London Talks

a journey through London

Edited by Nancy Holman & Fanny Blanc
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Preface

London is experiencing important changes: the new London Plan, Brexit, the housing crisis, the proliferation of short-term letting and climate change. Many of these issues are not local to London or to the United Kingdom. Cities across the world are experiencing pressure from rising house prices, marked increases in short-term letting and the spectre of climate change.

In this series of talks, we brought together LSE academics, policy makers and community activists to have a conversation around key issues impacting on London. This report is a reflection on those talks and acts as a companion piece to them. Each entry contains a brief post about the evening’s topic and then a series of mapped reflections on the subject by our invited speakers.

You can also revisit the talks by exploring our map on Google Earth, following this link: http://bit.ly/LondonTalksMap

We hope you enjoy this report and that it will inspire you to think further about these important issues facing London.

For further information please visit our blogs:
blogs.lse.ac.uk/lselondon
blogs.lse.ac.uk/progressingplanning

To join our mailing list: http://bit.ly/LSELondonmailinglist

We hope to see you at future events!
How does planning deregulation impact neighbourhoods?

The deregulation of planning has often been touted as the way to get housing built and to make the economy vibrant. ‘We must free the market of needless red tape and liberate it from the vicelike grip of faceless grey bureaucrats’; or so the discourse goes. But what gets lost when we pursue deregulation? Is this always the best way forward to build the communities we want to have? In this London Talk we deal with just this issue by asking the question – How does planning deregulation impact neighbourhoods?

Our discussion focussed on two instances of partial or full deregulation of planning policy, the partial deregulation of short term letting (STL), which allows residents to rent out part or all of their property for 90 nights in a calendar year without needing to seek planning permission. And the deregulation of office space to residential conversion through Permitted Development Rights (PDR).

We were joined by LSE researcher Alessandra Mossa, who has academic expertise in the deregulation of planning; Dr Ben Clifford of UCL who has done extensive work on PDR conversions; and Gary Bakall, an enforcement officer in Camden, who has worked at the sharp end of these two issues.

Croydon, by Ben Clifford

Permitted development for change of use – the ability to convert commercial buildings to residential use without needing planning permission – has been seen across all parts of England since the Coalition government introduced it in 2013. It is in Croydon, however, that we have seen more new homes created through the change of use of former office buildings than any other local authority in the country. This boom reflects the large stock of office space built in the 1950s and 70s. In particular, much of which had become quite dated and was either vacant or only partially occupied. This availability of large blocks for conversion and the acute housing pressures seen in London made a boom of office-to-residential conversions here somewhat inevitable as soon as the government made it massively profitable for developers to deliver this by removing the obligations associated with planning control.

In the first four years of this permitted development, the borough saw permitted development prior approvals relating to the conversion of 119 office buildings to residential use, potentially creating 3,330 new residential units. Our study of these (published by RICS in 2018) found that the council had lost out on 477 units of affordable housing and £1.7 million of planning fees due to this deregulation. A majority of the housing created was of poor quality with just 31% meeting suggested Nationally Described Space Standards, 75% of units being studios or one-beds (not creating much needed family housing) and just 14% having access to private or communal amenity space (compounding the issues with the small size of the units).

It is hard to describe many of these new units as ‘homes’. The Council did manage to pass an ‘Article 4 Direction’ to restrict such conversions in the town centre in the future, but will be left with the legacy of permitted development for years to come.

Bloomsbury, by Gary Bakall

I’ve worked for Camden Council planning enforcement section for over 20 years and in that time I have developed a deep fondness for Bloomsbury; its historical intuitions like the British Museum and UCL, its well laid out street pattern like Bedford Square and its many fine Listed Buildings. It is also the smallest ward in Camden with a population of only 11,500 but has long established residential communities. When the Deregulation Act 2015 was introduced allowing householders to rent out their properties as short term holiday lets (STHL) for up to 90 days in every calendar year it was envisaged as encouraging the sharing economy, giving normal householders the opportunity to make some money from their property. The reality is that these STHL become concentrated in areas tourists are interested in like Bloomsbury. There are over 7,000 properties being let as STHLs in Camden, 1,250 are in Bloomsbury alone with another 1,600 in neighbouring Covent Garden and Holborn ward. Across the Borough 48% of STHLs are rented out for longer that the 90 days. It is my opinion that the majority of these are used almost exclusively as STHLs with many properties brought as investments for solely this STHL purpose. This effectively remove properties from the private rented sector so putting up rent in this rest of the sector making it more difficult for people with ties to the area to find somewhere to live.

