues and principles are comparable and transposable to post-housing areas across the country.

Savills has compared two different approaches to estate regeneration:
- the widely practised contemporary approach which largely replaces existing buildings and
- an alternative complete streets model.

In order to achieve a like-for-like comparison of these two different types of regeneration, we assumed cleared sites - but this should certainly not be taken as a recommendation that estates can only be regenerated through demolition. Rather, the complete street model advocates a range of outcomes, including the extension and refurbishment of existing buildings. Successful estate regeneration must start by engaging with existing residents at the very outset and that 100 per cent of existing residents would have the right to be re-housed on site, under the same terms, in an equivalent or better home.

PROVIDE MORE AND BETTER
**Housing**

London has been undersupplied with social, mainstream and affordable housing for decades. Around 50,000 units per annum are needed over the next 20 years to both meet new demand and to begin making up for past shortfalls in housing supply. As limited land is a major constraint, our study begins by looking at the under-utilised capacity within London, to potentially add to the housing supply and thereby begin to address affordability.

Many housing estates require updating and this can be done in a way that creates many more homes, a significantly improved living environment for existing and future residents, and better value for local authorities. This could be achieved by rebuilding estates in a street-based pattern, fully integrated into the urban network of neighbouring streets.

Savills estimates that around 8,500 hectares of land contain London’s 660,000 households that occupy Local Authority Housing Estates (LAHEs). Had these estates been built in the past using the complete streets model, an additional 480,000 households could have been housed on them. If housing estates are renewed in the future, a larger number of housing units could be provided, using either a contemporary apartment block scheme or an intense, urbanised scheme, but more are likely to be delivered if the complete streets method is used.

**Increase capacity and repair the city**

The complete streets model is based on good urban design practice of permeable and well-connected streetscapes. Our studies show that this could be done in a way that can increase density, achieve a better outcome for existing and future residents and offer greater value for local authority stakeholders.

Many of London’s local authority housing estates were built at a time when London was depopulating, so were not built at optimum density. In the majority of cases, this low density did not equate with a higher quality of place, as estates were constructed in a manner that meant they were cut off and poorly integrated with the neighbouring communities.

The conventional approach to estate renewal, often controversial at a local level, is based on replacing the existing site with new high-mass blocks and towers in a similar layout but at higher density, which does little to improve the neighbourhood or create new place value. Savills has modelled this contemporary regeneration approach against a complete streets alternative, based on a detailed study of six estates across London. Table 1 helps to summarise some of the key facts.

Table 1: Comparative results under alternative scenarios

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION-WEIGHTED AVERAGE</th>
<th>EXISTING ESTATE</th>
<th>CONTEMPORARY REGENERATION</th>
<th>COMPLETE STREETS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of units per Ha</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total end value per Ha</td>
<td>£11.5m</td>
<td>£40.0m</td>
<td>£48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Build cost per Ha</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>£21.8m</td>
<td>£19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial space per Ha (sq ft)</td>
<td>8,831</td>
<td>8,831</td>
<td>10,014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Savills Research

Note: All calculations of regeneration numbers and values, in all cases, presumes that there would be a strong community role at the outset in Complete Street regeneration plans and that 100% of residents would have the right to be re-housed on site in an equivalent or better home.

**Added social and financial value**

Homes on streets and mixed use urban neighbourhoods set in a high-functioning urban network, are more highly valued by residents. This model of estate renewal potentially unlocks not only more social value, but also creates valuable real estate in the long run. This makes regeneration potentially viable where hitherto, it has been unviable using conventional methods of regeneration. Complete streets development can yield higher numbers of homes, which cost less to build and possibly to maintain as well.

Landowners (councils), housing associations, investors or residents, who retain a long-term interest in the estates and take responsibility for management and governance, could reap higher social, environmental and financial returns from this type of renewal than through conventional, short-term development. Furthermore, there are signs that the costs of management and maintenance could be reduced. We have only considered the long-term, end asset value of the housing estates, ignoring any new built premium that might be achieved.

