

**Housing Sprint** – *increasing housing supply and affordability*

**Designing Successful Communities**

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*“Design and contribution to the economy are at the heart of what we are aiming at. After the many hours that we have spent scrutinising the [Localism] Bill, if there is one outcome that we would all want to see, it is that the built environment is better than it otherwise would be and that it is beautiful and functional for people to live in”*

- The Rt. Hon. Greg Clark MP,  
Former Minister for Decentralisation

*“Many clients seem happy with poor design. Many poor architects seem only too happy to supply it. Many local authorities seem happy to live with it”*

- Lee Mallett, Planning in London

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# 1. Housing Sprint – The Brief

*The Housing Sprint* project applies intensive research methods to focus on three strands relating to Britain's biggest challenge: increasing housing supply and affordability.

1. Finance and the Market – Including investment, affordability and tenure (led by Professor Andrew Baum: Saïd Business School University of Oxford).
2. Land – Including ownership, supply and planning (led by Professor Paul Cheshire: LSE)
3. Community – Including masterplanning, urban form and community infrastructure (led by Professor Peter Bishop, Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London)

Each strand of the research will feed into a conference in September 2019 which aims to produce specific recommendations that are considered capable of being implemented by Government. The recommendations will be divided into three categories:

- **Easy Win** (i.e. not likely to be particularly politically contentious or costly to Government or business and have early results)
- **Attitude/Paradigm Shift** (More about a change in attitude and approach and unlikely to be contentious. Capable of making long term change. Capable of being sold by politicians as a positive step that they are supporting through for example education, incentives or ministerial guidance)
- **Game changer** (Change that would bring very significant social and economic benefits but where opposition from business, residents or environmentalists might require cross-party support for (legislation to promote a national, long-term housing policy.)

## 1.1 Community

This research paper considers the third strand of work: the influence of urban form, planning and community infrastructure on the development of strong and lasting communities.

The research has covered the following:

- (i) The history and theory of the design of housing and new settlements and the principles of urban design and urban form.
- (ii) The social infrastructure required to support new populations including size thresholds and a hierarchy of provision.
- (iii) The capacity in the Planning System to produce good quality new housing
- (iv) The theory concerning alternative models for community governance and mechanisms to build shared interest.

In this work we have considered current research, conducted interviews with practitioners and housing developers and looked at appropriate case studies in UK and Continental Europe. The case studies and the results of the survey of practitioners are set out in Appendices 4 and 6. Our work has looked at housing in a generic sense rather than considering the specifics of the location of a development. There will be differences in approach depending on whether housing is developed on greenfield or brownfield sites or whether it is a new settlement, town extension or urban infill. Where there is clear evidence to differences in approach these will be highlighted in the report.

**Note on terminology.** For ease of writing the term 'urban form' has been used to refer to any built form regardless of the settlement type and size. Similarly, the word 'city' is used in the same generic sense. Specific reference is made to rural settlements, villages, towns, urban expansion, urban edge, urban infill, brownfield development or urban renewal where there is a need to differentiate.

## 2. Introduction - Communities of Interest

There have been numerous attempts to speculate on the perfect or utopian city from Plato's Republic through to the writings of Thomas Moore, Fra Carnevale and Tommaso Campanella. The idea that there might be a 'perfect' city is based on philosophical principles of an ideal society in which the city is mainly the vehicle for civic life to flourish. When detached from a societal context, experiments that propose 'ideal' physical forms, whether Filarete's Sforzinda or Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse might be compelling, but ultimately ignore the realities of everyday life. In pursuit of an architectural ideal, the citizen is subordinated to the tyranny of urban form. English 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century approaches to creating the utopian settlement put the physical and moral wellbeing of the citizen at their core, examples range from Howard's garden cities to the social experiments by individuals such as Thomas Cadbury in Bournville and Tobias Salt in Saltaire. These experiments reflect a deeper understanding of the critical relationship between urban form, shared social values and the institutions that will support the evolution of stable and sustainable communities. This is not to dismiss urban form as being unimportant, far from it. There is extensive research that may be used to develop good practice in planning and urban design and many case studies to draw upon. Nevertheless, there is a surprising tendency to ignore established principles of good practice and many politicians, designers and developers display a naivety that physical layout and urban fabric will, in itself, create the conditions for successful place making.

Successful places might be defined as popular places in which to live (as evidenced by a range of indicators from health to house prices) and as places that are likely to mature and improve over time. In this respect the concept of community is important. A resilient and well networked community is based on more than the sharing of a specific geographical location. It is based on a degree of shared interest. If one can create the *conditions* for powerful shared interest then a stable and successful community, one that continues to develop over time, might be created. Successful communities in the past were generally centred around shared interests of collective work (industrial and agricultural settlements) supplemented by religious and social infrastructures (the church, chapel, village hall, working man's club etc.). The restrictions on travel prior to the motor car meant that communities were likely to be compact and socially contained. They also operated within largely self-contained economies of local trading and exchange. Many of these communities had the advantages of slow growth over a considerable length of time.

Our review suggests that there four key factors that impact on the formation of resilient and sustainable communities:

- Intelligent urban design;
- Access to social and community facilities through sustainable transport;
- Effective and pro-active planning;
- Urban management and local governance.

Good design can provide a robust framework for place making but is not *in itself* capable of making a place successful. Successful places are ones that foster a sense of wellbeing and belonging. This inevitably rests on social networks that create communities of shared interests. The essential challenge is whether these can be created as part of a wider design process.

### 3. Urban Design

Montgomery (1998) made the observation that it is considerably easier to recognise a good place than to understand the factors that make it so. Designing good places is more than playing with building blocks. Other elements that contribute to successful places include the mix and interrelationship of different activities and the provision of physical and social infrastructure. Recent urban theory has shifted to focus on a range of intangible elements, including perceptions of place and memory that together constitute 'place making' and 'sustainable urbanism' (Florida 2004).

There have been several attempts to synthesise theory into best practice guides. In 2000 CABE set out seven principles for successful places:

- Character (identity)
- Enclosure (differentiation of public and private spaces)
- Quality (public realm)
- Ease of movement (accessibility)
- Legibility (clarity of image)
- Adaptability (flexible to change)
- Diversity (richness of experience)

A brief analysis of the theory of urban design is set out in Appendix 1. In this section we will cover the main determinants of place design:

- Settlement size
- Housing typologies and density
- Urban morphology
- Neighbourhood size
- Layout and social interaction
- Social mix

#### 3.1 Settlement size

The science of human settlements is covered within the study of *Ekistics*, a field defined by Constantinos Apostolos Doxiadis in 1968. In his final publication, *Action for human settlements* (1976), he presents the following typology of settlement sizes.

Parts of human settlements	Ekistic population
House	5
House group (hamlet)	40
Small neighbourhood (Village)	250
Neighbourhood	1,500
Small polis (town)	10,000
Small metropolis	50,000
Metropolis	4 million

*Table 1: An adjusted grouping of populations based on future Ekistic units for the year 2100 (based on the assumption that the global population will cap at 50,000,000,000) (Doxiadis, 1976).*

Barton et al. guide for the creation of healthy settlements (2003) suggests three key classifications that form the basis of a neighbourhood:

*Table 2: Three levels of neighbourhood settlement (Barton et al, 2003<sup>1</sup>)*

<b>The three levels</b>		<b>Typical population</b>
Township	A sector of district of a town large enough to support a good range of job opportunities and local facilities including secondary school(s) and large supermarket and leisure centre	15,000 – 40,000
Neighbourhood	A mainly residential area of distinctive identity, sometimes named, which may coincide with either a local catchment area or an environmental area, and is geared to pedestrian/cyclist access	2,000 – 10,000
Home-patch	A cluster of dwellings often developed at the same time, with shared identity or character, grouped round a common access (e.g. square, street, cul-de-sac or shared semi-private space, and ideally enjoying pedestrian priority	20 - 200

Based on characteristics of settlements and housing in the UK, a hybrid typology is proposed for this research:

<b>Typology</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Population (approx.)</b>	<b>Houses</b>
Estate/hamlet	BedZED	250	80 – 100
Small village	Finchingfield, Essex	1,500	400
Large village	Poundbury	3,000 – 6,000	900 – 1,800
Small Brownfield	Britannia Village	2,500	700
Large Brownfield	Woodberry Down	6,000 – 8,000	2,000
Market Town	Lewes	17,000	4,000
New Town	Ebbsfleet	32,000	10,000
Garden City	'Uxcester' (Wolfson Prize)	150,000	85,000

*Table 3: Hybrid definitions of settlement size (Bishop and Timmerman, 2019)*

<sup>1</sup> Shaping Neighbourhoods: A Guide for Health Sustainability and Vitality (Barton et al, 2003).



### 3.2 Housing Typologies and Density

Theories of urban form give indications of good design practice but there is no conclusive evidence that suggests there is any particular ‘blueprint’ for new housing in terms of layout, form, typology or density. The UK has a rich range of housing typologies that offer variety and choice.

Typologies	dph	Examples	Advantages
Terrace	40-140	Accordia – Cambridge Hammond Park – London Chimney Pot Park - Stratford	Compact construction, environmental performance, security, efficiency
Semi-detached	35-45	Horsted Park – Chatham The Guts – New Islington	Flexible, good daylight, gardens, on-site parking
Detached	<30	(Numerous)	Space, privacy, gardens
Flats	150 – 250+	Ryle Yard – Cambridge Darbshire Place – London Piraeus – Amsterdam	Density, security and access to facilities
Maisonettes	100 – 150	Vaudeville Court – London Highgate New Town	A variation of the flat, more internal space, balconies
Flats (higher density)	360 – 860+	Goldsmiths New Cross	Suitable for singles etc.

Table 4: Illustrative Housing Typologies (*The Housing Design Handbook*, David Levitt and Jo McCafferty Routledge 2019)

There is no conclusive research that links density to resident satisfaction. Living at high density has different impacts on different sectors of the population. Having a job with a workplace and a reasonable disposable income is likely to make living at high density easier; conversely, having a young family and a low income will make it more difficult. Certainly, higher density neighbourhoods are more likely to support social amenities and encourage walking but there is a growing recognition that higher density urban forms can increase feelings of insecurity and alienation. Typologies associated with very high densities have posed greater challenges in designing effective internal and external layouts and on management regimes. Inevitably, as densities increase space standards are *likely* to reduce. These and other issues were addressed by the London Housing Design Guide<sup>2</sup> (substantially incorporated into the London Plan, Housing SPG March 2016).

Studies by Howley et al. (2009) and Bramley et al. (2006) found that residents in higher density settlements are more likely to express dissatisfaction with aspects of their neighbourhoods:

“More dense (compact) urban forms, and their associated housing types, tend to be associated with somewhat worse outcomes in relation to dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood and perhaps more strongly with the incidence of neighbourhood problems.” (Bramley & Power, 2009, p. 46).

<sup>2</sup> London Housing Design Guide LDA 2010 revised GLA 2016

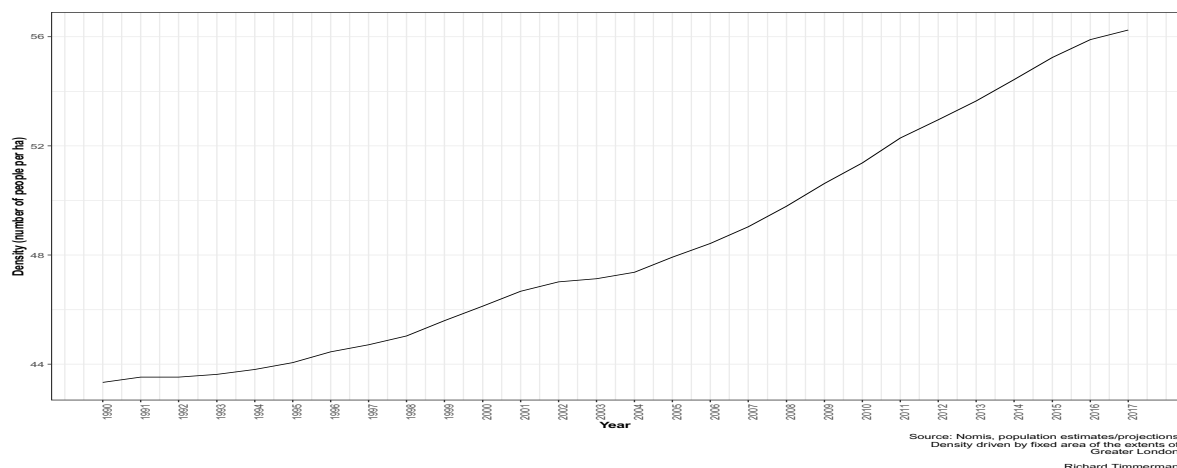
However, other studies reveal that high-density neighbourhoods introduce benefits that include the creation of pedestrian-friendly environments that increase social interactions (du Toit et al, 2007; Wood et al., 2010). A study by Rowan Arundel and Richard Ronald (2015) tested the theoretical concept that higher density environments are synonymous with poor social sustainability. Using Amsterdam as their main case study, they concluded that higher density housing has no significant impact on local social capital, sense of community, or resident satisfaction (ibid.). Instead, levels of dissatisfaction can be associated with poor levels of end-user involvement in the conception/management of a neighbourhood (ibid.).

Their findings are similar to those found by an LSE study (Scanlon et al, 2018) on recent developments in central London:

- There was no clear correlation between density and resident satisfaction.
- Design quality, outdoor space, price and access to amenities were most important in determining satisfaction. Main problems were noise, overheating and storage space.
- Older developments were better integrated into their neighbourhoods. Social tenants had more extensive local networks than private occupiers.
- Security was not seen as a general problem by residents and was seen to improve above a certain critical mass.
- Satisfaction levels were generally high and 63% intended to stay for the foreseeable future.

PPG3 (2001) argued that family accommodation in high density blocks should have larger bedrooms for children, storage and outdoor amenity space. Issues such as aspect, daylighting and sunlight and lift core loadings have been covered in detail by the London Housing Design Guide (Design for London/GLA 2008 et seq.). Due to the fact that minimum space standards are more likely to be applied to social/affordable housing; this is generally being put into practice.

*Table 5: Increases in London Occupational Densities (new build)*



In recent years, London’s population density has increased significantly. On average London has a density of roughly 60 people per hectare. The average new housing density in London was 154 units per hectare (London, Plan 2017). In the draft London Plan (GLA, 2017), housing density is related to relative PTAL (Public Transport Access Level) scores. The GLA considers that:

“there are no inherent problems with high density [development]...they are popular with their residents. The key to high density schemes being successful places to live

is: good design, day to day management and servicing, all planned from the outset of the scheme” (Greater London Authority, 2017, p. 3). Recommended densities respond to Policy D6 within the revised London Plan and paragraph 123a in the current iteration of the NPPF<sup>3</sup>; they are weighted according to PTAL scores and are as follows:

<b>PTAL Score Band</b>	<b>Recommended Density (maximum)</b>
0 – 1 (poor access)	110 units per ha
2 – 3	240 units per ha
4 – 6 (excellent access)	405 units per ha

While acknowledging that the intensity of development of London is increasing, HTA architects in their ‘Super Density: The Sequel’ report (2015) advise against schemes at densities of greater than 350 homes per hectare. They categorise these as ‘hyperdensity’ settlements. They also advise that mid-rise developments of no more than 5 to 8 storeys should be used in the delivery of new housing stock. According to feedback from several case studies<sup>4</sup>, housing following this format creates “successful homes and neighbourhoods...[that] perpetuate the character and street life of London”. HTA’s report concludes that the design of developments needs to promote high quality of life, sociability, safety, and self-sustainability.