Although I cannot see the law being radically changed London Councils are lobbying for a registration scheme to make it easier for Councils to check that the 90 day limit is not being broken.
Can we grow food on the Green Belt?

The Metropolitan Green Belt that surrounds London has always been host to some level of agricultural activity, but in recent years the discussion has intensified around how this land should be used, and whether increased food output should play a role. Is this the best use of the available land? If so, what is the most equitable and valuable way to do so? What kind of limitations of the Green Belt policy does this topic reveal? These questions and more were discussed in the second London Talk, Can we grow food on the Green Belt?

Our evening’s presenters included Dr Alan Mace of LSE, who has written extensively on the Green Belt, calling attention to issues like its unequal provision of social benefits and its contribution to the housing crisis. We were also joined by Paul Miner of the environmental pressure group Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE), who has contributed to a number of publications on the Green Belt that argue for the economic and educational viability of increased agricultural use. Finally, we heard from Martin Stott of the Garden Organic charity, who made the case that, while farming is a valuable use of the Green Belt, a substantial reconsideration of relevant policy is needed first.

Enfield’s Green Belt, by Alan Mace

Our research looks at ways of reforming green belt. We sought an alternative to calls for abolition and refusal to contemplate any reform. Our research was motivated by discussions with local authorities and partnerships of local authorities. We found more willingness to consider green belt reform at this level than from the Mayor of London or the Government. This might seem surprising as local authorities are the most exposed to local opposition to green belt reform. But, they are also on the front-line of London’s housing crisis. Much green belt has a valued purpose and should be retained. In other places its value is outweighed by its cost. This is illustrated in our response to consultation on the new London Plan. We reproduce a few key points here. In a city with a severe housing crisis over one fifth of all land is being immediately ruled out of consideration (because it is green belt)… in environmental and efficiency terms, we should want to make the fullest use of public transport infrastructure but green belt sometimes stops us building on land near to Underground stations, as at the eastern end of the Central Line. While the costs of green belt are ignored the claims made in its favour are sometimes specious, and certainly not applicable to all areas with this protected status. In relation to recreation, most of the green belt is not accessible to the public because it is private land.
How is gentrification impacting contemporary London?

Gentrification has been a topic of considerable interest in London for decades now, but over that time the mechanisms by which it shapes the city have continually shifted. Which communities and practices are responsible for the bulk of the gentrifying, and which communities are disproportionately affected? Should we be paying more attention to new-build developments, or the growing trend in buy-to-let? How are people responding to the influx of money to their communities, and have they seen success? These were some of the topics discussed during the third event in the London Talks series, How is gentrification impacting contemporary London?

Our evening’s presenters included Patria Román-Velázquez (Loughborough University London), who drew on both her activist work as the chair of Latin Elephant and her research to describe the backlash and mobilisation against developer-led gentrification in Elephant and Castle and Antoine Paccoud (LISER) took the conversation into a more macro direction by sharing his work with Alan Mace (LSE) on buy-to-let gentrification.
What type of growth should we be aiming for?

In a city like London, it can be easy to take growth for granted at times. Since the early 1990s, the population and economy of the city have grown substantially, putting pressure on housing, transport, and a number of other institutions in the process. While much of this is attributable to extra-national forces like globalisation and technological progress, it doesn’t mean that we are powerless to influence the course of the city’s growth on a local level. It is worth asking why this type of growth has taken place, what its limitations are, and how we can steer it in a more productive direction. Contained within this discussion are the multiple and often conflicting roles that London can play as a global city, as the UK’s capital, or simply as one’s home. These are exactly the kind of conversations that took place during the fourth event in the London Talks series. What type of growth should we be aiming for? Silkie Whitworth of the Ministry of Housing’s Cities and Local Growth Unit chaired our discussion on the topic, with Neil Lee (London School of Economics) and Alex Jan (ARUP) presenting their own perspectives, experiences, and case studies.

Centre Point, by Alex Jan

Centre Point is my choice of building. It represents so many things: a period of optimism in the swinging sixties when Soho (over which Centre Point towers) renewed its reputation for being ‘cool’ and ‘edgy’; the absurd brokering between the tower’s wheeler-dealer developer Harry Hyams and the Ministry of Transport over how to pay for (of all things) a gyratory to accommodate growing traffic; and the mildly dysfunctional way in which central London is governed - Centre Point sits slap bang on the borough boundary between Camden and Westminster which rather oddly slices north south through the heart of the West End proper.

Centre Point also represents a few things personally for me. It was the place of my first job (nearly thirty years ago!) and alongside the BT Tower, whenever I am in another part London, its often solitary presence on London’s skyline reassuringly reminds me of where home is in Fitzrovia.