Stonebridge in Brent is an example of how post-war housing failed to respond to the structure and form of the context, with no relationship to adjoining street patterns and a highly inefficient land take, using pavilions set within poorly landscaped and unloved semi-public spaces. The regeneration masterplan recreated a more traditional street network of perimeter blocks and formal overlooked public parks and spaces. This is a good example of how a traditional street network with mostly low-rise buildings, is able to deliver more units and more popular homes, compared to the previous high-rise and deck-access block structure. The post-war estate included some 1,775 homes in predominantly high and medium rise buildings. Today, the regenerated area has delivered in excess of 2,200 homes, focused around a more traditional high street of local facilities.

The complete streets model proposes rebuilding estates in such a street-based pattern, fully integrated into neighbouring streets. Because this approach creates opportunities for mixed use development and is integrated into the broader city, it also offers greater life chances and employment opportunities for residents. Moreover, the complete streets combination of terraced houses, mid-rise mansion blocks and refurbished towers integrated into a human-scale streetscape, costs less to build than new high-mass blocks in open space. A complete street neighbourhood will create a better, more desirable place to live.
and a better asset for the landowners than would be achieved by contemporary regeneration practices.

These findings should have significant resonance for both public landowners and the housing industry, because of the profound difference in the end asset value of the two types of neighbourhood that can be created.

**LONG-TERM INVESTMENT AND PATIENT EQUITY**

The successful regeneration of complex urban neighbourhoods requires a long-term approach to funding and value. All stakeholders in the regeneration process therefore need to consider how to attract investment, with a relatively patient approach to return on capital and the need for longer-term approaches to realising asset value (or income). Housing Associations, investing institutions and other private investors are capable of taking this type of risk, and it may be that local authority and other public sector landlords are also capable of taking a stake in the long-term assets created on their land.

This will not only unlock the delivery of more and higher quality, new and regenerated residential neighbourhoods, but will also create a valuable and robust asset with superior growth value. Under these circumstances, the capacity of complete streets developments to create valuable income streams in perpetuity might be considered a viable alternative by landowners. It may prove a more advantageous strategy for local authorities to retain interests in their land, rather than taking up-front, short-term receipts from outright land sales on day one.

In conclusion, Savills’ research challenges the housing industry to think differently about development, estate renewal and estate regeneration in order to improve life chances for the residents and create a sustainable income for local authorities. Because the value of the complete streets approach to occupants, landlords and landowners will be realised over a period of time, it requires a different development, management and stewardship model from the conventional approaches dominant in the market today. For example, the complete streets model requires long-term patient capital funding, rather than short term debt-reliant funding. It also offers opportunities for new and more varied types of residential tenure and the possibility for ongoing landowner involvement, potentially endowing the public sector with income.

The complete streets approach also confirms that a place-led approach based around a network of streets and spaces, not only creates a well connected legible environment, but can also provide a more valuable place in terms of viability and social value. Good urban design does pay real dividends for all. The opportunity then exists to repair urban form, increase the space available for commercial and community uses and to help future-proof the city at the same time.

Peter Frankum, Head of Savills Urban Design Studio, and South West regional chair of the UDG

Yolande Barnes, Savills Director of World Research
Weavers Quarter, a New Neighbourhood in Barking

Gary Tidmarsh describes how an estate has been transformed by utilising the site’s unique past to inform its future.

Through a partnership between the London Borough of Barking and Dagenham and East Thames, this ambitious phased regeneration project will transform the former Gascoigne Estate. The existing estate was developed during the 1960s and 1970s and provides 1,363 homes in a mix of blocks. It has been subject to discussions on estate renewal since 2006.

Due for completion in 2024, Weavers Quarter will provide 1,575 new homes. Consultation and engagement with key local stakeholders ensured that the proposals have evolved to incorporate their views and aspirations. The architecture has been driven by a holistic approach to create intimate communities on a grand scale, carefully integrating urban planning, architecture and landscape and following the Building for Life 12 development principles. A unifying concept underpins the design, derived from the site’s history as a jute spinning works in Victorian times.

The key development aims are:

- Providing affordable homes for current residents, local people and new residents
- Creating attractive neighbourhoods featuring open spaces for all
- Transforming an estate blighted by crime and anti-social behaviour into an integrated neighbourhood that connects with, and enhances, the local area
- Creating investment and opportunity: the development will bring £300m of investment into the borough, creating hundreds of new jobs and opportunities
- Delivering distinctive architecture that responds to, and enhances, the local area, and
- Enhancing permeability through the site and connections to adjacent neighbourhoods.