While there has been a significant amount of research into the benefits or otherwise of higher density living, low density can also present policy issues:

- It cannot support social infrastructure or sustainable transport
- It is an inefficient use of scarce development land

Before the introduction of the National Planning Policy Framework in 2012, Planning Policy Guidance 3 (PPG 3) established a minimum density of 30 developments per hectare for residential schemes. This requirement was removed with the introduction of the NPPF, but a minimum unit density target has been applied to London in order to ensure that it meets its target of delivering 65,000 homes a year<sup>5</sup>. There have been a number of studies that have looked at the densification of suburbia, most recently Supurbia (HTA design LLP 2014). This study concluded that there was significant scope for suburban densification, particularly around transport nodes and in the form of small infill sites. The London Plan continues to place emphasis on ‘design led density’ where decisions will be dependent on context, PTAL rating, standards and capacity of local infrastructure.

### 3.3 Urban Morphology

Urban morphology concerns the physical components of the built environment such as streets, blocks, plots and buildings as well as the processes that shape these (Larkham & Jones, 1991; Oliveira, 2016). Urban design concerns itself with the language of these components to create a desirable urban form (Hall, 2013; Marshall & Çalişkan, 2011).

The generally accepted morphological elements that act as the basic building blocks for any

<sup>3</sup>

[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/779764/NPPF\\_Feb\\_2019\\_web.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/779764/NPPF_Feb_2019_web.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.levittbernstein.co.uk/housing\\_design\\_handbook\\_a\\_guide\\_to\\_good\\_practice](https://www.levittbernstein.co.uk/housing_design_handbook_a_guide_to_good_practice)

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.building.co.uk/technical-case-studies/housing-density-does-it-stack-up/5092832.article>

urban form may be defined as urban tissue (Caniggia & Maffel, 1984):

- Land uses (zoning versus mixed uses)
- Building structures (scale and density)
- Urban blocks (form, curtilage and plot ratio)
- Street pattern (grids versus organic)
- Public realm (spaces)

It is acknowledged that a clear approach to the creation of a city is necessary, but a single universal model for the design of urban form does not exist. Urban design is more complicated than a set of algorithms or pattern books. In the 1980s a group of thinkers and activists began to challenge modernism through the 'rediscovery' of some of the fundamental concepts of the European city - the street, square and public space. This led to an urbanism based on the citizen and democratic ideals (values largely ignored by the functionalism of 20<sup>th</sup> century modernism). This approach was encapsulated by Aldo Rossi and Robert Krier. Colin Rowe further developed the idea of cities as collaged and superimposed places (1983). Successful places are the result of a ceaseless process of fragmentation and superimposition over successive generations. The city is a place of constant adaptation and never forms a completed project. Post war functionalism (zoning and pedestrian and vehicle segregation) was rejected in favour of new urban forms centred around the characteristics of historic European urban typologies. Their approach was based on the themes of 'careful urban renewal' and 'critical reconstruction' and incorporated principles of community participation and engagement. The literature supporting theories of urban design is set out in Appendix 1.

Graham Morrison's recent piece on the 'Fabric of Place' (2014) notes that successful street plans are in fact self-organising. Morrison notes that lively plans can be created through the construction of distinctive buildings and novel land uses that exploit already established connections between each other. Here, the quality of the architecture – its aesthetic ability to captivate – is seen as a key component in establishing a vibrant and interesting layout for a settlement. Good architecture is a stimulus for self-organised social cohesion. This is a strong endorsement for design being a bespoke exercise and is considered in more detail in the next section on planning

### **3.4 Neighbourhood Size**

Where housing is being developed on a large scale there is the opportunity to create integrated and sustainable neighbourhoods. Where it is in the form of urban infill, town extensions or area renewal there is an opportunity for it to contribute towards consolidating existing neighbourhoods. Clarence Perry (2015) defined a neighbourhood as:

- Being able to support a primary school
- Having clear boundaries
- Containing open space
- Having institutional sites and shops at its centre
- Having an internalised street system

Optimum neighbourhood size is generally defined by comfortable walking distances (Table 6). This might be either:

- 300m (5 minutes)
- 800m (10 minutes)

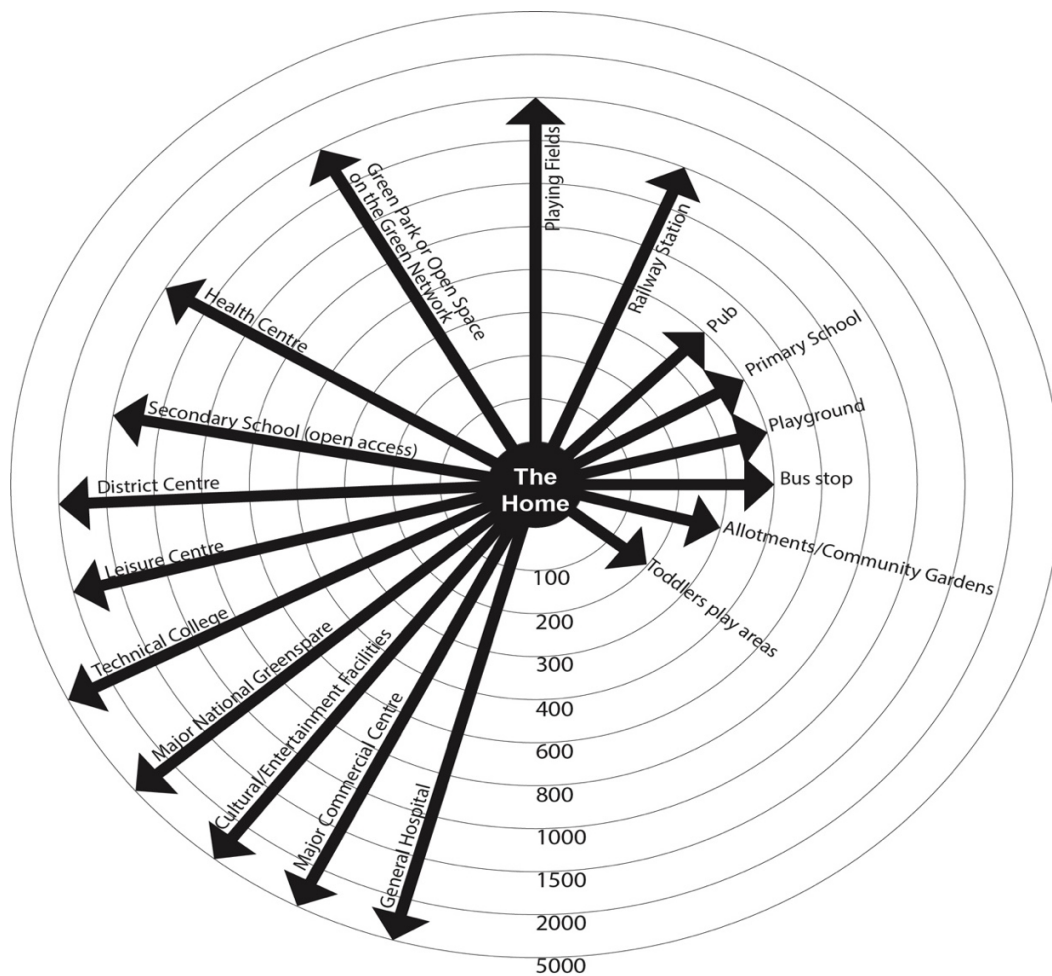


Table 6: Access standards for local facilities in urban areas (all new dwellings in urban areas should achieve this standard) – Source: Richard Timmerman, based on Barton et al (1995) featured in Greed and Roberts (1995, p. 148).

Barton, Greed and Roberts present an indicative list of facilities and population thresholds (Table 7 - alternative thresholds are set out in Appendix 3 and draw similar conclusions). For the purpose of this research we have used an occupancy rate of 2.3 people per dwelling to equate population size to the number of units<sup>6</sup>. While there will be a series of general principles that might be applied to population thresholds, these are unlikely to be generic as the types, sizes and locations of housing development will vary considerably. A key variable will be the existence of established physical and social infrastructures and populations (Kostof, 1991). The conditions for creating a successful new settlement in the countryside will therefore differ from those on a brownfield site in an urban location due to proximity to existing infrastructure and facilities (see Greed and Roberts, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> 2011 Census – Office for National Statistics

Table 7: Possible local facility catchments (Greed and Robert, 1998). Caution: catchments may vary from place to place and over time.

Facility	Population range
Primary School	2,500 – 4,000
Secondary School	7,000 – 15,000
Doctor's surgery	2,500 – 3,000
Public house	5,000 – 7,000
Corner shop	2,000 – 5,000
Local shopping centre	5,000 – 10,000
Post office	5,000 – 10,000
Health centres (4 doctors)	9,000 – 12,000
Library	12,00 – 30,000
Church	> 9,000
Community centre	7,000 – 15,000
Youth club	7,000 – 11,000
Sports centre	25,000 – 40,000
Superstore/district centre	25,000 – 40,000

National planning policy objectives support sustainable living (in line with the Government's recently announced targets on reducing carbon emissions). This will require a presumption in favour of *minimum* densities. If a basic neighbourhood unit is based on the (10 minute) walking catchment of a primary school, then minimum residential densities would have to be in the region of 90-100dph. The survey of practitioners showed support for the provision of additional community facilities particularly local shops, parks, pubs/social facilities/cafes, sports facilities, libraries and post offices.

The relationship between housing and employment should be part of both strategic and local planning. Howard and others placed emphasis on the relationship between living and working as part of a planned settlement. Sustainable settlements should create integrated mixed use communities that *offer an option* of local employment. An increasing trend has been the growth of live/work units, home working, flexible working and self-employment/freelancing. Although land use planning strategies cannot designate employment space with the same accuracy as residential there is a case to try and minimise long distance commuting by situating housing near to concentrations of employment. Studies in Sweden (Sandow 2011) have demonstrated a correlation between long distance commuting and divorce rates. Increasingly, flexible working is allowing individuals to work from home or local shared workspaces. Start up space, training space or touch-down space should be seen as important components in local centres as demonstrated by the recent growth of touch-down workspace in London (e.g. Soho Works, Google Start Up Campus). Camden Town Unlimited is one of a number of BIDs that have sponsored affordable flexible workspace. Some case studies are set out in Appendix 5.

### 3.5 Layout and Social Interaction

Evidence that urban form has a definite impact on social behaviour is best demonstrated in urban morphology studies. An early example of research of this nature is Donald Appleyard's (1969) work on the influence of vehicular levels on social interconnectivity along residential streets. In his publication 'Liveable Streets' he uses pedestrian tracing methods and records quantitative increases in social interactivity between both sides of streets as vehicular traffic decreases (Appleyard, 1969 – see table 8). Appleyard also analyses home territory and privacy with regards to traffic. In this context, privacy and home territory roughly translates to 'where you feel that your home extends to, or what a resident considers as their personal territory or turf' (Appleyard & Lintell, 1972). In streets with light vehicular traffic, the geographic extents of personal territories are far greater than streets with heavy traffic. Intrusion of personal privacy is greater on streets with heavier traffic while the reverse is true on streets with lighter traffic (see Appleyard & Lintell, 1972, p. 93<sup>7</sup>).

Francis Tibbalds concludes that urban vitality is connected to social interaction. He recommends specific physical interventions that can be applied to both existing and new urban spaces. Some of these include active street frontages, mixed use development and night time activity. Talen (2009) lists some ways in which design can facilitate social and demographic mix:

- Diversity of land uses
- Mixing different house sizes, including family units, within blocks
- Mixing tenures within neighbourhoods
- Permeability within and between neighbourhoods
- Increased density near public transport nodes
- Providing non-standard units
- Live/work units
- Resisting 'big box' retail
- Designing streets as collective spaces
- Connecting institutions into the urban fabric

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<sup>7</sup> <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/01944367208977410?needAccess=true>



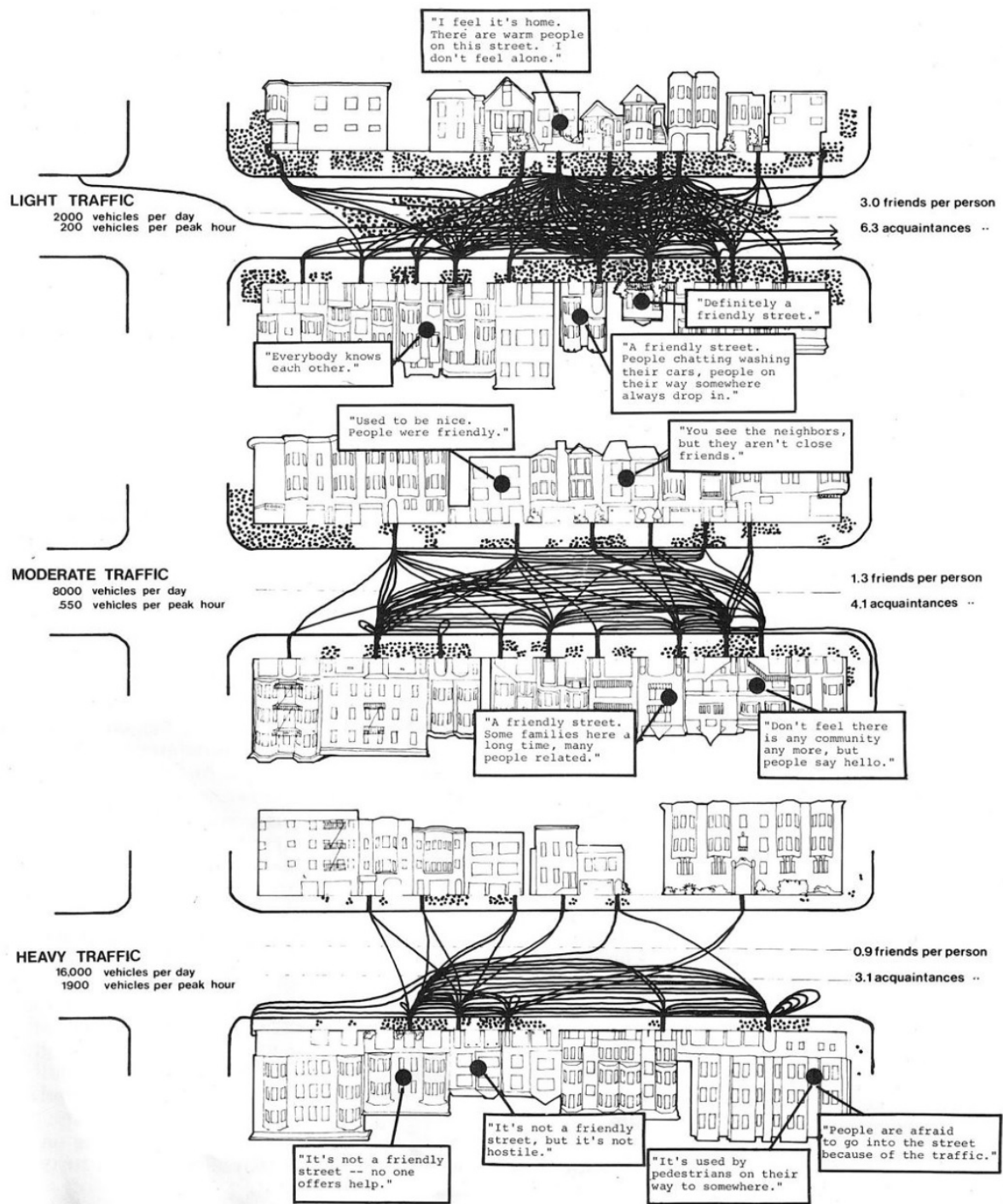


Table 8: Diagram of intra-street social connections. Lines represent specific social connections whilst dots identify where people were reported together (Appleyard, 1969<sup>8</sup>)

