

NEGOTIATING REGENERATION

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INTRODUCTION

From their very inception, cities have been created through the geographical and social concentration of a surplus product. Urbanization has always been, therefore, a class phenomenon of some sort, since surpluses have been extracted from somewhere and from somebody, while control over the use of the surplus typically lies in the hands of a few. (Harvey, 2012:5)

As David Harvey points out, the process of urbanisation, and with it, the shapes that the cities acquire and the livelihood styles that they form, are a direct result of a planning model that is controlled by a few and not suited for all.

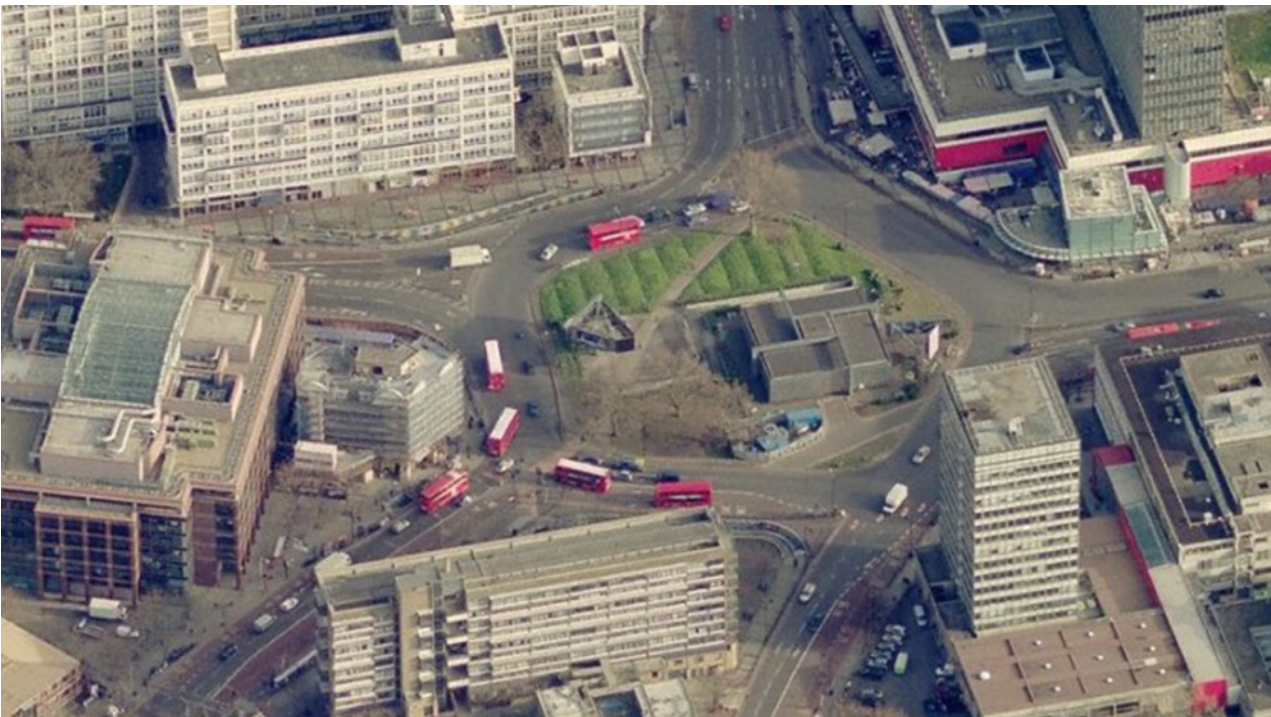
The Elephant & Castle is no exception to this model. Regeneration has been perpetually executed in the same site for more than half a century, but today, the process faces a new challenge. As the geographic centre of London, the area is prime real estate in a global city and hence is recognised as an 'opportunity area' within a greater strategic plan: The London Plan. This has been described by the Mayor of London –Boris Johnson, as 'a keystone in realising my vision for London as the best big city in the world' (GLA, 2011). Therefore, the vision of the city and its subsequent plan lies in the hands of a few and may not build on various resources, aside from the economic.

Regeneration or the 'act of regenerating' is to re-create, reconstitute, or make over, especially in a better form or condition. However, this has not been the case for Elephant & Castle, where a historical analysis of the area reveals many generations of tabula rasa development, which, coupled with a demographic of deprivation (Southwark Council, 2011:A24) reveals that previous approaches to urban renewal did not yield sufficient solutions to solving social problems.

In this context, 'negotiating regeneration' explores the orders that hold this model together and emphasises the bureaucratic structure that is permitting the disruptive regeneration to occur. It does so by analysing key council guidelines for the opportunity area; the Supplementary Planning Document and legal documents such as the Regeneration Agreement. These embody today's master plan for the Opportunity Area and encompass the roundabout at Elephant & Castle. Overall, work proposes a reformed regeneration model for the specific area while drawing out a greater framework for thinking about key criteria for planning at a large scale where the 'resourceful city' is embraced and enhanced.

Fig. 01 | Aerial view of Elephant & Castle roundabout

The Elephant & Castle region, despite undergoing successive phases of regeneration, continues to be characterised by large foot-print built form. Source: Bicycle Dutch, 2013



CURRENT REGENERATION MODEL

THE FOUR ORDERS OF REGENERATION

What follows is an exposition of how each of these orders contributed to the successive regeneration of the area, and how these will perpetuate the problems that can be identified and later explored in terms of social capital.

1. SPATIAL ORDER

The spatiality of the roundabout may be assessed in terms of its monolithic built form. Large parcels of land that do not allow for porosity or interaction with the streetscape characterise an environment that leaves inhabitants with “little incentive to linger” (Southwark Council, 2012:71). Exterior space is residual, disconnected and uninviting. These large parcels of land are occupied by individual actors, where interaction between people is internalised in these giant structures, making them very diverse and rich entities. Activities, exchanges and social interaction are conducted within these monoliths, encapsulating a richness that characterises an important part of Elephant & Castle.

2. TEMPORAL ORDER

The temporal order at Elephant & Castle is understood through the juxtaposition of the static built form and kinetic movement as a result of its role as a major transportation hub for south London. The scale of the regeneration efforts also pose many temporal problems due to their size and simultaneous nature. This makes it difficult to determine what kind of pace is best suited for redevelopment; as perpetual redevelopment has previously created temporary benefits without providing a sustainable stability for the community. Additionally, with the heritage assets concentrated near the roundabout, the upcoming regeneration faces another challenge regarding the maintenance of a balance between old and new actors.