Finally I have to confess I was never a fan of its “pop art” architectural style – something so out of character with the West End and Georgian London. But love it or hate it, Centre Point - which has recently morphed into high end flats and now crowns a new Crossrail station - is a survivor and a piece of urban fabric that I would somehow rather not be without.

Hoxton, by Neil Lee

This is a short walk from one of the richest business districts in the world, yet an area of extreme deprivation and disadvantage. If anywhere shows the lack of Inclusive Growth in London it is Hoxton. Echoing these problems, the London Borough of Hackney has initiated a strategy to encourage inclusive economic growth noting that whilst businesses and high skilled workers have increased in the borough, they still remain the third most deprived in London. These problems are especially acute in Hoxton where high levels of inequality exist.
Can alternative housing ease the crisis?

When it comes to addressing the housing crisis in London, our current toolkit may be more limited than we think. By basing most of our proposals and ideas on traditional housing models like single-occupancy homes and flats, we fail to consider newer, more disruptive options. These include ideas like cohousing, community land trusts, and other ways of sidestepping the traditional housing market. Not only do these housing types offer denser, more affordable, or more sustainable ways of living, but they do so in ways that challenges the housing-finance feedback cycle. At the same time, these models are admittedly niche in their appeal, and cannot be expected to cater to every prospective resident. What can we reasonably expect of these models? And what kind of policy support might we need to see them thrive in the future?

This was the core of our discussion during the fifth event in the London Talks series, How can alternative housing ease the crisis?

Our speakers included Dr Melissa Fernández Arrigoitia, from Lancaster University, who spoke about the potential of alternative housing to ease—not solve—the crisis; Zohra Chiheb, a trained architect who is now the Regeneration Manager for the Borough of Croydon who spoke about the real housing crisis being one about security of tenure, rather than one of home ownership and Gabriela Neves de Lima (LSE) who spoke about the community land trust (CLT) movement in London and around the world.

New Ground Cohousing, by Melissa Fernández Arrigoitia

The Older Women’s Cohousing, in Barnet, is emblematic of some of my research on housing & home. This alternative, mixed tenure senior community—initially pioneered by feminists and developed over time through a sustained set of action that challenged and resisted traditional housing development and its systems of inequality—represents an activist mode of doing community and envisioning future home life that I’m interested in.

It is a resident-led, publicly engaged and sustainably designed response to futures of ageing and home life that provides a model counterexample to the insecurity, inaccessibility and displacement characterising so much of the housing world today.

The Lawns, by Zohra Chiheb

Croydon’s first site for community-led housing at the Lawns in Upper Norwood, is emblematic of my research on how alternative housing can ease the housing crisis.

With sky rocketing house prices, and very high levels of private renting, the housing crisis in London and the South East is one of affordability and insecurity of tenure. Research by the Bank of England has shown that increasing housing supply alone will not improve affordability, since the main driver of house price increases since 2008 has been low interest rates.

What’s needed is different types of housing, across many tenures, particularly affordable housing. Community-led housing is one type of housing which also delivers wider social and community benefits, and can be structured to remain affordable in perpetuity. Residents in community-led housing tend to form strong social bonds, and develop close and long-lasting ties to the local area, forming sustainable, resilient communities.

LB Croydon is piloting an approach to supporting communities develop their own affordable housing by providing access to land and design and development expertise throughout the process.

Haringey, by Gabriela Neves de Lima

Haringey has a vigorous landscape of community activism on housing and planning-related issues. These struggles offer insights into the imbrication between the housing crisis, electoral democracy and party politics. Local campaigns — in particular Stop the HDV (Haringey Development Vehicle) — has contributed to successfully halting plans to transfer public land into a £2 billion-worth joint-venture between the council and the multinational developer Lendlease. This dispute also meant contention over local politics, leading the long-standing Labour council leader to renounce and HDV supporters in the council to be deselected and bringing to power a Momentum council that defined “building council housing on council land” as its priority. In spite of these political changes, struggles for emplacement against gentrification, eviction and displacement continue across the borough. In the Love Lane Estate and Peacock Industrial Estate, residents and traders defend council housing, affordable workspace and local jobs threatened by stadium-led regeneration. Collective counter-proposals for the redevelopment of St. Ann’s and Wards Comer demonstrate the social, economic and environmental potentialities of housing and planning initiatives led by and for local people.
Enhancing green space and biodiversity in London

The evening’s topic focused on enhancing greenspaces and biodiversity in London. The three panellists presenting at the event were Dr. Meredith Whitten, a post-doctoral fellow at the LSE, Samantha Davenport, a senior policy officer with the GLA’s green infrastructure group, and Valerie Selby, the biodiversity and parks developments manager at Enable Leisure & Culture in Wandsworth.