<sup>8</sup> <https://mattturner.blog/revisiting-donald-appleyards-the-environmental-quality-of-city-streets-a-residents-viewpoint-in-21st-century-britain/>



### 3.6 Social mix

The idea of mono-tenured communities is largely a mid 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century construct. While rich and poor areas have always existed, cities are largely a mosaic of interconnected neighbourhoods. Within the compact pre-industrial city, socially mixed districts usually predominated. Today there are a number of different models:

- Central/middle urban and town centre. These tend to offer a range of different housing typologies and tenures that accommodate a diverse social mix. A combination of post war reconstruction, municipalisation programmes of the 1970s, gentrification and infill/estate renewal has produced urban neighbourhoods that are mixed and in general terms successful (generally reflected in house prices)
- Traditional settlements. Market towns and villages generally have mixed communities except where distortions caused by commuter belt or second homes have taken place.
- Suburbs. Although categorised as lacking diversity, the London suburb is often a patchwork of different neighbourhoods that cater for different income and age groups. The relative homogeneity of housing in each of these neighbourhoods however, means that they are less diverse than older established areas.
- Areas of low-income mono-tenure. Few would question that large areas of low-income individuals, epitomised in the 'sink estate', are socially desirable. Estate renewal, leading to tenure diversification is now taking place in many urban areas.
- Areas of middle/high income housing. Clearly popular with inhabitants this is not necessarily a problem, although the trend towards gated communities may be seen as incompatible with a broader model of social integration and cohesion.

Neighbourhoods change over time and high levels of 'churn' are not necessarily a bad thing. Many city dwellers might choose to live in areas of transient population, but others value knowing their neighbours and recognising people in the street. In such areas a variety of housing types, sizes and affordability offers opportunities to up - and down-size as personal circumstances change. In this way personal networks can be retained, and social institutions can become well established. Ultimately a community that values its area is more likely to work to maintain it.

There have been a number of studies carried out into the advantages or otherwise of socially mixed neighbourhoods. While there is no clear evidence to suggest that socially mixed neighbourhoods are likely to improve the circumstances of the poorer members of the community, the OECD, on balance, generally supports the notion of social mix. However, studies carried out in the USA have shown that when poorer individuals were moved into richer areas there were no long-term economic improvements (Cheshire P 1992).

The 2006 Joseph Rowntree Foundation report, *Developer and Purchaser Attitudes to New Build Mixed Tenure Housing* and the 2016 NHBC and HCA publication, *Tenure Integration in Housing Development: a literature review* both concluded that provided a scheme is well designed and managed, mixed tenures can be delivered successfully:

- Mixed income communities are judged as successful where problems exclusively associated with low-income areas are not apparent. They are regarded as 'pleasant places to live, learn and work'.
- In these settings, mixed tenure and mixed income are considered as "non-issues" to residents who saw their neighbours as 'ordinary people'.
- Mixed income communities can attract young families. Good schools are considered to be a key success factor.
- Developers engaged in providing mixed tenures do not typically experience lowered house sale prices. Design, location and quality were seen as more likely to affect sales and price levels.

Studying reviews on the performance of mixed tenure, Bond et al (2011), record an overall positive effect of mixed tenures in residential development. Mixed communities have the capacity for continuous improvement through housing mobility, kinship networks, and reductions in population turnover (ibid.). These conclusions were supported by CAGE (2001) that listed the following advantages of socially mixed communities:

- Better demand balance for schools and social care
- Life time adaptation to cope with aging
- Avoidance of ghettoization
- Creating opportunities for self help
- Street activity and surveillance

Ultimately social cohesion is a broader social goal supported by successive governments. PPS3 (2006) requires local authorities to, 'create sustainable, inclusive, mixed communities in all areas both urban and rural'. This is not to argue for artificial mixing of tenures purely for the sake of it. There is a broad demand for housing of different types and sizes in most locations in England. There is also a need for different skills in the labour force, and in particular for key worker housing. It is particularly important to provide affordable housing in areas where it is required, close to jobs, schools and transport. Mixed communities can be coarse-grained, and some areas will remain wealthier than others (and offer more expensive housing). A positive consequence is that affordable housing for rent is counter cyclical as social housing is not market dependent. In a large development, for example at Imperial Wharf of Kings Cross it enabled development to continue during fluctuations in the economy.

### **3.7 Measuring Resident Satisfaction**

In the majority of cases resident satisfaction with their neighbourhoods might be determined by market demand (price). Various one off reports by developers can give some indications of satisfaction, but there is no common methodology or peer review on these. A new housing audit is, however, planned for the Autumn.

In 2007 CAGE carried out housing audits (Carmona, 2017<sup>9</sup>) to assess the quality of new private housing developments in England. It based its assessment on Building for Life Criteria:

- Does the development provide (or is it close to) community facilities, such as a school, parks, play areas, shops, pubs or cafes?
- Is there an accommodation mix that reflects the needs and aspirations of the local community?
- Is there a tenure mix that reflects the needs of the local community?
- Does the development have easy access to public transport? Does the development have any features that reduce its environmental impact?

The exercise broadly found that:

- Many of the poorly performing schemes failed to create a sense of place. They did not take advantage of their surroundings and fit the local context, nor did they create an identity or distinct character.
- Dominant roads and poorly integrated car parking resulted where the highways design, rather than the buildings, dictated the layout. Public open space was often poorly designed or maintained.
- Schemes frequently had a poor layout, leading to a poor-quality streetscape, a lack of distinction between public and private realms, and poor legibility'

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<sup>9</sup> <https://matthew-carmona.com/2017/03/31/54-housing-design-learning-from-the-cage-experiment/>

There is an extensive literature concerning the relationship between place design and success factors such as improvements in health, social, economic and environmental outcomes (Carmona 2018)<sup>10</sup>. The Town and Country Planning Association have published guides to healthy environments (2019) and Building for Life has been extended to cover twelve measurements. These are useful guides but there is no consistent methodology covering resident satisfaction or metrics regarding quality. There is scope for further research in this area from a national housing research centre.

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<sup>10</sup> Place value and the ladder of place quality [www.place-value-wiki.net](http://www.place-value-wiki.net)

## 4. The Planning Process

The efficient and effective operation of the entire planning process is clearly of paramount importance in the design and construction of new communities. The Bishop Review (2011), Farrell Review (2014) and the House of Lords Select Committee (2016) all highlighted problems of capacity at local authority level in the planning system (see Appendix 4). This is not new and is a reflection of both reductions in resources and successive 'reforms' of the system going back over 30 years. The need to review the scope and resourcing of the planning system in England is taken as a given in this report. The constant state of flux in planning policy at national and local level (e.g. the constant changes in the percentage of affordable housing sought under the London Plan) means that policy is rarely stable for long enough to impact on land values. The Planning system in the UK is 'plan led' but with each development considered on its merits. The previous section has concluded that there is no simple housing design template and that good development is contextual. Independent design review is a well tested method for raising the standards of new development. This is still a voluntary process, although it is generally supported by government policy. Design review does partially compensate for the growing paucity of specialist design skills in local planning authorities (Bishop, Farrell, Raynsford et al)

The Raynsford Review (2018) made a number of significant criticisms of the planning system over the last decade, in particular deregulation and under investment. It made a series of recommendations:

- That planning should be more proactive.
- The use of stamp duty and capital gains tax from land transactions to fund local communities.
- That councils should be able to CPO land and take a percentage of the development uplift to fund local planning.

These recommendations are generally endorsed in this report and are elaborated on in section 5

### 4.1 Strategic Planning

The NPPF provides a national policy framework, but England is unusual in not having a national spatial plan (Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and most European countries do). When the 2011 Localism Act removed the Regional Development Agencies, England was left without any tier of regional authority. Consequently, strategic decisions - whether about airport capacity in the South-East, or growth corridors (e.g. related to HS2) - have no clear forum for debate. Without some form of regional framework, strategic decisions on how to meet housing need whether through new settlement planning, brownfield land development or green belt land release, will become increasingly difficult to frame. The consequences are likely to be piecemeal decisions, sub-optimal spatial distribution and a disjuncture between new housing provision, employment and infrastructure.

Green belts were originally intended "to provide a reserve supply of public open spaces and recreational areas (within a) girdle of open space"<sup>11</sup>. However, the concept changed with the introduction of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Acts into a mechanism to limit urban growth (and in effect preserve the amenity of populations living outside the city limits). The designation of green belt was never a planned process and randomly 'froze' urban edges. Consequently, any objective assessment of designated green belt land will inevitably

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<sup>11</sup> Greater London Regional Planning Committee 1935

conclude that while there are areas of significant landscape value, there are also areas that could be released. The contention in this report is that any release of designated green belt should be:

- Planned on a regional basis with the objectives of creating sustainable settlements.
- Within a framework where value uplift is captured and used to cross subsidise the purchase of land for recreational and ecological purposes (original purpose of the green belt) and to cross subsidise affordable housing and physical and social infrastructure.

The debate concerning green belt release is highly emotive, but rarely sophisticated. The wider urban region represents not just opportunities for new housing but also opportunities to generate energy, grow food, clean and store water, recycle and reuse waste materials. Green belts create/contribute to lower temperatures, mitigate heat waves, are fundamentally important in building urban resilience, are biodiverse ecosystems and a place for recreation, exercise and enjoyment. Decisions regarding the future of green belt land should therefore be wider than just the provision of housing and be embedded into regional spatial strategies.

## **4.2 Planning and the provision of affordable housing**

The planning system has increasingly been tasked with negotiating affordable housing in return for planning permissions. Reductions in subsidies for affordable housing have placed increased burdens on developers and house builders. In addition, the planning system is often expected to negotiate developer contributions for community facilities that would once have been funded by the state. These trends are diverting the original purpose of planning and pose a considerable risk of poor-quality housing being built without the infrastructure to support sustainable growth.

S106 and CIL are in effect forms of taxation on the development sector. The large increases in value that can arise on the grant of planning consent are mainly retained by the land owner as windfalls and are not captured (e.g. agricultural land at c£30,000 ha. rises to c. +£3million ha. with the grant of planning). The system lacks transparency and is increasingly open to accusations that consents are effectively being 'sold'. In this research we were unable to collect data on the scale (or use) on 'planning benefits'. In addition, here is no correlation between the revenues that arise from a development and where these are spent. One of the consequences of the 'invisibility' of developer or Government contributions is that there is little perceived local benefit to communities from agreeing to development in their areas.

Methods by which this uplift might be captured, whether through a form of development land tax, changes in CPO valuations (Lyons Report 2014) or indeed through changes in stamp duty or capital gains tax (Raynsford Review 2018) should be subject to a wider debate in the Housing Sprint papers.

Social and civic facilities are required early in development phases. Section 5 considers the importance of empowering communities through long term revenue streams that might support local facilities. If basic infrastructure could be provided through alternative funding mechanisms, then S106/CIL could be reinvested by the developer or local authority to provide communities with 'community chests' (via an endowment fund). Alternatively, a long-term income stream could be provided through asset transfer (retail, workspace or energy generation). There is no impediment for such arrangements to be made under current planning guidelines. Clearer Government guidance and a set of standard models would, however, assist developers and local authorities to develop mechanisms locally.

### 4.3 Planning and Stakeholder Involvement

The Skeffington Report (1968) set out general recommendations regarding public involvement in planning. In the UK local authorities have been required to inform, consult and involve local residents since 2006<sup>12</sup>, and in 2009 a 'Duty to Involve' came into force which requires local authorities to embed a culture of engagement and empowerment in service delivery and decision-making<sup>13</sup>. Procedures are now well embedded in both local plan-making and development control.

There is substantial evidence that involving communities and other stakeholders in planning decisions has many potential advantages:

- Gaining support for initiatives;
- Learning from the public, making projects more relevant to local needs, avoiding costly mistakes, reducing complaints;
- Reducing time-consuming conflict;
- Empowerment - creating more active, responsible and self-reliant communities;
- Tapping into new contacts, skills and resources;
- Improving the public image of an authority or a developer.

That said, the Planning System is implicitly about making (political) choices. The Planning System is not able to achieve consensus and it should not be seen as a 'marketing tool' to sell development to reluctant communities. The Planning System cannot *guarantee* the seamless delivery of housing while we accept that consultation and debate are essential elements within a democratic society. NIMBYism will not go away, and negotiation will be required for development to be agreed, especially outside urban areas. The Localism Act (2011) contains provisions for community led neighbourhood planning and over 7,000 neighbourhood plans are now in progress. The Department for Communities, Housing and Local Government has commissioned Locality to offer financial and technical support to local groups wishing to embark on neighbourhood plans. Organisations such as the Town and Country Planning Association and the Design Council also offer support.

If a universal framework of neighbourhood planning can be established, it should encourage existing communities to support new developments. The previous section has considered the relationship between the quantum of development and the facilities that it can support. The Raynsford Review recommended fiscal incentives through changes in taxation and CPO rules. The next section looks at new forms of funding could be injected into the planning system.

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<sup>12</sup> Communities and Local Government, *Strong and Prosperous Communities: The Local Government White Paper* (Cm6939) London: HMSO, 2006.

<sup>13</sup> Procedures are now well embedded in both local plan-making and development control. Communities and Local Government, *Communities in Control: The Local Government White Paper* (Cm7427) London: HMSO, 2008.

## 4.4 Management and Governance

Many designers and developers assume that the physical layout and urban fabric of new housing alone, will create the conditions for successful place making. The central argument in this paper is that social infrastructure and social capital play at least as important a part in creating sustainable places. A sustainable community is one in which there is 'social glue', a place that is able to consolidate, mature and improve over time.