Fig. 02 | Timeline of regeneration and spatial ordering at Elephant & Castle roundabout

Constant rebuilding has attributed to a disconnect between individual large scale development and the underlying urban fabric. Artificial boundaries and the residual spaces in between building footprints do not allow individual sites to respond to each other.



- KEY**
- No change
 - Rebuilt once
 - Rebuilt two or more times
1. Shopping Centre. Built 1965. Refurbished 1990.
 2. Elephant & Castle Tube Station.
 3. Faraday Memorial. Built 1961.
 4. London College of Communication. Built 1894. Rebuilt in 1911. Refurbished in 1949, 1985, 1996.
 5. Metropolitan Tabernacle. Built in 1861. Rebuilt in 1941 and 1957.
 6. One the Elephant. To be completed in 2015.
 7. Recreation Centre. To be completed in 2015.

3. FINANCIAL ORDER

Investments in the Elephant & Castle are significant. Due to its location as a hub for business, employment and education, interest from commercial real estate developers is inevitable. With the ongoing regeneration forced by public and private investment, the interest of local residents and those businesses will be inevitably impacted. The switching role of the local government from provider to enabler (Holman, 2007) as well as the £1.5billion investment from Lend Lease (Lend Lease, 2012) means that the new developments will promote standards of living which will create larger disparities with the current residents.

4. BUREAUCRATIC ORDER

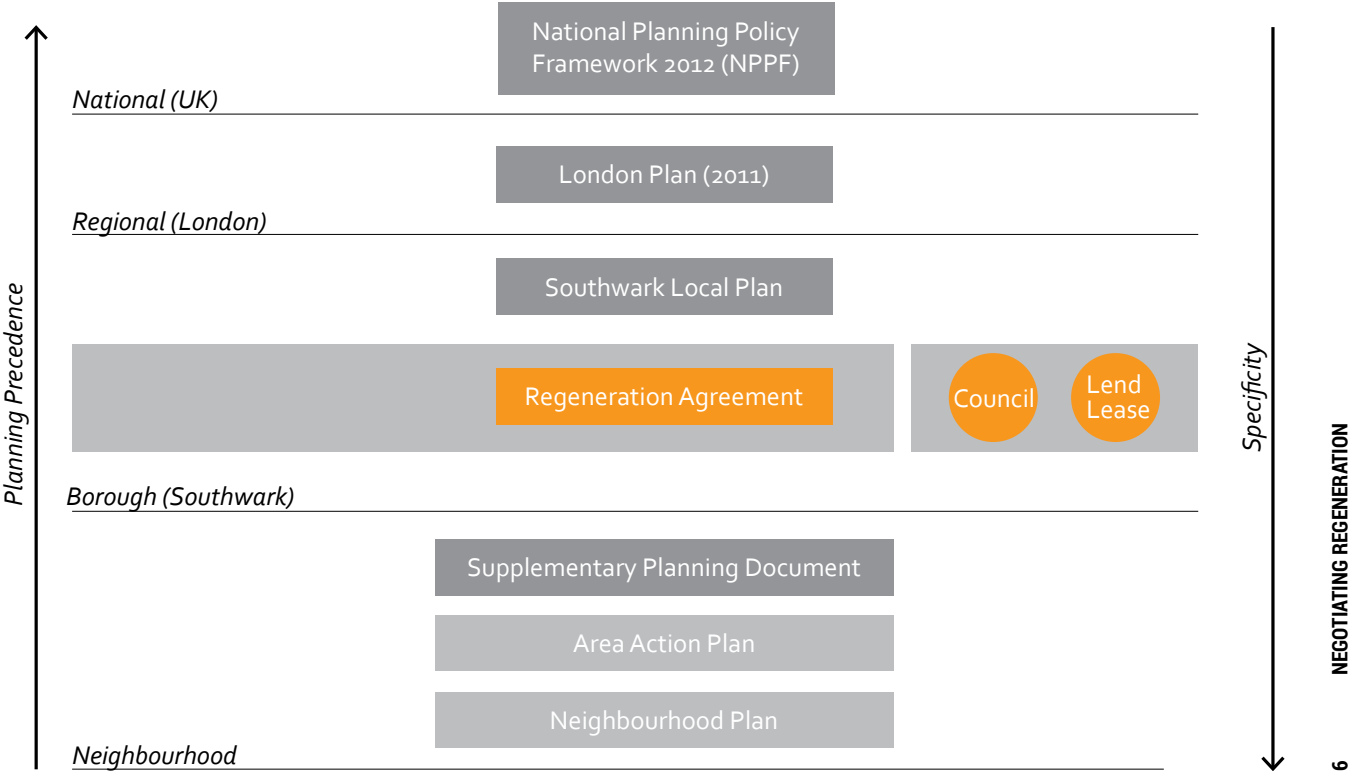
The bureaucratic structure behind the regeneration of Elephant & Castle is highly hierarchical. Economic recession has influenced this and has seen Southwark Council extend its alliances with other agencies to promote economic growth and redevelopment in their area. As such, the structure of power has evolved beyond the formal structures of a typical planning hierarchy and has become increasingly influenced by commercial interests. This sits within a highly professionalised planning structure that increases in specificity towards the local level, but also increases in planning precedence towards the national framework.

PLANNING CONTEXT

The planning context that guides the development of Elephant & Castle is highly hierarchial and dominated by top down policy. Within this formal structure is the Supplementary Planning Document (Fig.03), which is is comprehensive in content but only suggestive in nature. This has the effect of limiting enforceability at the local level. It sets out the vision for the area and provides a framework, which will guide the development over the next 15 years. The diversity and richness of the roundabout are well acknowledged, as is the need to revitalise the public domain. However, it still cannot guarantee the successful outcome of regeneration in that the bureaucratic structure behind these documents plays a far more crucial role in the regeneration.

Fig. 03 | Bureaucratic structure that influence regeneration at Elephant & Castle

Despite the Council assuming larger roles and being more involved in the regeneration process, the planning system is very much hierarchical.



SOCIAL VALUES AND RECIPROCITIES

The landscape of large heterogeneous institutions within the Elephant & Castle regeneration area has invariably led to planners and developers viewing them as isolated entities. Most often they are perceived as physical sites rather than actors that represent diverse social and economic values within the area. Large-scale regeneration unfortunately tends to focus on upgrading an underperforming district through capital injection to enhance existing assets. And while it is important to evaluate the individual assets of each actor, it is also crucial to identify the networks of reciprocities amongst them.