Dr. Whitten spoke about how to support biodiversity through greenspace noting the need for protection to be statutory, for greenspace to be conceptualised as something more than simply parks and finally for cross boundary cooperation to be intensified. Samantha Davenport remarks offered an overview of the city’s existing greenspaces, issues related to how the policy framework currently operates, and what the GLA is aiming to achieve with respect to the promotion and protection of greenspace. The evening’s final speaker Valerie Selby discussed the importance of GLA policies, which offer local groups a framework and helps to link them to wider resources. She also commented on the sad loss of Biodiversity Action Plans, which provided an excellent benchmark for biodiversity planning.
Addressing homelessness in London

This session centred around the pressing issue of how to address homelessness in London. Professor Christine Whitehead, the evening’s host, framed the discussion by stating that the foremost issue with homelessness is that many don’t know how it is defined. The evening’s presenters were Bert Provan, a senior policy fellow and social researcher at the LSE, Mark Baigent, an independent consultant advising local authorities on estate renewal and innovative house building, and Patrick Mulrenan, a senior lecturer in community development and leadership at the London Metropolitan University.

The evening concluded with each speaker presenting their final points. Patrick spoke of the need to regulate the Right to Buy in order to reduce the loss of appropriate housing. Mark addressed the urgency for a national training programme to ensure competent social workers and skilled and available house builders. Finally, Bert stated that the policy that would do the most good would be some form of rent cap. This would make housing more secure and affordable to a larger portion of the population.

Aylesbury Estate, by Patrick Mulrenan

I have chosen the Elephant and Castle, an inner city area in South East London as emblematic of housing and homelessness in London. An ‘emblem’ is a physical representation of an idea. I would argue that waves of demolition and rebuilding in the area symbolises hope, struggle and the changing role of the state in housing.

I grew up at the Elephant and Castle in the sixties. At the time, it was a slum area. My street (Ash Street) had declined from a middle class area on Booth’s map of London to an area where migrants did the best they could in substandard privately-rented homes.

The Council responded by demolishing the slums and developing the largest social housing estate in Europe— the Aylesbury Estate. The tall blocks, high walkways and sleek lines represented the high tide of housing provided directly by the state. Unfortunately, the tide receded, and residents on the estate struggled with unemployment, poverty and poor services. The estate quickly became hard to let, and regularly featured in films about inner city crime.

The Council stepped in again in the nineties— but in a very different political climate. Controversially, the estate was demolished and the land was sold to a private developer. The focus was moving the middle classes into the area, and using sales to subsidise social and so-called ‘affordable’ housing. I recently noticed that one of poorest areas I knew as a child, Chatteris Square, was is now being marketed as the ‘Chatteris Quarter’, promising ‘co-working space for small businesses, wellbeing practitioners like yoga and Pilates studios, gyms’.

The Elephant and Castle redevelopment is ultimately emblematic of change. But also of things that don’t change: that to understand housing costs and homelessness, you need to understand the role of land: where it is, who controls it and how much it costs.

PLACE/Ladywell, by Mark Baigent

I have spent many years working for local councils in London to provide homes for homeless people, particularly families. Although London Boroughs are now building new permanent council housing in increasing numbers, gearing up and delivering new affordable homes takes time, whilst homelessness continues to rise. So providing better temporary accommodation is vital.

In every borough there are complex sites which will be regenerated over a long period of time, but are currently vacant and underused. Lewisham Council showed how these “meanwhile” sites can be used to provide temporary homes, using factory-made modular homes that can be moved on once the site is needed for a permanent development. Lewisham placed 24 temporary modular homes (plus commercial space) on the site of the old Ladywell leisure centre, pending land assembly and plans for a larger scheme.

Inspired by this example, in 2019 I led a group of London Boroughs working in collaboration to set up a not for profit company called Pan London Accommodation Collaborative Enterprise (PLACE) Ltd, funded by a grant from the GLA’s Innovation Fund. PLACE Ltd is buying modular homes, similar to the Ladywell scheme, that can be repeatedly moved from borough to borough, using meanwhile sites that would otherwise be redundant awaiting larger regeneration or transport schemes to be funded and built. The first PLACE Ltd homes are now in production, due to be ready later in 2020.
London’s density: too much too fast?

The final London Talk of 2019 revolved around the, at times, contentious topic of density. The draft London Plan projects that 66,000 new homes will have to be completed yearly in order to keep up with population growth. Even as these demands are made clear, one might question whether the resultant density increase is a bit too much and too fast.