Successful places tend to have 'communities of interest'. These may be based on geography, tenure, ownership, employment status, ethnicity, gender, age, recreational activities, childcare, health, education or numerous other categories. They may manifest through tenants or residents' associations, sports clubs, religious congregations, political organisations, societies and action groups. They will tend to grow over time within a healthy neighbourhood. Many will have rules, membership obligations and constitutions. A key element of many of them is a degree of volunteering and cooperation. Arguably they are the DNA of a democratic society.

There is an axiom for stakeholder involvement that people will only ever get involved around issues that concern them. The issues in the left-hand column below are those on which engagement is easiest. If the aim is to foster a stable and successful community, there is a need to create the *conditions* for the development of powerful shared interests (social capital) in both columns.

### Relevance to Stakeholders

#### Most relevant to individuals

Service Delivery  
Short term  
Local  
Present  
Daily impact  
Small scale  
Individual impact

#### Least relevant to individuals

Policy  
Medium/long term  
Strategic  
Future  
Infrequent impact  
Large scale  
Community impact

## 4.5 Social Capital

Social capital is often described as the 'glue that holds a society together'. It comprises the "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups" (OECD, 2001) There is some debate over the various forms that social capital takes, but the most straightforward approach divides it into three main categories:

- Bonds: Links to people based on a sense of common identity ("people like us") – such as family, close friends and people who share our culture or ethnicity.
- Bridges: Links that stretch beyond a shared sense of identity, for example to distant friends, colleagues and associates.
- Linkages: Links to people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder.

Social capital can be measured using a range of indicators, but the most common measure is trust in other people. High levels of social capital may contribute to a range of beneficial economic and social outcomes including; high levels of and growth in GDP; more efficient labour markets; higher educational attainment; lower levels of crime; better health; and more

effective institutions of government.<sup>14</sup> Its potential benefits can be seen in social bonds where friends and families can provide emotional, social and economic support. Neighbours can provide reciprocal care of property, challenge strangers, and offer recognition and support. Communities with high levels of social capital are often viewed as more robust. Residential mobility is negatively correlated with social capital at the neighbourhood level. In communities with a high level of turnover, people tend not to get to know their neighbours or put down roots. Bonding social capital is most important to health in early childhood and frail old age whereas bridging social capital is most important in adult life when looking for employment.<sup>15</sup> A more detailed assessment of social capital and case studies are set out in Appendix 5

This section considers vehicles through which social capital and community networks might be fostered in new housing and mechanisms to establish these within the development process:

- Governance
- Cooperation and facilitation
- Asset ownership
- Sources of funding

## **4.6 Governance and administration**

England is covered by County, Metropolitan and Unitary authorities. District councils (and their metropolitan equivalents) are democratically elected and are the principle providers of local services paid through local taxation. Below this level are parish councils although these do not cover every area of the country (and rarely exist within metropolitan areas). There are around 9,000 in England covering a population of 16 million people. In many areas, however, the administrative boundary does not reflect the community's perception of its identity (for example Fitzrovia). Whilst many of the administrative districts are simply too big to represent an area that people can identify with the option of creating a comprehensive network of smaller units of government would require a degree of administrative disruption and cost that would be impossible to justify.

The Localism Act (2011) conferred a power of general competence that allows District and Parish councils to carry out works that improve the quality of life and promote community wellbeing. Such moves to devolve decision making were a response to a perceived democratic deficit at local level. The objective was to re-engage citizens in decisions that directly affect their lives. Interest in strengthening local democratic involvement at the local level appears to be embraced across the political spectrum.

Community empowerment through responsibility in local decision making and management is a powerful mechanism in establishing social cohesion and should be incorporated into the broader design process. Community governance mechanisms should be established early and on larger developments be part of the planning process. These might include local stewardship arrangements or management trusts. These might be extended to include adjacent areas as part of the process of gaining acceptance for the scheme (and need not follow existing parish boundaries). Assets can be transferred to management bodies and trusts to form a focus for governance and a long-term income stream. There are no obvious restrictions to this under the local government powers of general competence.

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<sup>14</sup> Aldridge, S., Halpern, D., and Fitzpatrick, S., 2002, Social Capital: A Discussion Paper, Performance and Innovation Unit, April 2002

<sup>15</sup> Aldridge, S., Halpern, D., and Fitzpatrick, S., 2002, Social Capital: A Discussion Paper, Performance and Innovation Unit, April 2002, p28



There have been many experiments in devolved governance, and some are set out in Appendix 5. Most of the practitioners surveyed (Appendix 6) were supportive of effective local governance and favoured the creation of bespoke organisations and trusts rather than parish councils. Practically, however, it will always be better to work with existing bodies than to establish new ones.

## 4.7 Cooperation and Facilitation

There are many models for community-based initiatives and numerous examples from across the country. Towns such as Totnes, Lewes and Frome have well developed community networks, usually driven by local social entrepreneurs. The Transition Movement has been growing since 2005<sup>16</sup> and assists local communities in developing a culture focused on mutual support. In practice, transition towns seek to improve the local economy, support entrepreneurship and training. The approach has spread to over 50 countries. Far looser than formally constituted tenants or residents' associations they foster community cohesion<sup>17</sup> by:

- Being a forum for getting to know neighbours;
- Catalysing new projects, enterprises and investment opportunities;
- Supporting learning new skills;
- Developing personal networks;
- Being organisations for volunteering;

Some case studies are set out in Appendix 5. There was clear support from practitioners for community organisations. These are more likely to develop where there are other catalysts at play such as local governance (above) and funding streams (below).

## 4.8 Asset Management

The concept of asset transfer through endowments is not new. Many schools and universities benefit from property or investment trusts and there are a considerable number of Town and Community Trusts in England. Town trusts such as Stratford-upon-Avon, Sheffield, Midhurst, Hornsey, Norwich etc. often trace their origins back to the late Middle Ages where property was bequeathed for the income to be used for charitable, educational or civic purposes. Most are now charities and are run by elected or nominated local individuals. They are able to provide grants and bursaries to local groups, institutions and individuals. Critically they require the community to take responsibility for the assets and for making decisions on the income. Letchworth Garden City Heritage Trust, for example, was set up when the land assets (£56 million) were transferred by Act of Parliament in 1962. The Trust maintains the heritage and environment of the town and has wider grant giving powers.

There are 330 Community Land Trusts in England and Wales with 17,000 members. The land is either gifted to or bought by the Trust which is a not for profit organisation. The objectives of a CLT are similar to those of a Development Trust or Housing Co-operative and are centred on the long-term provision of affordable housing and local community services. Perhaps the most successful example of a CLT is Coin Street Community Builders. In this case the land was effectively gifted to CSCB by the GLC.

The idea that communities own and enjoy some of the benefits of renewable energy is growing fast across the world<sup>18</sup>. In Germany over 50% of renewable energy is in community

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<sup>16</sup> <https://transitionnetwork.org/about-the-movement/what-is-transition/>

<sup>17</sup> <https://transitionnetwork.org/about-the-movement/what-is-transition/why/>

<sup>18</sup> <https://transitionnetwork.org/stories/rise-community-energy/>

ownership. In the UK alone over 5,000 community groups have set up community energy schemes since 2008. Many of these have been associated with the Transition Towns movement. Case studies of asset management are set out in Appendix 5.

## 4.9 Sources of Funding for Community Infrastructure

The previous section concluded that the Planning System has become overloaded and that increasingly S106 and CIL were being used as forms of indirect taxation to provide affordable housing subsidies and community facilities that had previously been provided through government spending. This is both inefficient and is placing a burden on the development industry. In theory this should be reflected in reduced land values but given the volatility in both national and local planning, policy is not sustained long enough to give long term stability.

If CIL and S106 could be freed up for direct reinvestment in community infrastructure there is no stipulation against CIL or S106 being used to:

- Set up a community fund
- Agree the transfer of assets into a trust or similar organisation

Other forms of funding include:

- New Homes Bonus; a levy that local authorities receive for each additional house built. This is not directly 'passported' to support new housing, but the sums can be considerable. Tower Hamlets for example receives approximately £24 million pa.
- Business rate uplift. Calculated through a complex formula, local authorities receive approximately 50% of new business rates.

Although skewed towards metropolitan districts these represent considerable injections of money into local authorities. No national evidence is readily available on how this is used. Given the large reductions in local government budgets, however, it is assumed that the majority of these funding streams are diverted into front line service delivery.

The last decades have seen a significant increase in social investment funds and growing interest from the mainstream financial sector. The National Lottery has played a significant role in funding charities and local sports and heritage projects. Several new social investment vehicles have emerged providing grants, patient capital, loans, risk and venture capital (such as Charity Bank, Bridges Social Entrepreneurs Fund and Triodos Social Enterprise Fund<sup>19</sup>). These have attracted new investors from private equity funds, wealthy individuals, institutional investors and charitable foundations as well as government funding. For example, since 2002, Charity Bank has lent over £267m to nearly 1,000 social enterprises and charities<sup>20</sup>. In parallel, a number of intermediaries promoting social entrepreneurship and social investment have been formed. Community Investment Tax Relief<sup>21</sup> was introduced in 2003, providing tax relief to investors in accredited Community Development Finance Institutions of which there are now more than twenty.

Crowdfunding involves putting a pitch for funding onto an appropriate crowdfunding website where individuals or organisations may choose to invest in it. There are several types of crowdfunding:

- **Investment-based crowdfunding.** Investment in a business in return for a stake in return (normally shares).

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<sup>19</sup> <https://www.triodos.co.uk/business-lending/large-loans/charities-and-social-enterprises>

<sup>20</sup> <https://charitybank.org/social-impact>

<sup>21</sup> <https://responsiblefinance.org.uk/the-community-investment-tax-relief-citr/>

- **Loan-based crowdfunding.** Loans to individuals or companies in return for a set interest rate.
- **Donation-based crowdfunding.**
- **Reward-based crowdfunding.** Donations in return for a reward linked to the project or cause supported.

Sources of additional funding should be seen as 'makeweights' rather than stopgap solutions. An existing mature community is more likely to be successful in putting together complex match funding bids and running projects.

Service charges levied by the freeholder are usually used for the purpose of maintenance of common areas but could in theory be used for community projects. In practice though, additional levies on service charges to support social infrastructure are unlikely to be palatable with lease or freeholders. Setting up residents' associations to have a say in the priorities for the use of service charges is however a simple mechanism for building social capital.

In practical terms, the establishment of community funds through endowment or asset transfer is the most effective way of creating the conditions for community involvement and the creation of social capital through forms of community governance. It has already been suggested that this might be facilitated through mechanisms to capture part of the value uplift on development land. Other complimentary measures could include specific provisions to give relief from stamp duty or capital gains tax on land transfers and for this to be reinvested in the development. These and other funding mechanisms including adjustments in local authority grants to 'reward' development and mechanisms should be considered elsewhere in the Housing Sprint discussions.

## 5. Conclusions

There is no single design model that might be applied to the creation of successful new housing regardless of scale, type or location. Urban design is a complex and bespoke activity where context is of particular importance. There are basic building blocks that may be used in designing new housing but what is clear is that successful place making depends less on specific architectural forms and more on the sophisticated application of basic urban design principles. Good design is always likely to be a *contextual*, design codes might prevent poor places being designed but are unlikely to create great places. A well-resourced planning system backed up by design review is therefore an essential requirement in raising the quality of housing design.

There is no central repository of housing research or case studies for practitioners and planners to be able to reference. Nor is there a single agency responsible for monitoring the quality of new housing in England. In the absence of this good practice is not being shared. There is also no current coordinated research into the social and economic value of good design. Standards and policies for internal/external space, environmental performance or community infrastructure vary from one area to another and are not necessarily applied consistently. Finally, there is no universal methodology or repository for post-occupancy surveys or resident satisfaction that might be used to assess and spread the lessons of best practice.

While there might not be any single optimum size for a neighbourhood there is a correspondence between neighbourhood size and the facilities that it can support. The preconditions for sustainability are well enough understood:

1. Employment that is accessible by public transport.
2. A range of housing types and tenures.
3. Community infrastructure (education, retail, transport, shops, health and leisure) within easy walking distance.
4. Sustainable provision of energy, utilities and waste recycling.
5. Adaptability and capacity to grow.
6. Local democratic governance including access to long term funding streams.

High density housing (probably up to 400 dph) can work in urban locations subject to careful design and the provision of effective physical and social infrastructure and good management. Low density housing is less efficient in terms of available land resources and is less likely to support community facilities without reliance on the automobile. This will require *either* an increase in minimum densities to ensure a required population is within the catchment area *or* for community infrastructure elements (whether schools, shops or transport etc.) to be subsidised (either by the public sector or by a form of developer contribution). Particular provision will be required to address issues of small scale and incremental developments (town expansions) and to ensure the early provision of new infrastructure required before a settlement is fully completed.

On balance, socially mixed neighbourhoods appear to offer greater opportunities for creating a diverse community life and mixed housing typologies cater for a diverse local workforce. The evidence is not however conclusive. While socially mixed neighbourhoods might be the norm in town and city centres, they are becoming the exception in suburban areas and estates.

It is difficult to conclude that the present model of housing delivery through the planning system is working effectively to deliver either housing numbers or sustainable communities. The system is increasingly burdened with extracting contributions from developers,

development land is scarce, values are high, and most developers lack any long-term commitment or stake in the communities that they are creating.

There is no national spatial plan for England, nor are there any coherent regional planning processes or mechanisms. In the absence of this, key decisions regarding the allocation of land for new housing (location and quantity) are constrained by existing administrative boundaries. The result is that patterns of new housing development and the relationship between greenfield and brownfield development is likely to be sub-optimum. There may be a case for releasing green belt land, but this should be part of a planned process and associated with some capture of value uplift. The relationship between new housing, employment and infrastructure should be part of integrated national thinking.

The planning system has become loaded with the responsibility for delivering infrastructure, social facilities and affordable housing through CIL and S106. The two systems overlap and are confusing. The consequences of using the planning system to deliver both infrastructure and to subsidise the delivery of social housing is deflecting it from its original purpose - the planning and control of new development. It is also relegating the crucial debate about design quality and placemaking to a secondary position. The provision of infrastructure and affordable housing should be borne by national government spending programmes. This might be through taxation on the value uplift, e.g. development land tax, or through changes in existing land taxes, e.g. stamp duty or capital gains tax. Alternatively, CPO procedures could be amended to allow public agencies to acquire green belt land at existing use value; pass on the land for housing and reinvest surpluses in affordable housing or infrastructure. This would free CIL or S106 funding for investment in community infrastructure directly related to the project. Such resources might be used to give communities a long-term equity stake in their development and provide greater incentives for neighbourhood planning.

The established system of local government still provides most local services and is democratically accountable. For many people this is quite acceptable as they may not be interested in becoming personally involved in their area. That said, most people want their area to work, to be safe and well maintained and they want to be consulted on matters that directly impact on their lives. The overwhelming evidence is that the neighbourhood level is the best area for engagement and that this engagement at multiple levels is likely to build social capital. The key challenges are over ways in which this can be fostered in the early stages of a development. Where new facilities and income streams can be established there is a greater likelihood of 'buy in' from adjacent communities.