The Elephant & Castle roundabout provides a perfect context against which to map such networks, given the high concentration of key stakeholders that include Lend Lease, The Shopping Centre, London College of Communication, TfL, Metropolitan Tabernacle, Recreation Centre and Southwark Council. Relationships between these institutions range from explicit partnerships to legal agreements to less explicit resource sharing arrangements. A preliminary mapping revealed robust networks emerging from these existing relationships that require responsible acknowledgement before attempting to build over or modify them. Such a mapping exercise is a useful and enlightening method for examining the web of dependencies that exist between residents, businesses, visitors and institutions. As Richard Sennett (2005:2) notes; 'the city's diversity of urban life is a source of mutual strength rather than a source of mutual estrangement and civic bitterness', and 'the complexity (of a city) is inert if differences do not interact'. The connections we have drawn between these institutions have yielded an implicit method for knitting Elephant & Castle together without homogenising it. Unfortunately, conventional formulas used by planners to achieve this aim, such as mixed-use development, most often fail in practice. The indifference to the existing connections and relationships between different groups and actors, leads to danger of a redevelopment that causes 'estrangement and civic bitterness' among these groups.

Fig. 04 | Networks of partnership



Fig. 05 | Networks of legal agreement

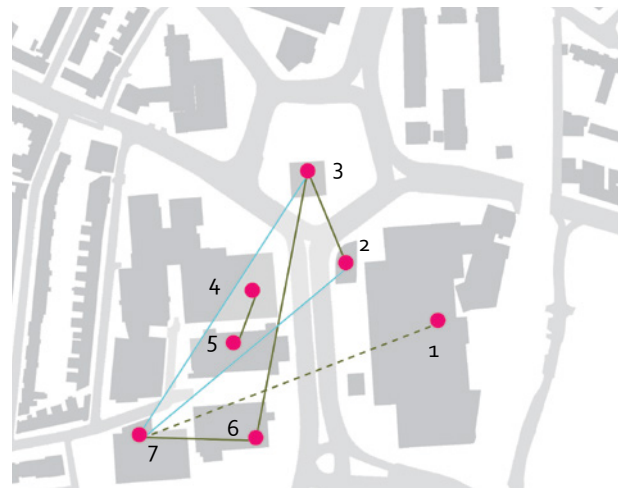
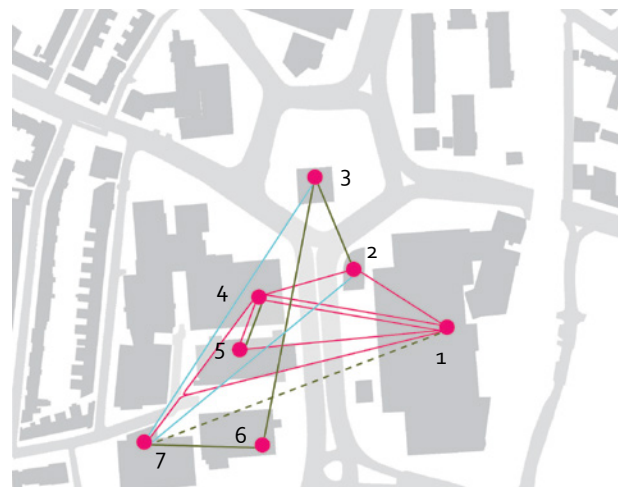


Fig. 06 | Networks of co-operation and resource sharing



KEY

- Partnership between actors
- Legal agreements- existing
- - - Legal agreements- anticipated
- Resource sharing and reciprocities

- 1. Shopping Centre
- 2. Transport for London
- 3. Southwark Council
- 4. LCC
- 5. Metropolitan Tabernacle
- 6. Lend Lease
- 7. Recreation Centre

Moreover, the physical characteristics of the area do not allow these institutional players to reflect their social associations with the individuals who frequent them. However, contrary to what it may seem, the multiple institutions scattered around the Elephant & Castle roundabout support and represent a range of cultural and social interests - not only individually but also as a network of co-operation. Through interviews and observations came a deeper understanding of what transpires behind the monolithic facades and what the SPD was unable to articulate in its evaluation of these institutions. According to Jane Jacobs, 'when a primary use is combined, effectively, with another that puts people on the street at different times, then the effect can be economically stimulating: a fertile environment for secondary diversity' (Jacobs, 1961:148). And the Elephant & Castle roundabout exemplifies just that. TfL supports and coordinates this major transport hub, which accommodates over 30,000 people throughout the day who come in to the area for myriad social and cultural reasons including to work, study, shop or pray.

Physically, the Metropolitan Tabernacle serves as a reminder of pre-war Elephant & Castle; but beyond its historic facade is a fellowship of over 1700 ethnically diverse residents of the neighborhood who attend sermons in any of four different languages. Sharing one wall with the Tabernacle is the London College of Communication; associated with the University of Arts, London, LCC has almost 5000 students who speak 180 different languages. Over the last few years, the College has even tailored its undergraduate course programme to address the changing Elephant & Castle through various design interventions. However it is the Shopping Centre

that most obviously houses the many layers of social value, which helps keep Elephant & Castle's strong sense of local identity intact. With a staggering footfall of 50 million visitors every year, it is symbolic of what the area represents, not just socially and economically, but also temporally – the space has succeeded in accommodating shifts in use. The Centre's unique business structure has allowed hundreds of small entrepreneurs to compete successfully against large retail giants, thereby enhancing its connectedness to the local area and the daily lives of the people it caters to.

We can therefore see that it is a mistake to view these institutions as autonomous and isolated, and that we must understand how they can each contribute to a common programme for inclusive planning and social engagement. Large scale, developer led regeneration most often focuses on achieving tangible deliverables on the basis of extensive quantitative data. Documents like the SPD can provide guidelines and suggest 'good practice', but they lack tools to measure and quantify the social value of existing urban contexts.

The precedence of hard, measurable deliverables over the softer, social values is manifested in the relationship between the 'Regeneration Agreement' – a legal contract between the Council and the developer- and the 'guiding' SPD. Legal agreements such as that previously mentioned further restrict any effort to maintain a social order by firmly establishing commercial interests as the first priority.