PHASE 1

Located to the north of the site, Levitt Bernstein’s phase 1 is the heart of the new neighbourhood. At 2.78 hectares, it provides 421 new homes at a density of 151 dwellings/hectare, a new medical centre and retail units. It will also set a precedent for architectural quality for the future phases of the masterplan, developed by Allies and Morrison.

Using perimeter buildings, the housing forms safe streets linking to the surrounding street network and local green spaces. Open spaces within the...
scheme are located within easy access of all residents around the development.

The new green square provides the social and community focus for this phase as well as for the future ones. Secure, private courtyard spaces provide amenity and play provision, and the sequence and scale of streets have been carefully considered to promote active, lively streetscape environments.

CONCEPT

A unifying narrative has been developed to ensure that phase 1 reads as a coherent composition, based on the historic precedent of weaving that took place at the Barking Jute Works previously located in Fisher Street. The factory was reputed to be the largest in the United Kingdom and contained dining halls and a library. The 1881 census records that there were 621 people in Barking working on jute, 156 men and 465 women. The youngest person employed by the industry was only ten years old.

This weaving narrative has informed an architectural language of different character areas that define a region or neighbourhood, promoting a sense of identity within this large scale development.

MASSING AND BUILDING FORM

The massing of buildings responds to the immediate context. Higher density apartment buildings are located towards the town centre with lower-rise family housing and maisonettes to the south. The rationale behind the massing blocks has been to:

- Reduce building heights where they abut existing residential development
- Maximise the number of homes with east-west aspect
- Use taller buildings to respond to vistas and form gateways
- Reduce the height of the buildings where they could cause overshadowing, and
- Use blocks of varying height to reinforce the idea of separate neighbourhoods.

Medium to high-density buildings shelter the central landscaped courtyard spaces from the busier streets to the east and west, enabling lower-rise accommodation to be situated along the courtyards’ southern edges. Together with gaps in the perimeters, this opens them up to the sunlight, reducing overshadowing and allowing a visual connection to the street.

LAYOUT

The layout is organised around a sequence of clearly defined spaces and six distinct buildings to create a legible street pattern. Running north-south is a tree-lined boulevard forming the principal route through the site, from a new public square to a new school to the south. The east-west routes are quieter in comparison. The four main courtyard buildings are designed around raised communal gardens with car parking beneath, removing the demand for on-street parking and creating a greener more pedestrian friendly environment.

At the heart of the proposal is a new public square, providing a social space for the community framed by a new family of buildings, with typologies that respond to their location. The central east-west route bordered by the courtyard buildings is narrower than the park-side route, featuring shared surfaces and lower-rise façades to reinforce its more domestic character. Innovative new housing typologies address issues of privacy and minimising buildings’ impact on daylight and sunlight.
PUBLIC REALM
The street hierarchy and character areas provide a clear sequence of networks from private, semi-public and public urban space, structuring relationships between the community and private facilities. Streets throughout have been designed to constrain vehicle speeds with varied alignments.

The green route is the main link connecting the south of the masterplan with the town centre via the green spaces. Wide, large specimen tree-lined streets with hedge planting in the public realm define a green formal character. The secondary streets are medium sized, tree-lined connecting streets with hedge planting within the public realm, aiding movement through the site and encouraging pedestrian and cyclist use. Offset tree pits on both sides of the road combine with the specification of tree species that will de-formalise the street character.

Maisonettes and houses have individual front doors and private front gardens to support the idea of traditional street frontages. Apartments above are served by double height glazed cores at key locations to provide light, generous and welcoming entrances.

COURTYARDS AND MEWS STREET
Each of the courtyards has a landscaped garden at its heart that further responds to the character type of each building. The design of the façades onto the courtyard follows the structure set out for the street façades, but stripped back to a much simpler form so as to not dominate or conflict with the landscape treatment.

Three storey houses line the mews streets that run east-west. The narrower mews necessitates a simple, calm architectural treatment that is not overbearing. Simple window openings in a variety of sizes, give a subtle variety. At ground level the front door and living room windows are grouped together in a recessed brick panel forming a base to the terrace. The elevations have been developed as a modern interpretation of the Huguenot weavers’ cottages around east London’s streets.