The present model of house building (develop and sell) is, however, unlikely to foster strong communities. It is also unlikely to be able to support community facilities (including shops and public transport) in its early phases before a critical mass is established, by which time entrenched patterns of behaviour will have set in that might make the establishment of local facilities more difficult. Contributions from developers (extracted by the planning system) or novel forms of fiscal incentives or taxation would fund community infrastructure. Without this social capital and community networks will not necessarily evolve. Funding models are likely to be hybrid and involve a combination of S106/CIL, tax incentives, lottery or other seed funding or voluntary local taxation. There are many models for community governance and management. A centralised repository of best practice that could also offer facilitation and support would be beneficial, especially to new and less organised communities.

## 6. Recommendations

1. That the NPPF is reviewed to strengthen presumptions in favour of sustainable communities.
2. That the NPPF is reviewed to contain stronger guidance on minimum housing densities required to support sustainable communities.
3. That MHLG commission a review of the recommendations regarding the capacity of the planning system at Local Authority level from the Bishop Review, the Farrell review and the House of Lords Select Committee.
4. That MHLG make independent design review a requirement on all new housing of over 50 units.
5. That MHLG review current arrangements and sets up the mechanisms for regional spatial planning strategies to consider population and employment growth and the requirements for associated transport infrastructure That an independent review is commissioned regarding mechanisms for the planned release of green belt (subject to recommendation 6 below).
6. That an independent review is commissioned on methods to capture a proportion of the value uplift that the grant of planning creates along with methods for this to be reinvested in social and community infrastructure.
7. A review is commissioned of other forms of tax incentives that might create capacity for community investment.
8. A review of current CPO procedures is commissioned to consider land valuations.
9. That a policy framework and series of best practice models are developed for the reinvestment of S106/CIL funding back into the development in the form of community held assets
10. That statements of community governance be submitted as part of the planning process on all major housing developments above 500 units
11. That an organisation is commissioned to produce a range of best practice guides for community governance and produce standard constitutions and terms of reference.
12. That MHLG support a national research organisation (university or existing body involved in design review) to collect information on all new housing developments; set up a methodology for post occupancy review; research into the measurable benefits of good design and set up a data base of best practice.

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## Appendix 1: Theories of Urban Form

This research did not consider the history of urban design before the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or the long evolution of established cities and settlements. The earliest examples that were considered were planned (or theoretical) urban settlements that arose as a reaction to the conditions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century industrial city (see Hall, 2002). Efforts by philanthropists such as Titus Salt and George Cadbury, placed an emphasis on settlements that had proper sanitation and access to amenity to promote the health, moral fitness, and education of their respective workforces. Their legacies can be viewed in present-day Bournville and Saltaire.

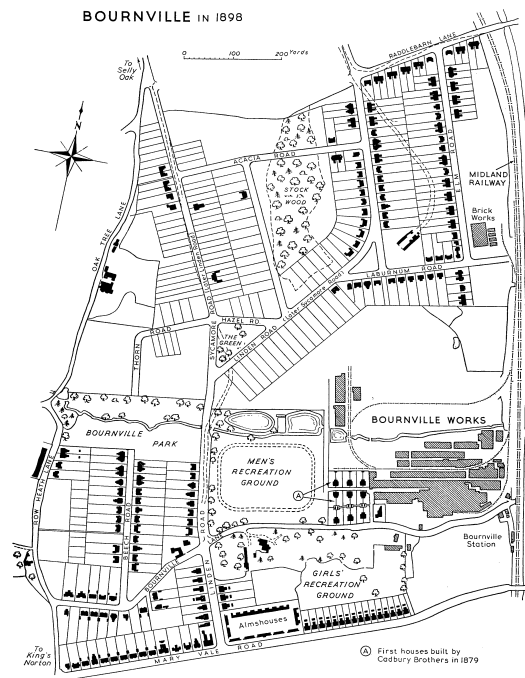


Figure 1. Cadbury Brother's Bournville as it appeared in 1898. Note the settlements labelled (A) and the nearby recreation ground close to the Bournville Works (Stephens, 1964)<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol7/pp43-57>

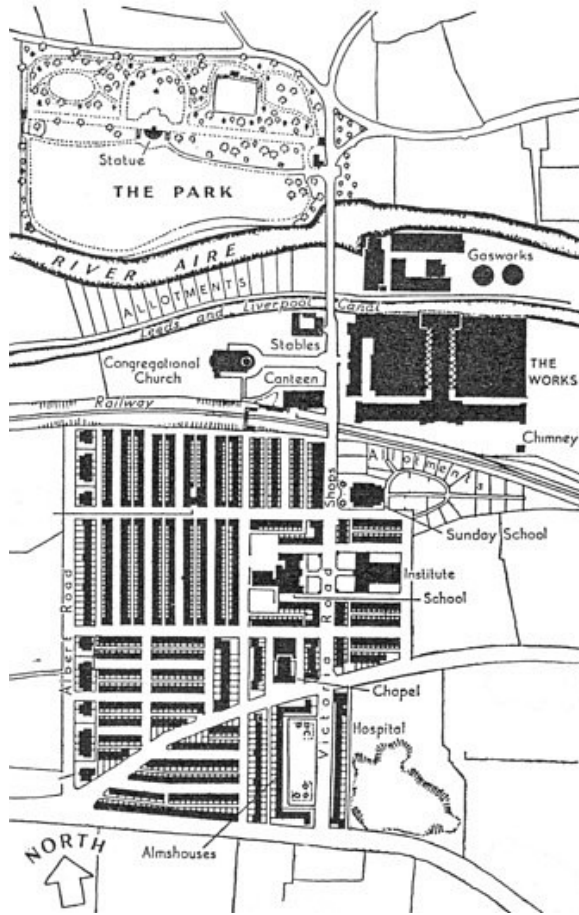


Figure 2. Plan of Saltaire (1851)

Ebenzer Howard (Hall, 2002) produced an enduring vision for utopian living synthesised in 'the three magnets' diagram that subjectively depicted pull-factors from both towns and rural settlements that lead to the creation of a vision of 'Garden Cities'.

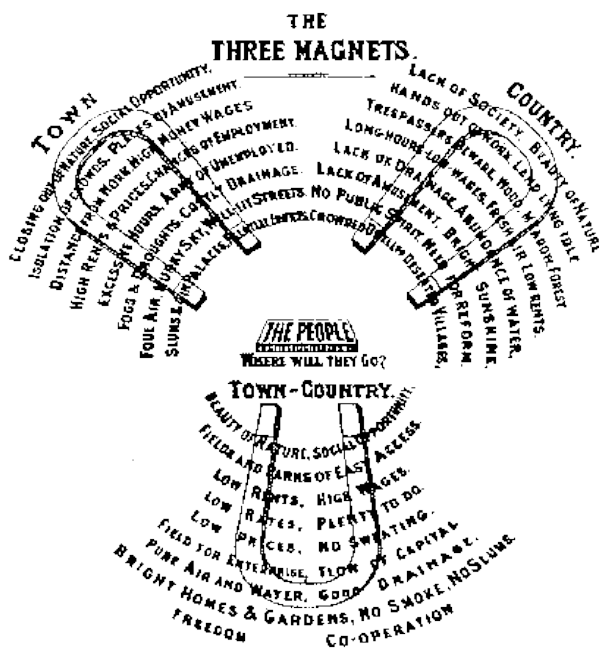


Figure 3

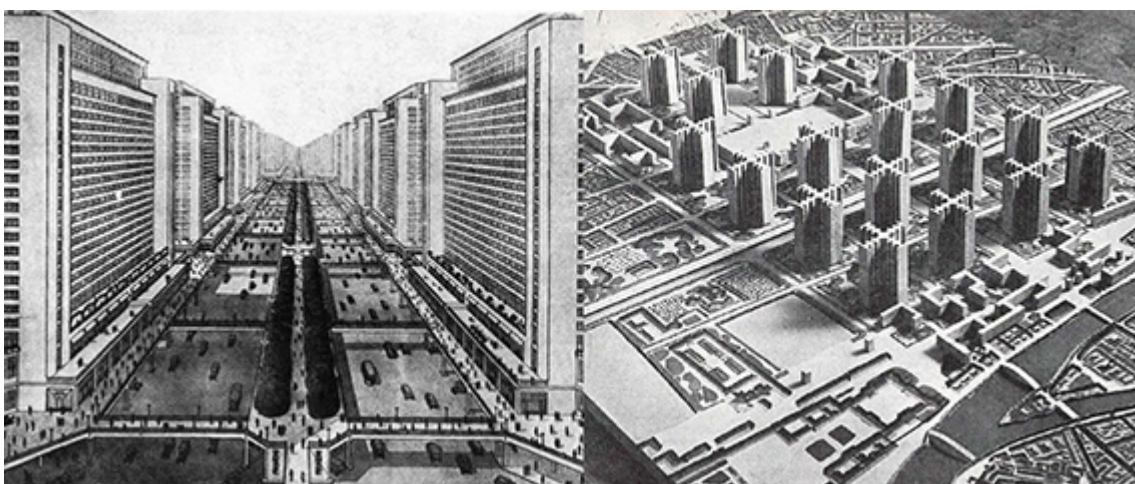
Howard's three magnets (c. 1898)

Howard's was an idealised vision for a town-country settlement rather than a practical masterplan and this places him in the traditions of Fra Carnevale and Moore rather than the mainstream of architecture and design. He proposed an 'ideal' city that would possess the following physical characteristics:

- Beauty of nature, social opportunity
- Fields and parks of easy access
- Low rents, high wages
- Low rates, plenty to do
- Low prices, no sweating
- Field for enterprise, flow of capital
- Pure air and water, good drainage
- Bright homes & gardens, no smoke, no slums

These characteristics essentially created clear physical divisions between industrial areas and residential districts as demonstrated in the eventual construction of Letchworth (Bonham-Carter, 1951). All of these characteristics are underpinned by the social idioms of 'freedom' and 'cooperation'. Thus, he goes on to suggest that his vision is only realisable by a pool of talented professionals with stakeholder interests in the built environment: architects, artists, medical men, experts in sanitation, landscape gardeners, and so on (Hall, 2002).

The introduction of car travel drastically influenced town planning in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. While Howard's three magnets were essentially the bedrock for planning policy and guidance, Le Corbusier's 1930 Ville Radieuse was an attempt to articulate some of these concepts into an actual plan whilst compensating for advancements in personalised transport – traffic collisions and congestion.



*Figure 4. Extracts from Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse*

Ville Radieuse introduced the concept of 'use zoning' where the central zone was reserved for commercial land uses while the outer zones were reserved for residential areas all connected by carefully segregated mass-transportation systems (railways, roads, and pedestrians). These ideas were later expanded fully in his publication 'Cities of To-morrow'

(1967). Le Corbusier deliberately built upwards to allow for the provision of parks and open spaces within the urban fabric. Although the Ville Radieuse remained a concept, its ideas were applied to development of Brasilia (Brazil) and Chandigarh (India).

In the immediate post war period the UK introduced the 1947 Town and Country Planning Acts that brought in control over development. Green belts were designated, not as a publicly owned network of countryside places as envisioned in the original concept, but as a *cordon sanitaire* to prevent urban sprawl. Post war reconstruction in the form of New Towns, slum clearance and overspill estates led to a whole new set of urban typologies that owed much to the ideals of the modernist movement – zoning, functional separation of pedestrians from traffic and new architectural typologies such as the high rise and podium blocks, usually set in poorly articulated landscape spaces. Although many of these experiments have since attracted criticism they were at least conceived in a period where state planning was able to provide town and district centres, schools, health facilities and recreational space.

Jane Jacobs's (1961) work fundamentally influenced urban thinking in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Effectively a reaction to the excesses of modernism, Jacobs stressed the importance of recognising the complexity, vitality and liveliness of urban places. Her thinking stressed the importance of community and democratic involvement and can be seen as the precursor of increasing interest in 'liveability' espoused by Gehl and others (Gehl 1971 *Life Between Buildings – Using Public Space*). These approaches focus attention onto urban space, human scale, quality of life, and urban sustainability. A diverse and multi-functional city is a fundamental requirement rather than a luxury.

In France, Henri Lefebvre led a challenge to the modernist urban practices epitomised by Le Corbusier and others with a critique of the new towns that were under construction around Paris (the Banlieues). These he characterised as landscapes of repression and alienation. In the 1980s a network of thinkers and activists began to rethink some of the fundamental concepts of urbanism based on the citizen and democratic ideals, values largely ignored by the functionalism of planning at the time. This approach centred on the citizen's relationship with urban spaces was encapsulated by Aldo Rossi and by Robert Krier. Colin Rowe further developed these ideas of cities as collaged and superimposed places. In his book *Collage City* (with Fred Koetter he examined a number of existing cities that he considered to be successful and concluded that they were the result of a ceaseless process of fragmentation and the collision and superimposition of the many diverse ideas imposed on it by successive generations. In other words, the city was a place of constant adaptation and experimentation that never formed a completed project. Post war functionalism of zoning and highway infrastructure was rejected in favour of new urban forms centred around the characteristics of historic European urban typologies - the perimeter block, courtyard and town square. Importantly, this approach was allied to themes of 'careful urban renewal' and 'critical reconstruction' and incorporated principles of community participation and engagement.



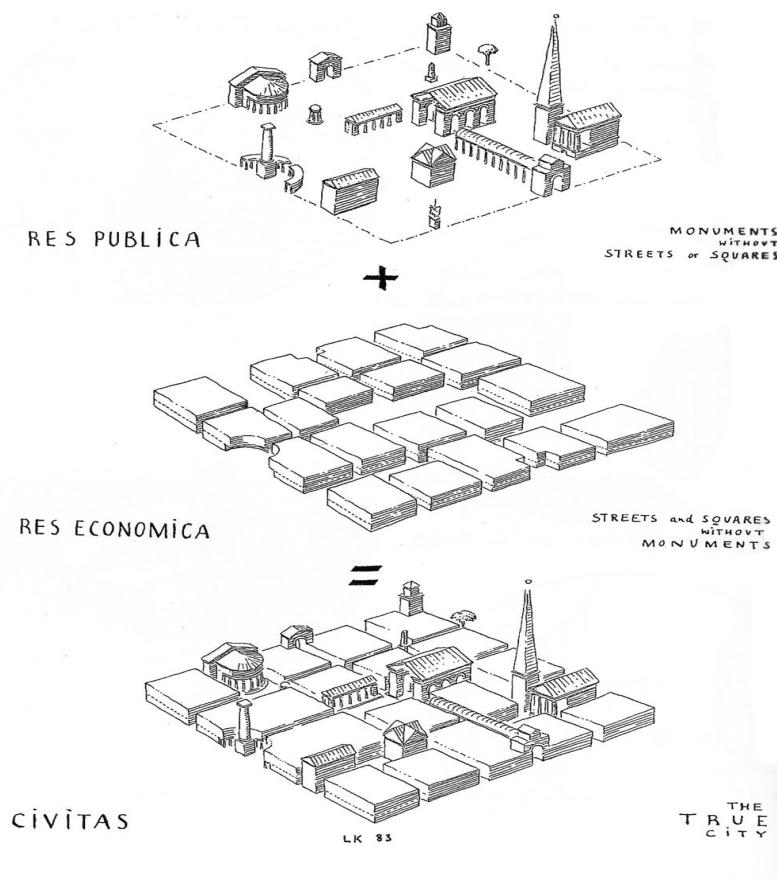


Figure 5. Leon Krier's true city (Krier, 1990<sup>23</sup>)

Spiro Kostof's work in 'The City Shaped' (1991) introduces the notion of the 'city as a diagram' where street plans radiate around a key centre such as a sanctuary (monuments, civic buildings, churches and Cathedrals). Similar to Krier, Kostof's emphasis on iconography is viewed as paramount in the legibility of a city/townscape, where a settlement can have multiple centres.