Fig. 07 | Elephant & Castle has extended opening hours for commuter traffic

Fig. 08 | LCC Students visiting the food offer at Elephant & Castle Shopping Centre

Fig. 09 | Internet cafe at the Elephant & Castle Shopping Centre



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Fig. 10 | Table of network reciprocities among the different institutions at Elephant & Castle

Provider	Enabler	
PARTNERSHIPS		
Council	Lend Lease	Both development partners have signed the Regeneration Agreement as a legal contract for the redevelopment of Elephant & Castle.
TfL	Lend Lease	TfL offers transport infrastructure to accommodate significant levels of growth that come from the Development.
LEGAL AGREEMENT		
Council	Lend Lease	Both development partners are funding the Recreation Centre.
TfL	Council	TfL will provide infrastructure improvements if the Development needs so.
LCC	Tabernacle	LCC signed a compensation agreement with the Tabernacle when they had to expand their building, this included free parking space for the staff and the parishioners.
Lend Lease	Shopping Centre	Lend Lease has declared that they could potentially own the Shopping Centre in the future (this was part of their original master plan).
RESOURCE SHARING		
Shopping Centre	Tabernacle	Shopping Centre provides parking space to accommodate parishioners on busy Sundays.
Shopping Centre	TfL	The Shopping Centre opening hours have been set specifically to provide access to the train.
Tabernacle	LCC	The Tabernacle provides a hall to LCC in exam periods.
Shopping Centre	LCC	The Shopping Centre is used by students of LCC for services such as food, working space, internet and banking, since the university cannot afford space for them.
Shopping Centre	Lend Lease	Lend Lease has funded an art competition between students of LCC which was exhibited in the Shopping Centre.
TfL	LCC	The Faraday Memorial has served as a platform to display the digital media work done by LCC students.

Fig. 11 | One the Elephant and the Recreation Centre being developed simultaneously

Fig. 12 | Tabernacle Parishioners using the LCC carpark

Fig. 13 | LCC Projecting artworks onto the Faraday Memorial

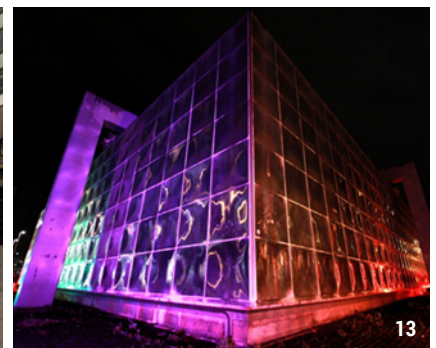
Source:SE1, 2014



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Fig. 14 | Diagram illustrating the relative social value associated with the London College of Communication



Fig. 15 | Diagram illustrating the relative social value associated with Transport for London



LONDON COLLEGE OF COMMUNICATION

Resource for knowledge: 25% of all students come from overseas, students speak a total of 180 languages. (Interview London College of Communication, 2014)

Engagement with public realm: Students have led discussions and made design interventions for improvements of the area.

KEY

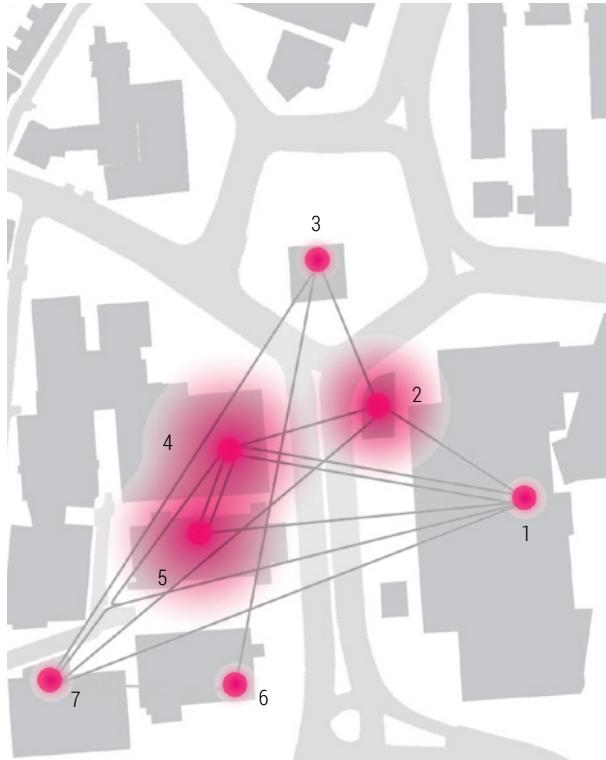
1. Shopping Centre
2. Transport for London (TfL)
3. Southwark Council
4. LCC
5. Metropolitan Tabernacle
6. Lend Lease
7. Recreation Centre

TRANSPORT FOR LONDON

Major hub for transport: 37 buslines pass through the roundabout while the train itself holds 20 million journeys a year. (Interview Elephant & Castle Shopping Centre Manager, 2014)

Improved pedestrian experience: There will be road improvements to reduce the amount of cars, provide dedicated and direct cycle routes, replace subways with signalised crossing and improve public spaces around the roundabout. (Transport for London, 2012)

Fig. 16 | Diagram illustrating the relative social value associated with the Metropolitan Tabernacle



METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE

Sense of community: 1700 parishioners attend service every weekend.

Inclusion: Sermons are delivered in four different languages and special service is delivered for deaf and mute people.

Access: free bus services bring people in from four other boroughs around Southwark.

Youth support: Community programme for Bible Study and child care.

Fig. 17 | Diagram illustrating the relative social value associated with the Elephant & Castle Shopping Centre



ELEPHANT & CASTLE SHOPPING CENTRE

Encouragement of female entrepreneurship: The 8% of self-employment in women in the UK contrasts with the findings at Elephant& Castle where 38% of independent businesses on the ground level are run by women. (López Negrete, 2011)

Setting for migrant entrepreneurs and an opportunity for self-employment: The small upfront investments for shopkeepers mean that 58% of businesses are independently-run. (López Negrete, 2011)

Large number of users: 50 million footfall per year of which 30 million go specifically for shopping purposes. (Interview with Shopping Centre Manager, 2014)

Diversity of tenants and users: 31% of the businesses in the shopping centre cater to a specific ethnic demand. (López Negrete, 2011)

Long term tenants: Some tenants have been renting a space in the shopping centre and in the market for more than 18 years.

ANALYSIS OF THE REGENERATION AGREEMENT

The Regeneration Agreement stipulates the rights and responsibilities between the two main actors in the negotiating tier – Southwark Council and Lend Lease. It sets out the framework for a unique development partnership that encompasses three important pieces of land in Elephant & Castle: the Heygate Estate, One the Elephant and the Southwark Council Recreation Centre. The agreement is commercially confidential and it is for this reason that the tier of negotiation operates in isolation with minimal permeability. A detailed analysis of the agreement revealed several problematic clauses, many of which do not take into account the social, or any other, stakeholder interests.