The evening’s host, LSE distinguished policy fellow Kath Scanlon, was joined by speakers Tom Sykes, Senior Design & Quality Manager for Transport for London, Sripriya Sudhakar, Head of Regeneration at London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Lucia Cerrada Morato, a high density development project manager at Tower Hamlets, and Casper Laing Ebbensgaard, a cultural geographer at Queen Mary’s University of London.

Tom Sykes, focused on how increased housing can be delivered in the best way possible. London is often referred to as a city of villages and as such sensitivity to local context is key to delivering successful developments. This has been an important aspect of TfL’s work to deliver housing and intensification of transport nodes. Sripriya Sudhakar and Lucia Cerrada Morato sought to provide the borough perspective on growth management. As one of London’s smallest and densest boroughs, Tower Hamlets has been allocated high housing number targets. Casper Laing Ebbensgaard offered a slightly different approach, talking instead about what kind of knowledge is used to inform design and urban planning processes.

Aldgate, by Casper Laing-Ebbensgaard

In the heart of London’s East End, high-rise buildings have come to define the architectural norm. The cluster of iconic skyscrapers that since the turn of the 21st century have consolidated The City of London’s vertical prominence on the skyline has rubbed off with contagious effect on its surrounding neighbourhood. Aldgate in particular has attracted attention from residential developers with its proximity to the city’s financial powerhouse and the ‘gritty, urban street vibe’ that for decades has attracted ‘young-creatives’, artists and market vendors. Aldgate falls squarely within the London Mayor’s designated Opportunity Area, known as The City Fringe, which creates the impetus for intensifying development of services that can support the area’s tech businesses, financial services and digital-creative industries—rather than appreciating the rich local history of migrant settlement, garment and fabric trade, sugar baking, and apparently hog-driving. Yet, the voices of the local trades, traditions and diverse populations that slowly are drowning among the waves of new residential towers washing over the neighbourhood, are ironically gaining an architectural prominence in the redrawn vertical landscape. Galloping through water fountains that traverse the residential complex known as Goodman’s Fields, a series of six bronze horse sculptures pay homage to the 16th century tradition of horse grazing. A little further north along Liverpool Street, the ruins of Shakespeare’s 16th century playhouse, The Curtain Theatre, is being transformed into a 37 storey tower for ‘luxury living’. Future residents of The Stage have a choice of fitting a custom-made brick wall with bespoke graffiti art that mimics the areas ‘quirky charm and creativity’. In this part of London, intense residential developments not only fetishize the area’s past in the name of redevelopment, but erase its local culture through the semblance of its recognition.

Tower Hamlets, by Sripriya Sudhakar and Lucia Cerrada Morato

Tower Hamlet’s is one of the fastest growing parts of the country. By 2031, the borough’s population is expected to increase to nearly 400,000 residents. As well as providing homes for its own rising population, the borough is also expected to make a significant contribution toward helping London meet its strategic housing need. To achieve this, the borough is seeking to secure the delivery of at least 58,965 new homes during this period. However, the land available for new development is decreasing. The borough has already undergone significant development in recent years, limiting the number of sites that are available for redevelopment and intensification. The borough must also safeguard land to meet local and regional employment and industrial needs. To meet these challenges, development is being brought forward at high densities in an evolving landscape of built form that is increasingly characterised by tall buildings, with densities in excess of 1,100 habitable rooms per hectare. This guidance sets out how these new forms of development can help to ensure that existing and future residents can enjoy a high quality of life. However it can be used by anyone who is interested in understanding how design can be used to ensure that high density developments contribute to a high quality of life. It will be of particular interest to developers, and their architects, who are developing proposals for new high density residential and mixed-use developments. The document will be used to inform discussions between developers and the council’s development management service.
Regional and Urban Planning Studies at the LSE

The LSE has dedicated more than 50 years to the study of planning and hosts one of the first truly interdisciplinary Master’s programmes in the UK. It began as an idea, sparked by three LSE professors: Peter Self (government), Alan Day (economics) and Michael Wise (geography) and was officially launched by Sir Peter Hall in 1965. Since then the MSc has trained more than 1000 students coming from all over the world. We have helped to produce leaders in the fields of urban and regional planning, architecture, transport, real estate and academia. Our mission is to understand planning, not as a purely technical subject, but as one that interacts with populations, politics and economy.

LSE London

In 1998, the London School of Economics established LSE London as a centre of research excellence on the economic and social issues of the London region, as well as the problems and possibilities of other urban and metropolitan regions.

Today the centre has a strong international reputation particularly in the fields of labour markets, social and demographic change, housing, finance and governance, and is the leading academic centre for analyses of city-wide developments in London.