ENTRANCES, BALCONIES AND WINDOWS
Maisons and houses for larger families have individual front doors and private front gardens to support the idea of traditional street frontages. Apartments above are served by glazed cores at key locations. The entrances to the communal cores across all of the buildings have been designed to follow the same principles. The cores are double height to provide light, generous and welcoming entrances. These are important elements that articulate the façades at street level. High quality finishes and enhanced treatment to the stairs from ground to first floor, across all cores irrespective of tenure, will promote the tenure neutral-approach and lift the spirit of its end users and visitors.

A mixture of recessed and projecting metal balconies responds to orientation and site conditions:

- Projecting balconies overlook the courtyards, connecting them visually and physically with the landscape
- Projecting balconies on east-west façades provide oblique views into the park and green route
- Recessed balconies on south facing façades provide shade.

All access walkways are recessed behind large punched openings in the brick façades for privacy. Balustrades are glazed within a brick plinth to maximise the amount of daylight into the walkways. A simple strategy and limited range of window sizes creates a clear legibility across the different buildings. Three window reveal conditions are proposed, recessed with brick reveal, semi-recessed with metal lining to match the window finish and flush.

SUSTAINABILITY
A fabric-first sustainability strategy has been adopted from the outset with strategic orientation and massing, high performance building fabric, and 100 per cent dual aspect units – delivering excellent environmental conditions and energy efficiency to all homes. A new energy centre, constructed within phase 1, will supply the whole site with a sustainable source of power, supplemented by photovoltaic cells located on roofs.

Gary Tidmarsh, Chairman, Levitt Bernstein

Gascoigne Estate: 4 The Central Street 5 Typical podium courtyard All images by Levitt Bernstein, CGIs by Forbes Massie
Estate regeneration is the most complex and interwoven activity within the wider fields of urban design and architecture. It is complex because it directly addresses the human condition and its basic need - after food - for shelter. People care intensely about what might happen to their home and this intensity needs to be recognised and understood, delicately addressed and positively focussed.

PRP's London studio has been formed out of two decades of working on existing estates in and around London. It has led to expansion as an interdisciplinary practice and extended our capability in community engagement, an intrinsic part of successful estate regeneration. A bespoke urban design team within the practice has become expert in estate regeneration. It also led to the establishment of our Manchester studio where estate regeneration projects at Beswick, Miles Platting and New Plymouth required a local set-up to better manage the transformation of these estates.

VARIED APPROACHES
Estate regeneration, to many people means large-scale demolition and conjures notions of slum clearance and displaced, angry residents. The reality is very different and the regeneration can take many forms depending on the location of the estate, its age, its degree of dilapidation and the level of home ownership. Often, it is feasible to retain existing buildings which are serviceable or have happy residents and remove those that are beyond their useful life to make way for new build interventions.

PRP's first multi-tenure, mixed use estate regeneration in the late 1990s, saw the refurbishment of parts of the Darbourne and Darke designed Marquess Estate in Islington. The project included the selective demolition and construction of new housing, community facilities, parks and the introduction of a new street pattern to reconnect the estate to the rest of Islington. The refurbishment was carried out by London Borough of Islington’s Architects Department, with PRP designing the overall masterplan and its new build interventions. Re-badging a regenerated estate has become a recurring theme in most regeneration programmes and in this instance, the former socially challenging Marquess Estate became the upwardly mobile New River Green.

Estate Regeneration: an Individual Art

Brendan Kilpatrick advocates an approach which combines urban design, architecture, innovation, commercial acumen and sensitivity.
The golden ticket of estate regeneration is that the process creates a ‘regeneration premium’, where the renewal aspirations filter out into the wider area producing truly transformational change. The phrase may have been invented by a property agent but it goes much further than developer profit.

FIRST STEPS
Increasingly, a case needs to be made for the regeneration of an estate in the first place. PRP provides a service which can accompany the early appraisal work on regeneration initiatives. This aims to establish if the refurbishment of residential blocks is better or worse in the long term than the demolition and regeneration of the estate from a whole life cost and environmental performance perspective. This exercise can provide information to enable clients and stakeholders to make informed decisions regarding the options for the estate.