The Regeneration Agreement sets up a Management Board (Clause 32.1) for decision making between the parties (Linklaters, 2010:34). It notes that a minimum of two persons per actor will be present, though no ratio for representation is apparent allowing for an unequal exertion of power between the Council and Lend Lease. In addition to this, no other external stakeholders have influence and are not privy to the decisions made by the Board.

In relation to the Council approving changes to the regeneration plans, clause 13.6 stipulates that Southwark Council 'must act in the best interests of the development' and cannot unreasonably withhold its approval where

Its reasonableness in giving any such approval shall be judged in the context of the Development only. (Linklaters, 2010:34)

This wording expressly forbids the Council from considering any broader context in exercising its approval and can easily lead to the Council being forced to approve built form outcomes that may be 'in the best interests of the development' but detrimental for Elephant & Castle as a whole. This seems to undermine one of the Council's key responsibilities to the public. If the Council cannot consider any factors that are not within the 'context of the development' when approving changes to the development, it is questionable whether it is adequately discharging its role as a public institution. Additionally, Clause 5.11 states:

The Council will at the request of the Developer enter into any contracts, deeds, wayleaves and other agreements with adjacent property owners as may reasonably be required in order to facilitate the Development. (Linklaters, 2010:22)

In essence, this allows a private party to compel the actions of a public body for the purposes of its own commercial gain, which again is highly questionable from both political and ethical perspectives.

Southwark Council and Lend Lease are both financial benefactors to the regeneration. Paragraph 6.2 of Schedule 5 states:

The Council shall be entitled to profit overage equal to 50 percent of the net profit. (Linklaters:2010:89)

This reinforces the fact that this is a profit driven agreement and that any decisions made will fulfill those interests. When read in the context of the clauses discussed in the paragraph above, it is abundantly clear that profit has been prioritised over the Council's wider responsibilities to the local area. The document also states that the parties will share profits equally, but only subject to Lend Lease receiving its 'Priority Developer Return' of 20% of costs (Linklaters, 2010:83). This fundamentally means that the Council, and therefore the public, is also heavily commercially disadvantaged by the agreement.

Lastly, third party consultation in the Regeneration Agreement is merely a procedural element determined by Lend Lease. Clause 32.3 notes that:

Consultation and communication with the wider community regarding the Development shall be undertaken in accordance with the Consultation Strategy. (Linklaters, 2010:52)

There is no requirement to act on or consider any recommendations from other stakeholders nor does this clause mention adopting different methods of inclusive consultation and participation.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Having examined the current regeneration model, we saw that moving forward would require laying down certain principles that heretofore had not been observed, and that could guide a new model for regeneration:

1. Broadening the measure for 'capital' to include social value within feasibility studies. The assignment of negotiation power to agents solely according to their financial capital excludes others who preside over considerable social capital.
2. Interventions need to take into account existing relations amongst institutions and build on networks rather than weaken them. Adverse consequences for one agent could bring about further adverse effects to all of the other agents.
3. Less consultation, more participation. Consultation was not lacking in the current regeneration model, but it did not yield its ultimate goal, namely participation.

Having set down these principles, it was necessary to look at benchmarks of regeneration in various global contexts. This was an exercise conducted in order to test the sturdiness of these principles, and to refine them based on empirical observations.

Fig. 18 | Scaled comparison of the Elephant & Castle Opportunity Area with other models of regeneration across the world
The five case studies are selected to reflect elements of our three key principles.



Kop van Zuid



Elephant & Castle



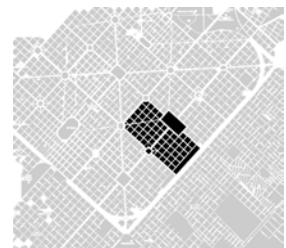
San Diego



Urban Forest



South Pact, Rotterdam



La Plata

CASE STUDIES

Fig. 19 | Main Street in Katentracht

The regeneration focused on an 'adaptive reuse' strategy which turned old and abandoned sites into active and productive spaces for a diverse mix of uses. The Cafe Culture of Katentracht is an example of the product that came from the revitalisation of an old factory into an entrepreneurial hub and exemplifies the notion of growing from the outside in.

Source: Rotterdam City to Live in, 2013



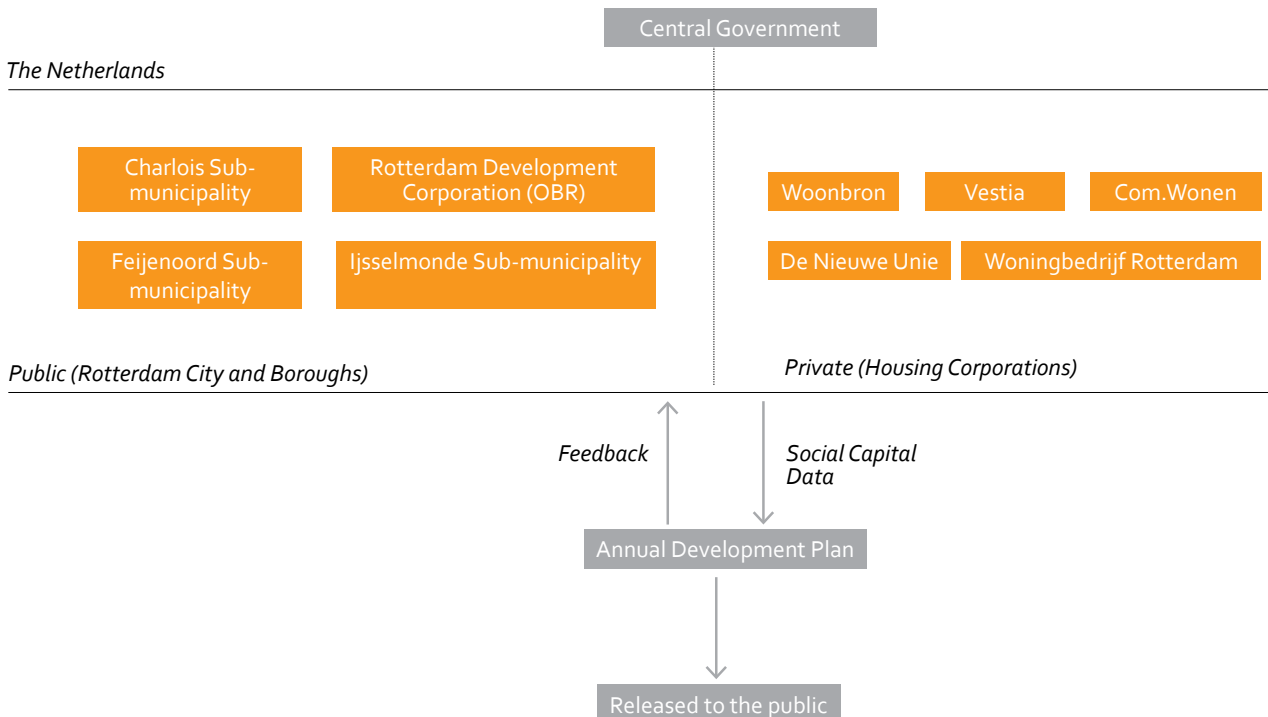
Fig. 20 | Diagram highlighting the organisational structure under which the South Pact regeneration project was implemented.