Later thinking on the development of functional townscapes has expanded the theme of legibility (Lynch, 1960) to incorporate social cohesion as a by-product of a well-designed townscape. Lynch's key components were:

- Vitality – supporting the capabilities of human beings
- Sense – perception of spaces
- Fit – behavioural patterns of usage
- Access – ability for people to interact
- Control – management of the urban fabric

'New urbanism' developed in the USA in the 1990s from earlier theories of place design. This looked back to the traditions of existing neighbourhoods (Duany & Plater-Zyberg 1991). Often criticised for being the 'architecture of the picturesque' it does embody many currently accepted principles including:

- Diverse neighbourhoods
- Pedestrian priority
- Public spaces and public institutions
- Contextualisation (history, environment, ecology and vernaculars)

<sup>23</sup> Source: Wayback Machine. Also, Carmona, 2010, p. 86..



These ideas were later expanded upon by Francis Tibbalds framework of 10 principles that brought in additional ideas including:

- Mixed uses
- Designing at a human scale
- Learning from the past
- Legibility
- The primacy of the pedestrian

In Charles Landry's 'The art of city making' (2006), the failure of modern city plans is attributed to individualism leading to a skewed rational vision "...the rationalist [i.e. a planner] eschews emotion and so misses out; [they make] decisions without sufficient knowledge and insight".

### Summary

Complex forces mould and shape the city. Urban planning, as understood today, has developed from 19<sup>th</sup> century concerns about health, moral wellbeing and education to address the challenges of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. New forms of transportation, increased car ownership and the rapid growth of urban populations led to the development of high-density urban models that segregated pedestrian traffic from vehicular traffic and that featured distinct zones for living and working. Planning was about eliminating chaotic elements synonymous with unregulated growth and urban sprawl. The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act established the terms for post-war construction in the UK and resulted in a number of 'new town' experiments

The 'Death and Life of American Cities' (1961) began to challenge the basis of modernism and the notion that 'order' could be imposed on the city through a series of technical interventions. The conflicting aspirations of high density living and human-scale began to be reconciled. Mixed use neighbourhoods, mixed communities, sustainable modes of transport and public space came to the forefront in the work of Peter Hall, Jan Gehl and Robert Krier. These ideals were incorporated in the seminal 1999 Urban Taskforce report (Towards an Urban Renaissance – Rogers et al). In the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century planning began to focus on the scale of the individual, heritage, the natural environment and sustainability. These concepts are still central to urban planning and urban design thinking today.

## Appendix 2: Morphological elements

**Land Uses.** Whilst accepting that particular parts of urban areas will exhibit differences, the overwhelming trend in planning over the past 25 years has been to advocate mixed use zoning as a desirable urban form. Mixed uses are likely to shorten journey times and result in more intense social interaction. Recent changes in the planning use classes order demonstrate that rigid zoning is no longer supported (with the exception of certain industrial uses). The interspersing of residential, civic and retail uses and their concentration into easily accessible local centres is now generally accepted as both beneficial and sustainable.

**Building Structures.** The traditional town centre is relatively dense with conjoining buildings and enclosed spaces. This contrasts with the suburban/village structure. Meiss (1990) argued that the fundamental problem with 20<sup>th</sup> century urbanism was the neglect of urban fabric that resulted in cities becoming collections of disconnected buildings and poorly articulated residual public space. Lefebvre (1991) describes the outcome as a "...a city wrenched apart". Within lower density neighbourhoods free standing buildings are more likely to be the norm and height, building lines and architectural and landscape elements (as well as a clear demarcation of public and private space) can achieve coherence. There are conflicting orthodoxies regarding density. The underlying drive behind much 20<sup>th</sup> century planning from Howard to Hall was a desire to *reduce* densities, the paradigm being a suburban model of living. These were challenged by The Urban Taskforce report (Rogers et al 1999) that looked at the European traditions of the compact city and a supposition that high density living, albeit accompanied with good urban form and adequate physical and social infrastructure was in fact a desirable (and sustainable) form of living. These ideas (including the reuse of brownfield land over greenfield sites) have had a profound effect through the London Plan. In 2002 John Prescott introduced the concept of minimum densities for the first time. The advocates of higher densities typically argue that they can accommodate sustainable forms of transport and a diverse range of social and cultural facilities.

**Urban Blocks.** Notwithstanding differences between urban and rural morphologies the key differentiating element of urban form is whether blocks or individual buildings are outward facing (engaging with the street or urban realm) or inward facing (pods where each unit is conceived as a separate element). Most urban design theories support the former as more likely to contribute to coherent urban form and better social interaction. There is also evidence to support the outward facing block in terms of passive surveillance and safety. The importance of passive surveillance of streets and open spaces has become one of the key elements in strategies to design out crime. When considering the size of blocks issues such as human scale, permeability and micro-climate are likely to be the prime considerations. Block sizes may vary but Siksna has suggested 'circulation meshes' should be in the order of 50-110m.

The empirical nature of Steven's work (2007) is taken forward in Alzahrani et al's 2017 study of 'place making and its implications for social value'. Their study of two new London squares, one built to promote a clean and safe environment and the other to connect neighbouring businesses and residential communities, found gains in the well-connected space in terms of its overall social impact, social cohesion, vitality, and attractiveness. A study by Palaiologou and Vaughan (2014) draw specific parallels between urban form and street vitality. They note narrow building facades increase the threshold for visual variety and social activity (Stevens, 2007). They also note that mix used areas are generally more vibrant (Palaiologou and Vaughan, 2014).

**Street Patterns.** Urban blocks and streets may take the form of formal grids, deformed grids or more organic forms determined by factors such as land ownership, infrastructure or topography. There is a strong body of evidence to support the objective of permeability (fine grain) urban forms. An alternative form is the cul-de-sac or residential pod. The positive implications are that they are quieter, safer and promote social interaction. The negatives are that they lack interconnectivity. There has been a move against cul-de-sacs in favour of interconnected streets (Duany et al 2000 ref). The Essex Design Guide 1997 favours connected street patterns, a view endorsed by CABI in 2000. The work of Jan Gehl has had a significant impact on thinking around the nature and function of streets as 'people places'. This basis of his work has been to reorder priorities (pedestrian, cyclist, public transport, motor vehicle) and to accept that rigid separation of pedestrians and cars is not a prerequisite for a safe or successful place.

**Public Realm and landscape.** Public realm has been attracting considerable interest recently, in particular its ownership, access and use. Good public realm whether streets, squares, parks or commons is an essential part of civic life. The public realm in whatever form it takes is the place where communities come together. If these are to grow into stable and sustainable communities then public realm should be inclusive and open to all. Recent changes towards private management of public space has thrown up questions regarding inclusivity and cohesion.

According to Anderson et al (2016), indicators of liveliness – behaviours of people engaged in activities – are heightened in community-led physical improvements to urban spaces. These improvements result in increased numbers of users, longer stay durations, and increases in well-being. On average community designed spaces have a 14% increase in community users (Anderson et al, 2016). The importance of private space has had less academic research but has been picked up in planning policy documents including the London Housing Design Guide (2009) that recommends minimum requirements for balconies and outdoor space.

Thompson and Kent's study (2014) highlights the importance of biophilia in the creation of convivial settings. Here, it is suggested that constant contact with other living systems are conducive of both formal and informal social interactions. This builds on the biophilic hypothesis put forward by Kellert et al in 2010. When discussing the impact of tree canopy increase in Baltimore, USA, Holton et al (2015) note a systematically positive relationship between tree canopy density and social capital (shared values, trust, and cooperation). Based on their data, tree canopy cover adds a 22.72% increase in explainable social capital.

Dennis and Urry attempt to predict what a city without cars might look like in the UK Foresight Report 'Towards 2055' (2009). The report contrasts characteristics of urban sprawl (typically associated with suburbia) and those of a compact city (urban/inner city). In more compact areas city residents will be able to walk or take mass transit, an effect being improved environmental sustainability and urban sociability (see Dennis & Urry, pp. 112 – 114). The authors summarise the key differences between 'sprawl' and 'compact city'.

*Table 2.1. Differences between 'sprawl' and 'compact city' (taken from Dennis and Urry, 2009, p. 113)*

<b>Sprawl</b>	<b>Compact city</b>
Low density	High density
Zoned development	Mixed-use development
Segregation of functions for living, working, recreation	Integration of functions for living, working, recreation

Segregation of demographic and economic groups	Mixed-income communities
Car dependence	Predominance of pedestrians and cyclists
Disconnected public spaces	Interconnected walkable network of large- and small-scale public spaces
High-speed transport networks and increased road infrastructure	Minimised need for transport and planning for walking and cycling
Parking, buildings and freeways	Parks, landscaping and cycle paths
Minimum parking spaces	Parking space capping requirement
Sense of anonymity	Sense of community
US urban model	European/Asian model
Developed from about 100 years ago	Developed from about 9,000 years ago
Large scale developments	Neighbourhood/human scale developments
Superstores and big shopping complexes	Corner shops, local shopping areas, farmer's markets
Mass housing and commercial industrial districts	Capping of allowable space for commercial/ industrial districts
Driven by market forces	Driven by vision and master plan
High energy	Low energy
High CO <sub>2</sub> emissions	Low CO <sub>2</sub> emissions

**Crime and Safety.** There is general acknowledgement that layout and design of housing has an impact on crime and safety. In response to crime, Oscar Newman's Defensible Space (1973) suggests various crime prevention design measures that are summarised as the following by Greed and Roberts (1998):

- Territoriality – the subdivision of buildings and grounds into zones of influence to discourage outsiders from entering and encourage residents to defend their areas
- Surveillance – the design of buildings to allow easy observation of the related territory
- Image – the design of public housing to avoid stigma
- Environment – the juxtaposing of public housing projects with safe zones in adjacent areas

Writing in 2018<sup>24</sup>, Abdullah et al state that “there is no doubt that both social and physical factors have an effect on human behaviour”. Their findings validate earlier work by Brown and Werner (1985) by demonstrating that cul-de-sac layouts are associated with high levels of social cohesion through regression analysis. However, this study does not account for demographics and other factors that can influence degrees of social cohesion and indeed the overall layout of a neighbourhood (Abdullah et al, 2018).

<sup>24</sup> Abdullah, A., Marzbali, M.H., Tilaki, M.J.M. and Bahauddin, A., 2018. Does Permeability Promote Social Cohesion. *Asian Journal of Behavioural Studies*, 3(10), pp.87-94.

## Appendix 3: Optimum Neighbourhood Size

The relationship between settlement size and the social/community infrastructure it can support is well researched. The Urban Task Force (Rogers et al 1999) calculated the following:

City (> 60,000):

- Stadium
- Cathedral
- City Hall
- Theatre

Town (25-40,000)

- Sports centre
- District shopping centre
- Library
- Health centre

Neighbourhood (5-15,000)

- Community offices
- Community centre
- Pub
- Post Office

Local hub (2-5,000)

- Primary school
- Doctor
- Corner shop

A piece of research commissioned by Basingstoke and Deane District Council<sup>25</sup> amalgamated a range of previous studies:

- Shaping Neighbourhoods: For Local Health and Global Sustainability, 12 Jan 2010
- Urban Design Compendium, Homes and Community Agency (c. 2000)
- Towards an Urban Renaissance, Urban Task Force, 1999
- Approaching Urban Design: The Design Process, 2001

	Shaping Neighbourhoods		Urban Design Compendium		Urban Task Force Report		Approaching Urban Design		Approx overall average / guide	
	Illustrative catchment populations	Approx number of homes (2.4 people / home)	Illustrative catchment populations	Approx number of homes (2.4 people / home)	Illustrative catchment populations	Approx number of homes (2.4 people / home)	Illustrative catchment populations	Approx number of homes (2.4 people / home)	Illustrative catchment populations	Approx number of homes (2.4 people / home)
Nursery / first school	2,000	830	2,000	830	2,500	1,050	N/A	N/A	2,250	940
Primary / middle school (2-form entry)	4,000	1,660	4,000	1,660	4,000	1,660	2,500 - 4,000	1,050 - 1,660	3,250	1,350
Secondary school	8,000	3,330	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	7,000	2,920	7,500	3,125
Secondary school (large)	16,000	6,670	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	15,000	6,250	15,500	6,460
Health centre	10,000	4,170	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	9,000 - 12,000	3,750 - 5,000	10,500	4,375
Youth club	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	7,000 - 11,000	2,920 - 4,580	9,000	3,750
Doctor's surgery	N/A	N/A	4,000	1,660	2,500 - 3,000	1,050 - 1,250	2,500 - 3,000	1,050 - 1,250	3,250	1,350
Pharmacy	N/A	N/A	5,000	2,080	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5,000	2,080
Local shop	1,500	625	N/A	N/A	2,000 - 5,000	830 - 2,080	2,000 - 5,000	830 - 2,080	3,250	1,350
Pub	N/A	N/A	6,000	2,500	5,000 - 7,000	2,080 - 2,920	5,000 - 7,000	2,080 - 2,920	5,000	2,080
Post office	5,000	2,080	5,000	2,080	5,000 - 10,000	2,080 - 4,160	5,000 - 10,000	2,080 - 4,160	7,500	3,125
Library	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	12,000 - 30,000	5,000 - 12,500	21,000	8,750
Church	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	9,000	3,750	9,000	3,750
Community centre	4,000	1,670	4,000	1,660	N/A	N/A	7,000 - 15,000	2,920 - 6,250	9,500	3,960
Local centre	6,000	2,500	N/A	N/A	5,000 - 10,000	2,080 - 4,160	3,000 - 10,000	1,250 - 4,160	6,000	2,500
District centre	24,000	10,000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	25,000 - 40,000	10,420 - 16,670	32,000	13,330
Leisure centre	24,000	10,000	24,000	10,000	N/A	N/A	25,000 - 40,000	10,420 - 16,670	32,000	13,330

Table 3.1. Threshold guide for services and facilities (BroadwayMaylan, c. 2012)

These thresholds are averages and will vary according to demographics.

<sup>25</sup> See <https://www.basingstoke.gov.uk/content/doclib/1249.pdf>

## **Appendix 4: Previous Reviews and Case Studies**

There have been a number of reports generally concerning ways in which design in the built environment might be improved since the Urban Task Force.