The task includes desktop analysis based on gathered survey data and includes:
- Energy and building performance comparison
- Climate change and overheating comparison
- Embodied carbon life cycle carbon comparison
- Whole life costs comparison

There are twin starting points at the outset of an estate regeneration project. The first is determining the correct method for engaging the existing community. The second is the urban design strategy. Both strands need to consider different aspects of the following issues
- Tenure integration
- Extent of home ownership
- Open space and amenity
- Community facilities
- Movement of pedestrians and vehicles and public transport links
- Ecology
- Integration of non-residential uses
- Appropriate residential density
- Height of new buildings
- Environmental impact including sunlight and daylight
- Energy provision
- Climate change adaptation
- Local heritage
- Phasing and decanting strategy
- Integration of commercial or other non-housing elements
- Servicing strategy (refuse, deliveries, fire brigade access, plant room access etc)
- Smart technology

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT
The most successful estate regeneration projects take the existing residents living on the estate with key local stakeholders on the journey of redevelopment from inception onwards. The initiation of this process is a fact finding or ‘Have Your Say’ event where the design and engagement teams can get to know what the residents think about where they live, where their lives could be improved as well as their appetite for regeneration. No one knows the area better than those who have lived there for decades.

Engagement with the community is often complex. Different groups usually exist, loosely related around tenure, culture or age. Hard to reach groups can be overlooked if special measures are not put in place. An increasing aspect of recent estate regeneration projects in London is the emergence of external activists who seek to impose a dislocated and distinctly undemocratic world order view on an existing community, which has completely different values and aspirations. This form of activism can disrupt or even halt the normal flow of regeneration.

Managing the expectations of the community often requires a fine balancing act from the design and engagement
The regeneration of Maiden Lane, Camden, respects the original design. Usually however, champions emerge from the community who help to galvanise neighbours and local stakeholders to create a vibrant and energetic vision, and which quickly gathers its own momentum. Keeping the community informed is a vital component for success.

**URBAN DESIGN**

The first task of the urban design strategy is to understand the opportunities and constraints. This is a little more involved than a simple analysis of the physical attributes of the site and information relating to underground services. It requires a degree of experience-borne intuition. For instance, there is usually a reason why a part of the site which looks ripe for immediate development, has never previously been developed. The analysis must determine why not. It must also consider the wider view and determine the potential effect of off-site activity, amenities, local services and facilities, and future planned developments and infrastructure proposals.

The analysis of opportunities and constraints helps to form a set of urban design principles which in turn are the basis of the emerging masterplan proposals. Correct and thorough analysis leads to design principles which are immutable.

A key aspect of PRP's approach to new-build interventions within estate regeneration is what we call 'contextual reintegration'. This design philosophy ensures that the new buildings identify with the surrounding design language and identity, be this Victorian, inter-war or 1960s brutalism. An example of this approach in action is, the regeneration of Myatts Field North estate at Oval Quarter in Lambeth, where we have picked up design themes from the varied, but largely Victorian heritage surrounding the estate. Another is on Maiden Lane in Camden where our context is the original 1970s Corbusian inspired, Benson and Forsythe designed estate. Here, the existing estate is largely retained and both the concept for the masterplan and the architectural aesthetic started with the question 'What would Benson and Forsythe have done?'
HIGH PATH ESTATE, MERTON

A current scheme which typifies our approach to estate regeneration is High Path Estate in Merton, a 1950s estate built over four decades. The PRP team have worked closely with the client and local stakeholders for over four years, carrying out detailed studies in order to assess the unique qualities and challenges of the site and its surroundings, and to produce a masterplan for the delivery of an economically viable, successful and sustainable neighbourhood.

The existing estate comprises 608 dwellings in a mixture of tower blocks, flats, maisonettes and terraced houses and accommodates a mix of tenures, with a very high percentage of leaseholders and freeholders throughout every building, presenting challenges in relation to decanting and unlocking land zones to initiate the development phasing. The estate's inactive frontages, poorly defined built form, lack of definitive street hierarchy, and vast areas of unused open space and public realm, minimise legibility across the site. The lack of any buildings of quality also reveals the absence of character areas within the existing environment.

The key design objective was to re-integrate the site with its immediate neighbourhoods and to allow this regeneration to become the catalyst for a wider transformation of the South Wimbledon area.