Healthy public-private partnership can occur when a social capital strategy drives the regeneration agreement and when there is a high level of transparency and scrutiny.

KOP VAN ZUID AND THE SOUTH PACT, ROTTERDAM

Historically a dockland located south of the River Mass, Kop van Zuid and its surrounding suburbs had a negative development value after a shift in the economy during the 1970s. In 1986, the City of Rotterdam proposed a master plan for Kop van Zuid 's regeneration. It consisted of improving connectivity with the city centre; investing in mixed-use buildings, where rent was linked to income; 'reusing existing landmark buildings whenever possible' (Cadell et al 2008: 55); constructing a number of iconic buildings to boost branding; and running a programme that links local residents to employment opportunities. It was attentive to the social fabric in which it operated, which illustrates that a project's outcomes do not necessarily follow the hierarchical nature of its agents.

Another lesson learnt from Kop van Zuid was that landmark projects did not solve social problems. In response various concerned boroughs signed The South Pact in 2006. The Pact was based on knowledge sharing to combat deprivation, encouraging development from the inside out. It is to continue until 2016, with a budget of 1.5 billion euros, used to help local entrepreneurs and businesses to prosper by bringing in higher income families. Social capital is measured and published annually and compared to other sites around Rotterdam to assess its impact and progress.



URBAN FOREST, SOUTHWARK – LONDON

This is a redevelopment scheme for the area extending from the river edge down to the Elephant & Castle, bordered by Blackfriars Road and Borough High Street. Its focus was to create an upgraded and coherent public realm, achieved by shifting the balance between people and vehicles to achieve a more pedestrian-oriented space, and by opening up of the pronounced ‘urban interior’ south of the bankside.

This project's framework was developed in parallel with, and primarily informed by, its SPD. It was locally driven, spearheaded by Better Bankside, an independent business-owned and non-profit company. The redevelopment seeks to improve the district for overall commercial experience and Better Bankside’s members are the 480+ companies (Better Bankside, 2014) that fall within its limits and who pay its annual levy to fund the various projects under this framework. The vision allows for phase-wise, incremental development to suit available funding and the changing requirements of adjacent developments.

Fig. 21 | Public plaza along Southwark Road

The Southbank Urban Forest redevelopment framework stressed the creation of a coherent public realm through the engagement of a broad range of stakeholders. It established an incremental approach to the delivery of small projects –‘seeds’- which built up a network of different spaces and activities.



Fig. 22 | Diagram highlighting the organisational structure under which the Urban Forest regeneration project was implemented

The existence of an autonomous and empowered body –Better Bankside- and the existence of a framework for redevelopment has allowed sustainable incremental planning.

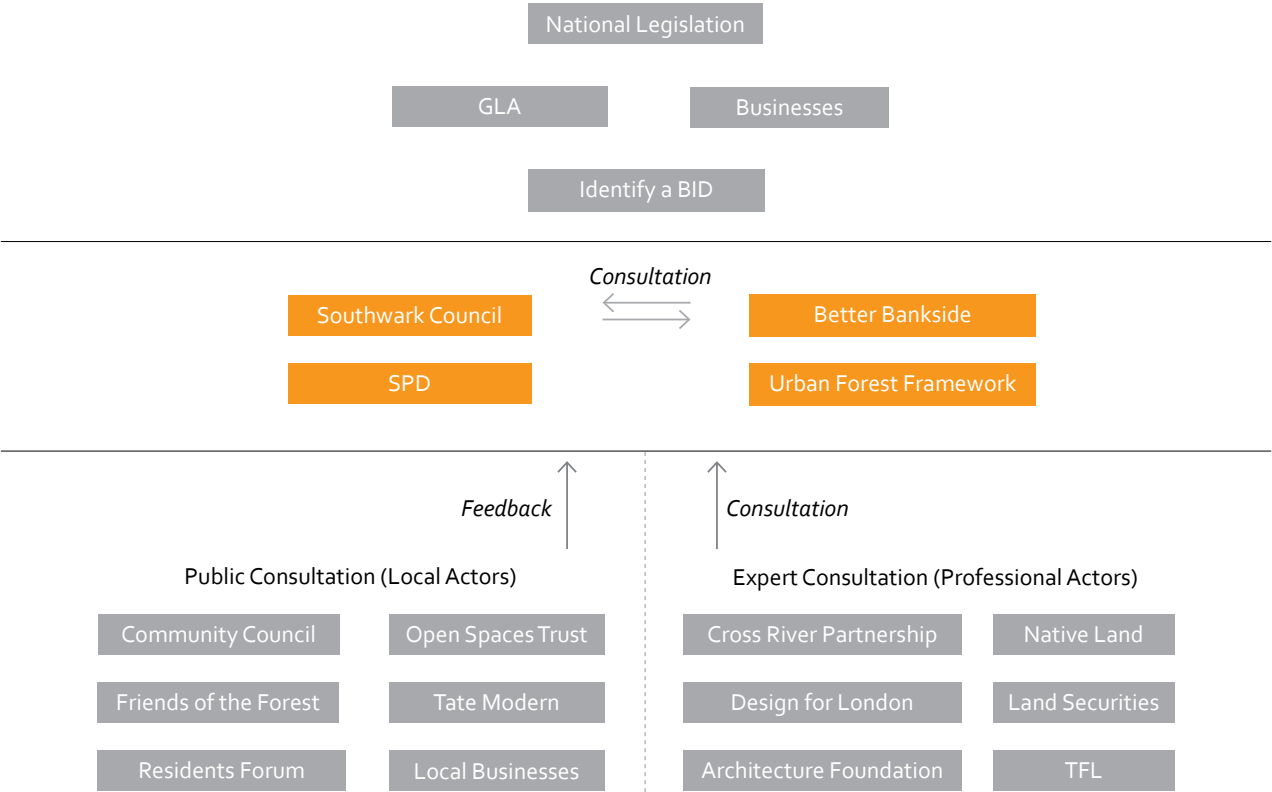


Fig. 23 | Art Fair at Meridiano V

The regeneration plan delivered a strategy that combined private and public spaces together with commercial and residential uses; this activated abandoned areas of the city. More importantly, affordable housing and community facilities allowed an inclusive activation of the area and held the residents within their neighbourhood.
Source: Art Fair at Meridiano V, 2013