### **The Bishop Review (2011)**

Commissioned by the DCLG and Design Council the review made a series of recommendations including:

- Strengthening design review
- Promoting better working between architecture centres, universities and the professional institutes
- Strengthening local authority design resources within planning departments
- A government sponsored research programme on the elements of good placemaking

### **The Farrell Review (2014)**

Commissioned by Ed Vaizey the review advocated a more proactive role for planning and focused on mechanisms to create better places. These included:

- Place Reviews that considered planning, design, landscape and conservation
- Neighbourhood planning forums
- 'Urban rooms' as places for debate
- A broadening of architecture education

### **House of Lords Select Committee (2016)**

*"The planning, design, management and maintenance of the built environment has a long-term impact upon people and communities. It is widely acknowledged that the quality of life, prosperity, health and wellbeing of an individual is heavily influenced by the 'place' in which they live or work."*

The Select Committee went on to make a series of recommendations including:

- a range of measures which are intended to create better places, promote design quality and enhance the resilience and sustainability of new developments.
- the appointment of a Chief Built Environment Adviser to integrate policy across central Government departments, to act as a champion for higher standards and to promote good practice.
- measures intended to address funding, promote skills and raise capacity and to promote the concept of proactive planning at the local level.
- strategies for improvement to streets, highways and the public realm combined with additional measures intended to promote greater joint working between health and planning professionals and better local monitoring of health impacts resulting from the built environment.

## Wolfson Prize – Garden Cities

In 2014 The Wolfson Prize for a new garden city was won by URBED. Their submission proposed the extension of an existing settlement to provide a new settlement of 200,000 people that would be divided into four neighbourhoods of 50,000, each with a secondary school and three primary schools. These in turn would be divided into a series of smaller neighbourhoods of 10,000 that could support a local centre and employment.

### Costs:

Primary school £10m

Secondary school £25m

Primary health care £8m

### Size:

10kms or 20 minute tram ride to centre

400m radius or 5 minute walk to tram stop

The model proposed a form of ‘betterment tax’ with the land being acquired for near to existing used value (green belt) and then being vested in a foundation (a partnership of local authorities, LEP and others – including investors who might only hold a minority stake). The proposal was based on Dutch and German systems that allow the value generated by development to be invested in infrastructure. Primary legislation was proposed in the form of a ‘Garden Cities Act’ to enable this. The foundation body would be both development and then management agency. Their proposal for a new garden city of ‘Uxchester’ was based on work by Cambridge Horizons that estimated the cost of infrastructure as being £55,000 per home (57% of the costs were for transport, including a new guided bus system, 14% for health, 12% for utilities and 10% for education). The case for a form of land value capture was based on the conclusion that both physical and social infrastructure needs to be in place at the beginning of development and would therefore require subsidy. The same argument would apply to commercial and community facilities such as shops, restaurants and social venues. In Freiburg<sup>33</sup>, for example the tram, schools and other public infrastructure were built in advance of the housing and the costs of running them in the early years were rolled in with the costs of the development.

**Commentary.** The proposal included a number of principles that are broadly endorsed in this report, in particular:

- The need to create a land ownership structure with a long-term interest in the quality of the place.
- The need to put in place strong masterplans that give shape and coherence to the development
- The need to allow development to proceed plot by plot in an incremental fashion.
- The need to put in place a clear set of development rules that give certainty without being overbearing
- The need to create incentives to invest in the quality of what is built and instil a sense of pride and ownership.
- The need to allow plots to evolve both during and after construction and encourage extensions
- The need to create long-term secure income to ensure the upkeep and management of the neighbourhood.

URBED’s proposal dwelt less on the physical form of a new settlement and more on the conditions required to create a successful community, in particular the need to use land

value uplift to create early infrastructure; the need to combine development and management models with a vehicle for governance and finally mechanisms that might 'sell' a town expansion scheme to local residents through the provision of better open space and retail, transport and cultural facilities. Their figures for the number of people/houses to support community/transport infrastructure are broadly in line with other studies as are their costings. Their assumptions on affordable housing (20%) and density (20-65 dwellings per ha.) are at the lower end of the scale and reflect the bias inherent in the garden city model.

## Building Case Studies

Given the scope of this study a small range of developments from the UK and abroad has been selected to see whether specific best practice lessons might be derived. These include:

### ▪ Woodberry Down (Berkeley Homes)

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<b>No. of new homes</b>	5,500
<b>Tenure Mix (%)</b>	
Private	17.3
Affordable	82.7
<b>Area</b>	52 ha
<b>Density</b>	253 per ha

#### **Facilities**

Woodberry Wetlands, play facilities, primary school, secondary school, youth centre, a variety of local shops and convenience stores

#### **Commentary**

This estate places emphasis on affordability. An objective has been to introduce a range of new community and commercial facilities to the area whilst replacing existing poor-quality housing stock. Financial compensation packages are offered to those who had to move home.

### ▪ Kidbrooke (Berkeley Homes)

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<b>No. of new homes</b>	4,000
<b>Tenure Mix (%)</b>	
Private	62
Affordable	38
<b>Area</b>	7.3 ha
<b>Density</b>	80 to 200 per ha <sup>26</sup>

#### **Facilities**

Sainsbury's supermarket, Pub, Restaurants, 86 acres of nearby park land

#### **Commentary**

Located in the London Borough of Greenwich, the scheme is an example of

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.placemakingresource.com/article/667763/second-opinion---woodberry-down-london>



individual and collective wellbeing being empowered through careful design decisions that include safe, inclusive, well-maintained places, where local people have a voice and can influence local decisions<sup>27</sup>.

▪ **Poundbury (Duchy of Cornwall)**

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<b>No. of new homes</b>	3,000
<b>Tenure Mix (%)</b>	
Private	80
Affordable	20
<b>Area</b>	13.21 ha
<b>Density</b>	33 to 43 per ha <sup>28</sup>

**Facilities**

10 Cafés and Restaurants, 36 shops, (170 planned by 2025), children’s play facilities. Church(es)

**Commentary**

Commentary: Poundbury has received positive media coverage. Its vibrancy is apparent in its well-used facilities that are a symptom of the masterplan’s desire to seamlessly blend work and residential facilities – it is popular with its residents<sup>29</sup>.

▪ **Telford - Lightmoor (HCA/Bourneville Trust)**

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<b>No. of new homes</b>	1,000
<b>Tenure Mix (%)</b>	
Private	85
Affordable	15
<b>Area</b>	22 ha
<b>Density</b>	45.45 <sup>30</sup> per ha

**Facilities**

A primary school, community centre, health centre, nursery and shops; as well as numerous green open spaces.

**Commentary**

Commentary: Lightmoor is managed by a trust that follows a similar model to Bourneville and involves residents in order encourage the growth of a sustainable village.

<sup>27</sup> [http://www.social-life.co/media/files/Living\\_at\\_Kidbrooke\\_Village.pdf](http://www.social-life.co/media/files/Living_at_Kidbrooke_Village.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.transportfornewhomes.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Poundbury.pdf>

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.itv.com/news/2018-11-26/charles-visits-poundbury-the-town-that-charles-built/>

<sup>30</sup> <http://tibbonalds.co.uk/2013/06/tibbonalds-secures-outline-planning-permission-for-200-home-extension-to-lightmoor-village-telford/>

▪ **Accordia – Cambridge (Countryside)**

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<b>No. of new homes</b>	378
<b>Tenure Mix (%)</b>	
Private	60%
Affordable	30%
<b>Area</b>	9.5 ha
<b>Density</b>	40 per ha <sup>31</sup>
<b>Facilities</b>	
	Cinema, green gym, and a small nature reserve

**Commentary**

Accordia (also known as Arcadia) is a large-scale housing project in the UK based on the theoretical basis that high densities yield greater community cohesion and economically viable plan. To encourage a sense of community, this settlement includes a cycle-powered cinema, a 'green gym', and a small nature reserve (a converted bunker). As an infill development, its residents' benefit from facilities offered from larger nearby settlements and surrounding areas.

▪ **Telford - Lightmoor (HCA/Bourneville Trust)**

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<b>No. of new homes</b>	7,250 <sup>3233</sup>
<b>Tenure Mix (%)</b>	
Private	80
Affordable	20
<b>Area</b>	152 ha
<b>Density</b>	30 to 60 per ha
<b>Facilities</b>	

Various office spaces, retail, leisure facilities, community facilities, and hotel

**Commentary**

Commentary: The founding of Ebbsfleet Garden city can trace its routes back to the Thames Gateway Planning Framework that identified a series of sites in Kent that could be developed to compliment growth in London. Much of the site is a former quarry. It is modelled roughly on the principles

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<sup>31</sup> <https://fcbstudios.com/work/view/accordia>

<sup>32</sup>

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330983479\\_Making\\_a\\_sustainable\\_community\\_Derwenthorpe\\_York\\_2012-2018](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330983479_Making_a_sustainable_community_Derwenthorpe_York_2012-2018)

<sup>33</sup>

[https://www.dartford.gov.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0011/63299/EB23EbbsfleetValleyStrategicSiteBackgroundPaperUpdate2011\\_000.pdf](https://www.dartford.gov.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0011/63299/EB23EbbsfleetValleyStrategicSiteBackgroundPaperUpdate2011_000.pdf)

established by Ebenezer Howard's Garden City but is higher density. There appears to be minimum efforts to engage local communities in design or governance.

▪ **Freiburg/Vauban**

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<b>No. of new homes</b>	5,000
<b>Tenure Mix (%)</b>	
Private	20
Other	80
<b>Area</b>	41 ha
<b>Density</b>	122 per ha <sup>34</sup>
<b>Facilities</b>	Numerous recreational areas
<b>Commentary</b>	Freiburg places an emphasis on low-energy consumption through the incorporation of low carbon footprint technologies and sustainable transport. The planning process actively encouraged active democracy that sees citizens constantly involved in land use planning and acting as shareholders in local renewable energy projects. Clear steps have been taken to ensure social equity through the shortening of distances between homes and local amenities. The physical layout is an exemplar of Clarence Perry's Neighbourhood Unit (see Hamiduddin, 2015 <sup>35</sup> )

▪ **Hammarby**

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<b>No. of new homes</b>	11,000 (24,000 residents)
<b>Tenure Mix (%)</b>	
Private	78
Other	22
<b>Area</b>	200 ha
<b>Density</b>	133 per ha <sup>36</sup>
<b>Facilities</b>	The community is served by 12 preschools and has three primary schools, two secondary school equivalents, a library, and a cultural centre as well as a chapel, environmental centre, healthcare centres, childcare facilities, and 100 retail units and restaurants.
<b>Commentary</b>	Hammarby was formerly a large industrial harbour and transformed into an environmental program in response to the

<sup>34</sup> [https://www.sutp.org/files/contents/documents/resources/C\\_Case-Studies/GIZ\\_SUTP\\_CS\\_Quartier-Vauban\\_EN.pdf](https://www.sutp.org/files/contents/documents/resources/C_Case-Studies/GIZ_SUTP_CS_Quartier-Vauban_EN.pdf)

<sup>35</sup> <https://online.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/doi/pdf/10.3828/tpr.2015.3>

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.aeg7.com/assets/publications/hammarby%20sjostad.pdf>

▪ **Hammarby**

release of Agenda 21 and as part of Stockholm's 2004 failed Olympic Bid. It was developed to purposively create a model sustainable city in economic, environmental, and social terms. The emphasis was livability through careful coordination between various key actors and stakeholders throughout its development.

▪ **Almere, Netherlands**

**No. of new homes** 60,000

**Tenure Mix (%)**

Private 90

Affordable 10

**Area** 1300 ha

**Density** 45 per ha<sup>37</sup>

**Facilities**

City centre (a blend of stores, restaurants, bars and cultural facilities<sup>38</sup>), districts feature local stores and community facilities.

**Commentary**

In ways that are comparable to Freiburg, Almere encourages community participation, sustainable growth and community cohesion as part of effective place-making. 90% of the homes are sold at an affordable price point (for those with an income of ~£20,000 per annum). Approximately one third of the housing stock is through self-build/custom-build initiatives.

▪ **Ecolonia, Netherlands**

**No. of new homes** 101

**Tenure Mix (%)**

Private 100

Affordable 0

**Area** 2.7 ha<sup>39</sup>

**Density** ~90 per ha

**Facilities**

Schools are a short walk away, hairdressing salon, visitors centre

**Commentary**

101 family homes. This settlement has been described as a 'village-like' extension to The Hague<sup>40</sup>. It features many features

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.almere.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/Garden-Village-Standards-V4.0.pdf>

<sup>38</sup> <https://english.almere.nl/the-city-of-almere/districts/>

<sup>39</sup> <http://elasa.org/archive/archive1/UN96/UN96-9.html>

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/07/world/earth-friendly-dutch-homes-use-sod-and-science.html>

▪ **Ecolonia, Netherlands**

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designed to lower the carbon footprint of the residents including green roofs and solar heating. The approaches to building have resulted in energy consumption bills being cut by as much as 30%. The low emissions technologies and introduction of biodiversity has led to high resident satisfaction and their improved overall health.

## **Appendix 5: Social Capital Initiatives to Strengthen Social Capital**

There are economic efficiency, equity and civic arguments for intervention to promote social capital. Longstanding historical and cultural factors driving social capital suggest it may not be easily influenced by policy interventions. Nevertheless, there are a range of ways in which government might look to promote the accumulation of social capital. Most relevant to this study are:<sup>41</sup>

- Community IT networks. There is substantial potential for CITs to strengthen social capital if networks are geographically “intelligent”, built on natural communities and facilitate the accumulation of collective knowledge.
- Urban Design. For example, measures such as *Home Zones (HZs)* restrict vehicular access to residential streets and create spaces for children to play, stop ‘rat-running’ and can reduce barriers to the development of bonding and bridging social capital between neighbours. Urban design is known to have very significant impacts on social networks and on crime and health. Simple, low-cost interventions can have positive and dramatic results. For example, the building of a fence around the notorious Pruitt Igoe public housing block in the USA led to drop in the vacancy rate from around 70 percent to less than 5 percent.<sup>42</sup> In the UK, an experimental intervention involving the closing of alleyways on a problem estate led to marked increases in neighbourhood sociability and more than a halving in anxiety and depression<sup>43</sup>. Commuting is implicated in the reduction in social capital by reducing the time people have available to devote to community engagement or their social life. Urban design can also impact on social capital through opportunities for social interaction in public and semi-public spaces.<sup>44</sup>
- Large physical agglomerations of social housing make it more difficult for disadvantaged communities to form and maintain bridging social capital. Policy options include: the use of ‘planning gain’ to provide onsite affordable housing and the protection of existing affordable housing in more affluent areas.

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<sup>41</sup> Aldridge, S., Halpern, D., and Fitzpatrick, S., 2002, *Social Capital: A Discussion Paper*, Performance and Innovation Unit, April 2002, p7-8

<sup>42</sup> Newman O., *Community of interest*, Anchor Books, 1981.

<sup>43</sup> Halpern D.S., *Moral values, social trust and inequality: can values explain crime?*, British Journal of Criminology, 2001.