PRP's approach to the masterplan developed through extensive consultation with the local community and stakeholders, in five key stages:

- Re-connecting neighbourhoods – there are a number of existing character areas surrounding the estate. These have been separated by the poor street layout within High Path. The site will form a key part of delivering the new permeable street layout linking to the historic and largely intact north to south Victorian streets.
- Amenity space for all - a new neighbourhood park for the wider community and not just for the estate is proposed in the heart of the new development. The neighbourhood park will create a vibrant and active hub for the community, all year round, a flexible space that can accommodate a range of activities now and in the future.
- Place-making – the creation of contemporary distinct character neighbourhoods that reflect the history, heritage and local vernacular of the site's context.
- Rethinking the Victorian block – the Victorian block is present in the built form of the wider neighbourhood. Reintroducing this to the estate's layout creates efficient perimeter blocks linked to the surrounding areas through traditional streets.
- Enhancing the inherent potential of the site and its unique location – connecting to the distinct, well-established areas surrounding the site such as Wimbledon Centre, Morden Hall Park and the Wandle River, and using the site's strategic location in order to maximise its regeneration potential and to add value.

Our vision allows a flexible approach to further development and opportunities across the local context of the site. This approach will ensure that the masterplan is informed by possible wider regeneration opportunities and neighbourhood socio-economic factors, to influence the future housing needs of the area over the long-term delivery of this regeneration.

CONCLUSION

The most rewarding aspect of estate regeneration from our perspective is receiving the gratitude from those residents whose day-to-day existence has utterly changed for the better. Some of our regeneration programmes can span a decade and as designers engaging with the community, we will typically form strong bonds with the chief resident representatives on the estate, or with those who quietly attend the consultation events, from outset to completion, saying little but watching, and demonstrating the utmost patience and trust that their dreams will be delivered.

Brendan Kilpatrick, Senior Partner, PRP
Transit Street Design Guide

National Association of City Transportation Officials (NACTO), Island Press, 2016, ISBN 9781610917476, £37.00

This very comprehensive design guide focuses entirely on streets used by public transport, and is a fine compendium of solutions and rationales. It is one of a suite of four street design guides produced by NACTO. All except one can be viewed via the NACTO website. The hardback printed version, however, is a worthy addition to any collection, being well produced with numerous colour illustrations. Detailed issues and design considerations are set out in a logical way, with succinct summaries for every topic. Through the use of numerous photos, drawings and diagrams, it deals with numerous design issues, and demonstrates how public transport can make a positive contribution to the life and quality of streets.

The guide is produced from an American perspective, and tends to follow the assumption that transit operates mostly in high density urban areas, where the multiplicity of street functions are most intense, and where transit has the biggest contribution to make. Because of this perhaps, the examples and illustrations are dominated by downtown street configurations. Although these may not resonate so much with a British audience, the huge range of design issues are important in any context, for example how to deal with cycle lanes at bus stops, and where to locate stops to avoid conflict with other traffic. It deals with all street transit modes, buses, bus rapid transit (BRT) and trams/light rail.

The guide is well set out and very easy to dip into when tackling a particular design issue. The different sections have a standard set of headings, beginning with context and issues, and demonstrations how public transport can make a positive contribution to the life and quality of streets. The main sections are Transit Streets, Stations and Stops, Transit (bus priority) lanes and ways, and Intersections. A final section discusses public transport strategies.

This is a valuable resource for street designers, who often pay little attention to the accommodation of public transport. The guide is clearly written from a transport and traffic perspective, setting out street infrastructure requirements, and is somewhat light on the issue of visual impact of this infrastructure on the urban environment.

Tim Pharoah, independent transport planner and urban designer

The Servant Class: Urban Revitalization versus the Working Poor in San Diego


Karjuanen’s research of the impact of San Diego’s urban regeneration on the local population is based on interviews and observations. He sees political will as the key to structural changes to remedy endemic joblessness, underemployment and poor career opportunities which contribute to the growing number of urban and working poor in San Diego, and by extension in other American cities.

In San Diego, a border town with Mexico, urban regeneration has led mainly to the growth of the hospitality and retail sectors, both with low and decreasing wages well below the subsistence level of working families. Karjuanen examines how individuals and families are coping with new uncertainties, financial stress and low paid jobs. He does this from three perspectives: the labour market, workplace and local economy. He systematically combines a traditional statistical empirical approach to micro-observations and interviews on the qualitative aspects of life conditions of the servant class. He focuses on the transformations of the retail and hospitality sectors into very low paid workplaces; the sliding scale from formal to intermittent and informal work, and the conditions which bring about cumulative disadvantage, including flat carrier structures, hurdles preventing betterment through education and training, poor child and elderly care, adverse fiscal conditions, expensive unsecured loans, damaging credit ratings and difficult access to credit generally, despite social support networks. He concludes that economic mobility is extremely limited and further curtailed through birth into the servant class.