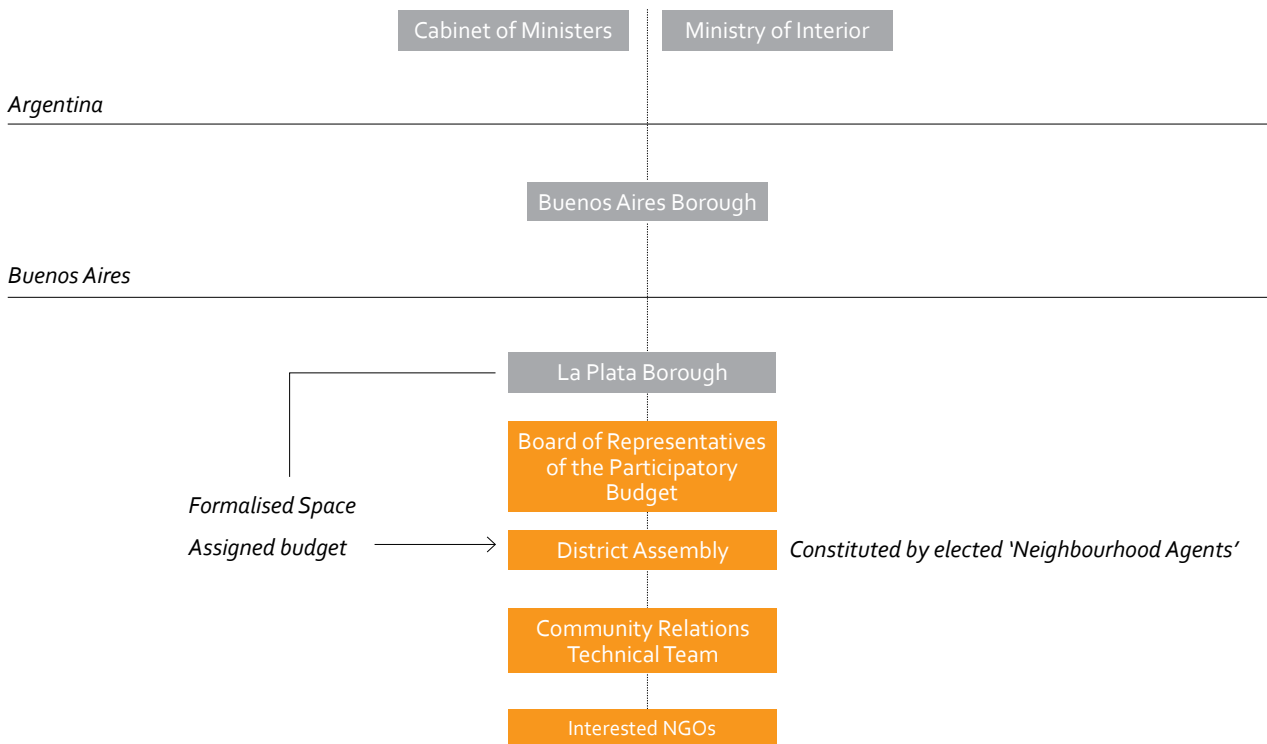


MERIDIANO V CIRCUITO CULTURAL, LA PLATA - BUENOS AIRES

The regeneration of 'Meridiano' in La Plata, Argentina, is an example of urban regeneration with a high level of local participation. As Hall indicates, 'the process of inclusion through place making is as much a spatial concern as it is an organisational one' (Hall, 2010:2). A participatory budget was the formal mechanism through which citizen participation was institutionalised; neighbours were given a formal space in the local bureaucratic structure and a budget to implement their plan. The project started with the recovery of an old train station and soon other actors used the mechanism to expand the urban regeneration elsewhere. The incremental approach to delivery of projects allowed space for adaptation, and promoted a culture where lessons learnt informed future interventions. This type of approach encouraged the capitalisation of resources from different sources; whereas initially the interventions were only paid with council money, other local actors soon were involved.

Fig. 24 | Diagram highlighting the organisational structure under which the Meridiano regeneration project was implemented

The participatory budget was the mechanism through which participation was institutionalised and made effective.