<sup>44</sup> Aldridge, S., Halpern, D., and Fitzpatrick, S., 2002, *Social Capital: A Discussion Paper*, Performance and Innovation Unit, April 2002, p44-45

- Community ownership: Social capital is generally increased by *community* ownership of local public assets. For example projects in which public assets (such as community centres) are transferred to “community trusts” over which neighbourhoods have greater control and even ownership. Community trusts are important locations for civic engagement which contributed both to the development of bonding and bridging social capital.
- Volunteering schemes. Early experiences of volunteering appear to encourage community engagement in later life.
- Meeting spaces – these actively encourage a street and café culture and populate public spaces and create opportunities for a wider range of spontaneous social connections.

## The Community Involvement Process

It is not appropriate here to restate the mass of good practice material that exists on the principles, strategies, tools, techniques and skills entailed in running processes of stakeholder involvement. However, Arnstein’s Ladder of Participation (below) provides a useful guide. The upper levels – community control, delegated power and partnership are relevant to the models of urban management that are considered in this report.

### Arnstein’s ‘Ladder of Participation

Ladder of Participation	Characteristics
Stakeholder Community Control	Full devolution of all decision making and action, community management
Delegated power	Some delegated power to stakeholders/communities
Partnership	Stakeholders/communities are enabled to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional decision makers
Involvement	Stakeholder/community views have some influence, but traditional power holders still make all decisions
Consultation	Stakeholder communities are given a voice but have no power to ensure that their views will be heeded.

Information	Stakeholder communities are told what is going to happen or asked for their views on a single proposal.
Education	Stakeholder communities are informed as to why a course of action is being adopted but given no opportunity to give their views on the action.
Manipulation	The information supplied to stakeholders' communities is only partial or inaccurate

Source: Sherry R. Arnstein, 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of American Planning Association*, Vol. 35, No. 4, July 1969, pp. 216-224

## Case Studies of Community Governance and Involvement

**Bicester**<sup>45</sup> is the flagship residential scheme by Bioregional, a champion of 'one planet living' for over 25 years. The town extension was developed between 2010 and 2017 and features 6,000 zero-carbon homes along with highly sustainable workplaces, schools, community facilities and green space. It features a governance structure that ensures that the extension is essentially run by its residents for the residents. Community engagement strategies are advocated by a strategic partnerships co-ordinator who works with local stakeholders.

**Tubingen** has developed community involvement in the planning process that allows for new ideas to be trialled through the Right to Build Toolkit created by the National Custom & Self Build Association (NaCSBA). The allocation of self-build plots has resulted in homes for 700 people and has created 100 new jobs on a 6-hectare site.

**Clarion Housing Association** retains the freehold of their developments. Rent and service charges are used for maintenance of the estate and leaseholders and tenants are consulted at local level on service quality and priorities. A national foundation, Clarion Futures, develops specific initiatives such as training, credit unions and community investment programmes.

**BO-VEST**<sup>46</sup> is a property management company for 15,000 homes in Copenhagen. It differs from conventional property management firms by its facilitation of resident democracy (on rents, renovation, and construction projects). They clearly state that 'it is the residents who make the decisions about the operational management.

**Glass-House** is a charity that focuses on community led design. It champions the value of empowering through design, employs collaborative models to ensure the development of local relationships and the strengthening of community. They have worked closely with the Wandle Housing Association and Affinity Sutton.

**Stonebridge Housing Action Trust (HAT)** in Brent was established as part of a 1980s initiative to redevelop some of England's poorest council housing estates. The Stonebridge HAT accessed a wide range of regeneration opportunities by directly working with local community groups and championing improvements to both health and the environment. A large part of their strategy included the promotion of community cohesion through mutual

<sup>45</sup> <http://storage.googleapis.com/www.bioregional.com/downloads/NW-Bicester-One-Planet-Action-Plan-2012.pdf>

<sup>46</sup> <https://translate.google.com/translate?hl=en&sl=da&u=https://www.bo-vest.dk/&prev=search>

learning and share schemes many of which were provided in a new community centre that also acted as a forum for discussions on design, layout, and structural repair of the estate (Stewart and Rhoden, 2003<sup>47</sup>).

**Billinge and Orrell in Transition** began in 2009 in a suburb of Wigan with a population of about 10,000. Over the last 40 years, it has changed from being semi-rural to being semi urban losing local butchers, greengrocers and bakeries in the process. The trust was given a 30-acre farm owned by the local Council under an Asset Transfer and a 25-year lease, as well as set-up funding. With the Council closing many of the care services it formerly provided, Greenslate Farm was imagined as a 'Care Farm', which led to funding from Wigan Council via their Community Investment Fund (The Deal) and UnLtd. They provide a range of services to people in need, from those recovering from addictions to adults with additional needs. A range of therapeutic activities are laid on at the farm which, in part, cross subsidise other programmes.

**Hassocks**, Hurstpierpoint, Keymer, Ditchling Transition started HKD Energy have:

- installed 307 solar panels on Downloads School Sports Centre
- generated 80,000 kWh of electricity per year, saving 42 tonnes of carbon per year
- raised £100,500 in shares from local people, with 83% of the investors living within a 4-mile radius of the plant.

**Bath and West Community Energy** have:

- Installed 3MW of solar PV in their own community energy projects
- Supported the installation of 3MW of other community energy groups
- Are supporting the development of a further 10MW of other community energy groups
- Raised and helped raise £10 million through community shares for their and their partners' projects
- Re-distributed £65,000 of profits back into local carbon reduction and fuel poverty projects over the last 2 years.

**Godsbanen (Aarhus)** is a community cultural centre comprising exhibition space, café, conference rooms and a theatre. Attached to it are community work and training spaces where any citizen can come and make anything or experiment with business ideas. It is free and supported by six full time staff. It is also connected to the Engineering Faculty at the University of Aarhus and has land available for people to self-build their own premises.

**Lambeth Local Entrepreneurial Forum** is a community organisation that supports local entrepreneurs through Investment in business, work space, support and mentoring.

**The Repair Cafe (Pasadena)** began in 2010 and was based on the Repair Cafe in the Netherlands. Participants include CalTech and NASA. People exchange their time repairing for 'time dollars', working with the local Time Bank. Since opening in 2010, the Cafe has generated 2670 volunteer hours from 831 volunteers.

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<sup>47</sup> Stewart, J. and Rhoden, M., (2003). A review of social housing regeneration in the London Borough of Brent. The journal of the Royal Society for the Promotion of Health, 123(1), pp.23-32.





## Appendix 6: Survey of Practitioners

### Brief Overview and Method

Several members of the Housing Sprint group were interviewed (Berkeley, Savills, Clarion and Knight Frank). The questions were as follows:

- Physical Layout
  - What do you consider to be the most impactful physical features in the creation of a well-received/successful masterplan? (emphasis on street plan layouts/formats)
  - To what extent does vernacular design play a role in the vibrancy of a plan? (How would you include vernaculars into your street plan or is this something that don't really consider?)
  - What do you consider to be the optimal residential community size (and why)?
- Meaningful social interactions
  - What do you perceive to be the ideal balance of mixed tenures?
  - How do you view the impact of child density [defined during interview as the number of people aged <18 per ha]?
  - What are the environmental conditions that you consider synonymous with social cohesion that transcend age, gender, and cultural backgrounds?
  - What are the impacts of smart technologies
- Management models
  - What are your immediate thoughts on community-led planning and administration?
  - What are the best ways of managing financial pressures and goals?
  - How involved is your organisation with a project once it has been implemented?

Although the results of these interviews were varied, a pattern in responses emerged. The survey was followed up with a wider group of practitioners using a 10-minute quantitative survey created in Survey Monkey. The survey was distributed to 27 members of the Housing Sprint team with and received 9 responses.

### Responses to Questions

The participants were asked a series of multiple-choice questions that responded to the same broad themes of this report and followed the loose structure of the interview questions asked to the selected property developers. The results are as follows:

When designing a town of less than 500 units, developers and built environment professionals are likely to assess the local context of a site alongside the presence of existing local infrastructure. Important aspects of physical layouts were legibility, views and vistas. Transportation and the presence of a strong physical centre were also seen as important. The results were similar on larger developments. On larger schemes local context was seen as even more important followed by good infrastructure. Establishing a local centre was seen as being of relatively low priority.

When developing a settlement with 3000+ units, the trend is largely retained. However, a strong centre becomes more of a priority. At this point, it is apparent that such a scheme will be considered to be self-contained and less reliant on nearby facilities.

When asked to describe a concept for a strong town centre, the following descriptions were recorded:

- Good civic spaces such as a town square and park or gardens with food, beverage and retail
- Schemes of any scale require an identity and vision that will not be solely reliant on providing homes. The requirements for the uses within a centre will vary depending on the overall strategy for the development.
- Shops/post office for significant sized developments; schools connections to transport infrastructure and recreational facilities.
- Mixed use community space for leisure, culture and support services
- The type of centre is likely to change depending on size. For a smaller development it is likely to be commercial space, such as cafes and shops. For larger developments it might include a cinema or a theatre, as well as commercial. For larger towns there may be a shopping centre or high street, as well as a cinema, theatre, food and other commercial.

The survey asked participants to provide outstanding examples of UK and European case studies for new housing developments built in the last 40 years (ranging from relatively small to substantially-sized new settlements). Respondents gave the following examples:

- Milton Keynes
- Woodberry Down
- Kidbrooke Village
- Trumpington Meadows
- Cambridge Cambourne Village
- Preston Barracks
- Greater Leys
- Goodmans Fields
- Royal Arsenal Woolwich

Questions sought to determine how important various sociological factors were in the conception of a good plan, with significance determined by a sliding value between 1 (poor) and 10 (excellent). Here respondents largely agreed that social cohesion was an important detail in a successful settlement (90%). Urban governance was seen as fairly important (70%).

When asked what they considered to be an ideal maximum size for a new development, only 5 respondents attempted an answer. From their data, developing a town of more than 30,000 people (approximately 13,000 houses) is considered too large for a new community. During the stakeholder interviews, each developer stated that they were uncomfortable with developing settlements for a population larger than 5,000 people.

75% of the respondents stated that an optimal tenure mix for a town will comprise an equal distribution of social-rent, intermediate, and for sale units. The remaining 25% preferred configurations comprising of 50-50 splits between intermediate and for sale housing. It was stated by one stakeholder, that the primary priority of property developers is to capitalise quickly in order to remain a competitive force in the industry. Other comments included:

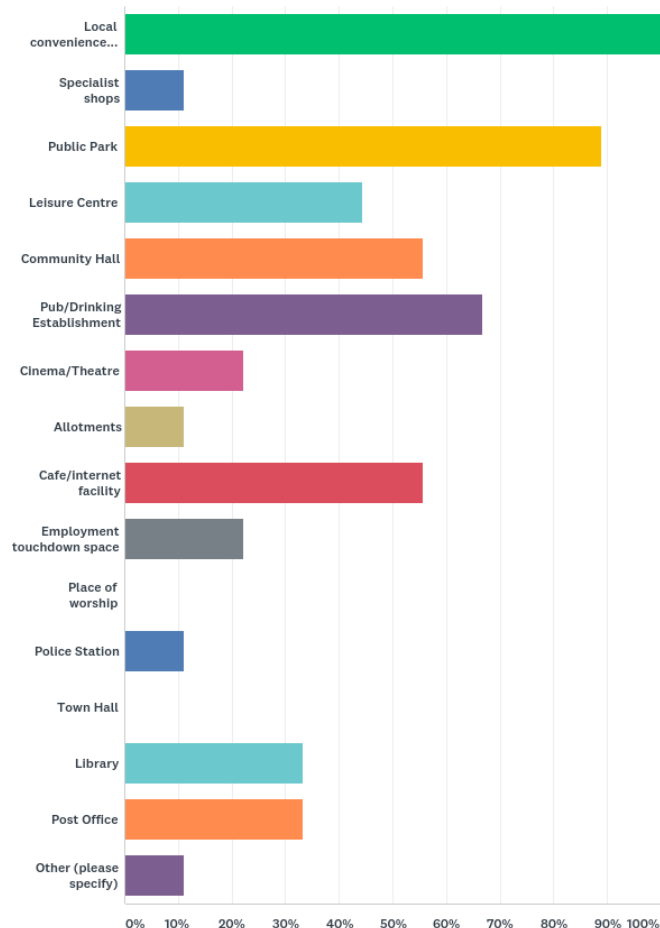
- Provision of social rent is essential for socio-economic diversity. Intermediate tenures and for sale will equally drive a different mix and duration of stays.
- Mixed communities tend to be most stable and successful - enabling people to move between local housing options within the area.
- Sufficient private housing was essential to good placemaking. The context will determine the required split of tenures (including extra care and other tenures).

Using the definition that child density is the number of people below the age of 18 per hectare, 67% of the respondents felt that higher child densities are not a critical factor in the development of a vibrant plan. Comments included:

- New towns are full of children in the early years and then 40 years later are retirement ghettos!
- In most instances it is about providing a range of housing for a range of demographics e.g. ensuring a plan caters for young people is no different to ensuring it also has options for the elderly.
- A worthwhile consideration but not a critical factor - I hope that there are other sectors in society/ demographics that can add vibrancy to an area. Children/ young people can add vibrancy. If this is a critical measure, are we consigning communities with a predominantly older population to a life of mediocrity?
- Need to be careful to balance child densities and phases of development, to avoid having large cohorts of children all maturing at the same time. This was an issue at Greater Leys in Oxford.

Based on an understanding that any new settlement will require facilities, the participants were asked to select six facilities that they felt would be advantageous towards the success of a new town. The findings are as follows:

Q15 From the list of 15 amenities, please select 6



The leading choice was the provision of a local convenience store while the second-most prevalent choice for the provision of a public park. The third most popular amenity were drinking establishments that provide opportunities for social interaction. Fourth are cafés and internet facilities. Lowest on the list are allotments, specialist shops, and police stations.

When asked to select three forms of community governance from a list of 10, the top choices were Land/Community Trust (67%), Parish Council (33%), and Community Volunteering (33%), community owned assets (33%), and community cooperatives (33%). Community advisory forums received lowest response rate (11%), while social/sports clubs and consultations through existing democratic systems both received rates of 22%. The logic behind some of these responses are captured by optional comments which are follows:

- Parish councils are too rigid and old fashioned to secure true community representation. Cooperatives, CLTs or other community ownership vehicles can avoid the political machinations some local democratic entities suffer from.
- Communities want to be engaged in development proposals but not burdened with the responsibility of delivering development, with the potential risks attached to it.
- Community-led initiatives need to be inclusive - too many of the options listed are populated by the self-selecting ambassadors of a community who may not speak for the whole population but a narrow sub-set.

The final question in the survey asked the participants how likely they were to be involved with a development once it had been fully implemented. From a choice of four categories, their decisions are as follows:

- Maintain an equity stake in the development (~44%)
- None (~33%)
- Monitor over a prolonged period (over 5 years) (~11%)
- Monitor short term (less than 2 years) (~11%)

The survey responses have been incorporated in the body of the main report where relevant.