What, if any, are the lessons for British urban regeneration? Comparing the inner city of San Diego and the regeneration of the Victoria district in central London the structural changes have both similarities and differences. Both are based on directly and indirectly subsidised speculative property development. San Diego was deliberately transformed into an area of leisure, entertainment, conventions and tourism, with the aim to create jobs for the existing low income population. Conversely, Victoria remains an office quarter with some entertainment and high street retail without social objectives. The influx of populations play a major part in both cities. The displacement of the low income population seems less acute in San Diego than in Victoria due to different fiscal conditions. What the regeneration of San Diego and London’s Victoria have in common is that the aims in terms of people and their living conditions have not materialised.

What is its relevance for urban designers? Some maps and plans would have been helpful, and the most useful aspect is the focus on people when deciding on urban regeneration strategies, which concentrate on transformations of the urban fabric alone. Time is not made for an in-depth study of the local population and its life chances in a re-generating world.

Judith Ryser
Travel Fast or Smart: A Manifesto for an Intelligent Transport Policy


Urban designers have to work within a spatial context, for example balancing space with density, and living quality with mixed use. David Metz explains how transport policy can determine this spatial context, and in particular how maladjusted policy promoting bigger roads leads to dysfunctional spatial development. Ergo, the transport policies and methods explored are of direct interest to those involved in spatial planning and development.

The chapter headings themselves outline the main messages: ‘An hour a day’ is the average time devoted to daily travel, unchanged for decades, and therefore speeding up travel simply leads to people choosing to travel further. ‘Space not time’ emphasises that when transport is faster, people do not use this to save time, but to access things over a wider area. This means that development pressures will also be spread further. If it’s faster roads, development can sprawl; if it’s new or faster railways, it will be focused at stations. ‘Peak car’ describes the decade-long flattening out of the car ownership curve. For many, especially younger people, the car is no longer the must-have symbol of success. The case for development based on public transport rather than the car is strengthened by this social change. ‘Green cities’ points to emerging trends towards high density and mixed use urbanisation that is based on public transport, not roads and parking. London has been a leader in this.

There then follow chapters on air travel, the built form and the urban realm, or how architecture is the art of articulating spaces, the discussion onto the streets and explore the potentially performative ability of architecture. By simply walking or strolling along the streets, one becomes part of a play or some other sort of event.

To take it further, this concept is applied to everyday urban spaces. A square is a set of soft and hard landscaping without any urban relevance unless it is used. According to the authors, the shift is that we are no longer interested in signature architecture but in good quality public realm. Spaces are designed to have a level of unpredictability and ambivalence in the way that people perceive and use them, and have an intrinsic ability to transform and adapt. Nevertheless, personal perception and subjective disposition play a key role: for example walking through a space would be a different experience than seeing the space from above.

While most essays in the book try to define the concepts of performance and performativity – meaning the act of performing and the creation of a new reality – others showcase examples like those by Assemble, a London based design group, whose work can be described as performative in the sense that it’s less about the building, than about the process of getting there and using it.

I question who the book is written for and how relevant it is for urban designers. Despite the subject being urban spaces and the public realm, the text is very academic, making it inaccessible and for a narrow audience. If the authors aimed at sparking ideas to create places that are inclusive and accessible to all, a more concise version around the key points and in plain English, would have probably been enough.

Tim Pharoah

Performative Urbanism – Generating and Designing Urban Space

Sophie Wolfrum and Nikolai Frhr. v. Brandis (Eds.), ovis Verlag GmbH, 2015, ISBN 978 3 86859 304 4, £27.00

This is a collection of academic essays based on the symposium Performative Urbanism held by the Technical University of Munich in 2013. Starting from the notion that architecture is the art of articulating spaces, the book explores the relationship between the built form and the urban realm, or how the space is used while experiencing the architecture around it. The book cites Jean Baudrillard’s theory that buildings or cities without scenic space would just be merely a structure or an agglomeration of structures.

While this debate has so far been carried out mostly in cultural and theatre forums, the aim of the book is to transfer the discussion onto the streets and explore the potentially performative ability of architecture. By simply walking or strolling along the streets, one becomes part of a play or some other sort of event.

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Uncommon People

The wonderful Flatpack film festival hit Birmingham again in April, with a packed six-day programme of events in 24 different venues. Two documentaries made last year about two parallel lives, those of Jane Jacobs (1916-2006) and Laurie Baker (1917-2007), were outstanding films for me.

_Citizen Jane: Battle for the City_ focuses on the confrontations between Jacobs and Robert Moses, the enormously powerful New York official who dominated urban planning and redevelopment between the 1930s and the 1960s, and who at one time held twelve official posts simultaneously.

I know a lot about my hero Jane Jacobs, but I knew less about Moses. What an appalling man! If you think Donald Trump typifies bullying arrogance and misogyny, think again. Moses was worse. Time after time in the film, in interviews and speeches, he reveals himself as the stereotypically ignorant but megalomaniacal tyrant who inflicted huge damage on places and communities. At one point he states his intention to obliterate East Harlem and rebuild it, describing the neighbourhood as ‘a cancer on the city’.

At another point he says that America’s economy is unthinkable without automobile production, therefore expressways have to be build in order to have somewhere to put them. He had a huge amount of power, but Jacobs defeated him, with intelligence and wit.

I was scheduled to give an introduction to Jacobs before the film, but was foiled by the automated projection system in the modern cinema, which started the film running before I could get to my feet. The film anyway contains my best anecdotes, including Jacobs’ arrest and prosecution in 1968 for inciting a riot, and Moses’ brief angry note to Jacobs’ publisher, who had provocatively sent him a copy of the newly-published _Death and Life_ in 1961. He returned the book, and ended the note ‘Sell this junk to someone else’!

Jane Jacobs is quite famous; Laurie Baker is not famous at all, but deserves to be much better known and celebrated. Like me, he was educated at Birmingham School of Architecture, but a generation earlier. He was taught in Birmingham’s Arts and Crafts tradition, met Gandhi and went to India after the Second World War, and spent the rest of his life there. His numerous buildings in India are shaped by the Arts and Crafts ethic, but look nothing like buildings in Surrey or Worcestershire. He adapted the principles of William Morris and Philip Webb to a different culture, climate, economy and technology. He built cheaply and inventively, often for clients who could afford little. He was a brilliant architect, but he showed that you should never believe what architects say about their work. In the film, he explains everything he did on the basis of economy. Yet his rough red brick walls, curving (to give the wall stability), unplastered (to reveal structure), and perforated with patterns of small geometric voids (to achieve natural ventilation), are sensuously beautiful. That beauty is not achieved just by addressing economy.

I was very moved by both films, by the modesty of the two central figures, and by the importance they gave to ordinariness in daily life. The quality of ordinariness is frequently overlooked, if not actually dismissed. Jacobs observed and documented the ordinary quotidian activities in Hudson Street in Greenwich Village, which Moses and the other men in suits featured in the film, had no interest in. She then constructed from that ordinariness a set of principles on which cities could be built, in opposition to Moses’ wrongheaded devastation. Baker similarly worked from observation of how lime was burnt, how timber could be recycled, how a poor family in Kerala lived, how they cooked and ate, how they sheltered in coolness away from the sun, and made from that an architecture full of practicality and delight which they could afford. He was a sustainable and green architect long before those terms were invented.

The Baker film is called _Uncommon Sense_, which quality Baker’s architecture represents, despite ‘Use common sense’ being one of the 20 Principles by which he defined his work. I have heard Jane Jacobs’ urban principles dismissed as common sense, but they are also still not common enough. I think of John Berger’s critique of common sense in his book about a country doctor, _A Fortunate Man_. He writes ‘…. common sense is passive because it is based on an outdated view of the possible. Common sense is essentially static. It belongs to the ideology of those who are socially passive, never understanding what or who has made their situation as it is’. Jacobs and Baker were activists, using their energies and imaginations to change the realities of the world in which they lived. They were uncommon people.

Joe Holyoak, architect and urban designer

1 Laurie Baker
2 Jane Jacobs demonstrating against the Lower Manhattan Expressway

ENDPIECE
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