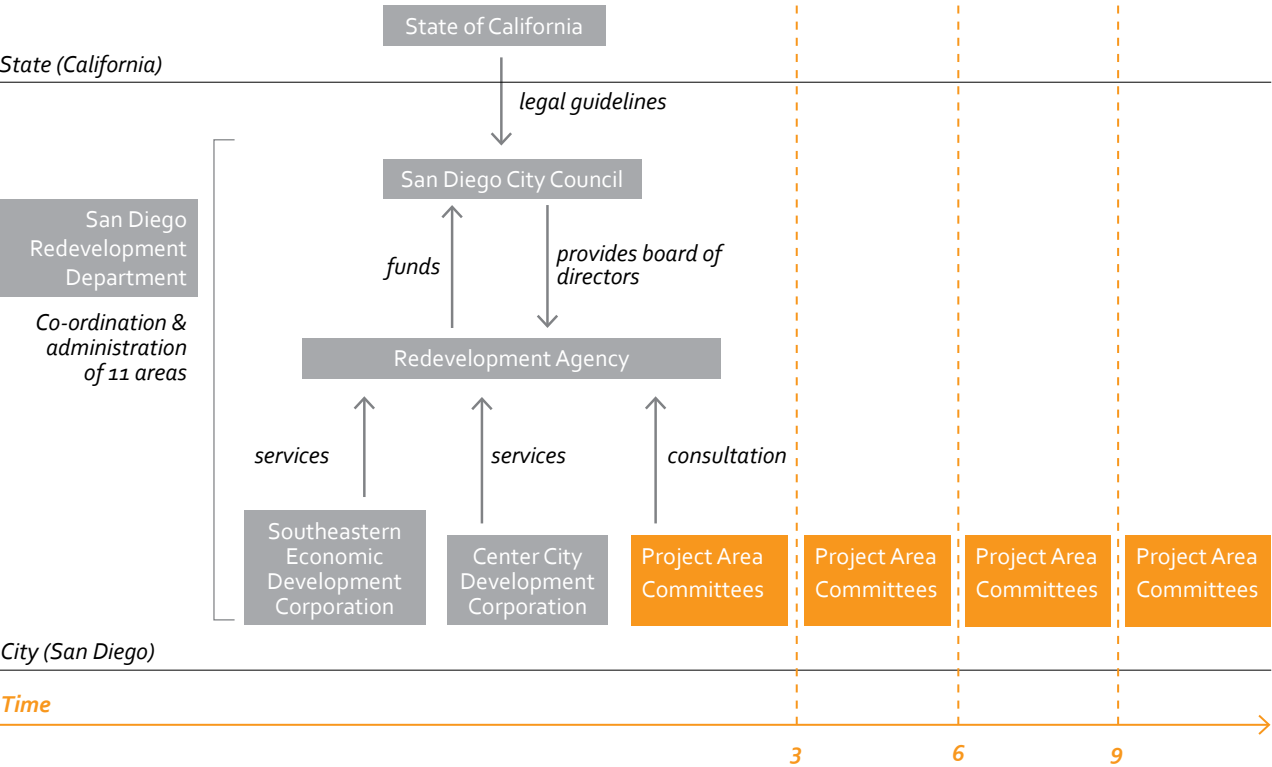
CITY HEIGHTS, SAN DIEGO

City Heights is one of fourteen Project Areas assigned by the redevelopment agency of San Diego. Its targets were to eliminate economic and physical deprivation, improve education, transportation, and introduce affordable housing. Seven of those fourteen Project Areas have City Project Area Committees (PAC), namely community groups that provide advice and community input on proposed redevelopment projects and programmes. City Heights is one of the seven Projects Areas with a PAC, and the annual election of its twenty members yields representatives who are devoted to long-term participation in consultation, making the community consultation is stable and focused.

Fig. 25 | City Heights Urban Garden
The City Heights Urban Garden is an initiative formed by a project area committee. Now run by a non profit organisation, it sits on over 2.3 acres of land and provides over 80 refugee families representing at least 12 countries with small plots of land for gardening. Other local residents also volunteer and spend their time here, making it a very successful community initiative.
Source: La Maestra, 2014



Fig. 26 | Diagram highlighting the organisational structure under which the City Heights regeneration project was implemented
Long-term commitment of participants in consultation committees assured a legitimate space of democratic consultation.



LESSONS LEARNT

It is clear from this table (Fig.27) that the three guiding principles with which we set out are sound and respond positively to regeneration. The benchmark exercise, however, establishes that implementing these values requires a genuine revision of the current regeneration model such that it becomes not only more representative, but also capable of formalising tools for human, social, and economic regeneration.

A REFORMED REGENERATION MODEL AMENDMENTS TO THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

If the regeneration model that today shapes Elephant & Castle needs to be reformed in order to include other actors, vocabularies and visions of regeneration, then the bureaucratic structure that promotes and holds this model together also needs to be reconsidered.

The first modification that we propose is that the Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) occupies a space in the negotiation tier. The SPD formulated for the Elephant & Castle was accurate in its understanding of the context however it was merely suggestive in nature. According to official planning policy, an SPD is 'useful where the level of detail is inappropriate for a development plan, for example

[...] master plans for areas of intensive change' (GLA, 2014); therefore, it is imperative that in an area like the Elephant & Castle, the SPD takes a leading role in the framework for regeneration.

The second modification is the creation of the Social Capital Committee (SCC). This is key for the reformulation of the regeneration model; it reflects the need to introduce a solid and unified voice from other social actors that, although having a significant presence in the regeneration, are not considered in the negotiation tier. As Harvey states, urbanisation is configured according to a small group's vision of a city;

The actually existing right to the city, [...] is far too narrowly confined, [...] in the hands of a small political and economic elite who are in the position to shape the city [...] after their own particular heart's desire. (Harvey, 2012:24)

Introducing the SCC represents an attempt to give the 'right to the city' to non-commercial actors affected by regeneration, thus establishing a 'democratic control' over the deployment of economic capital investment (Harvey, 2012:23).

Type & Occurrence	Value	Tools & mechanisms
● ● ● ● ●	Maintenance of demographic character	👤 👤 👤 👤 👤
● ● ● ● ●	Publicly led procedures / public control	🗣️ 👤 👤 👤 👤
● ● ●	Inclusion	🗣️ 👤 👤 👤 👤 👤
● ●	Transparency and accountability	🗣️ 💡
● ●	Incrementalisation	🗣️ 👤 👤 📊 🏠 👤
● ●	Participatory process and decision making	🗣️ 👤 👤 👤
● ●	Regenerate the area to attract future development	💰 💡 📊
●	City branding and identity	🗣️ 💰 📊
●	Reduction of technicality	❓ 📊 👤

Key for value type and occurrence

- Institutional development
- Human development
- Economic interests

Key for tools and mechanisms

- 🗣️ Communication committee
- 💰 Economic well being
- 👤 Community empowerment
- 👤 Capitalisation on local resources
- 💡 Independent and diverse technical team / board
- 📊 Fundraising
- 👤 Monitoring dimensions of social capital
- 🏠 Homeowner incentives
- 👤 Participatory budget

The SCC invites individuals and organisations that live, work or are interested in the area to participate in the 'democratic control' and shaping of Elephant & Castle. The Committee would be a legitimate space of participation where the diversity of stakeholders is represented and where trust allows a long-term commitment of its members. Hence we suggest a Board with a fixed ratio of representatives in accordance with the most important social interests (Fig.30).

As a result of the benchmarks, we can see that a formalised space of participation is not enough; funding is needed so that social participation can transcend good intentions. We propose a Committee with a simple institutional architecture and low operational costs so that it can be established quickly when regeneration projects occur. The Committee would be funded firstly by the Community Infrastructure Levy, which at present is allocated only to the development of large items of infrastructure; and secondly by the Elephant & Castle Community Fund which currently funds small and fragmented social initiatives in the area. Funding would allow the Committee to pay for professional advisors who can commission technical expertise so the SCC can put forward evidence-based arguments and negotiate on equal terms in a highly professionalised environment.

Finally, we propose a different consultation model, which separates the consultation on the master plan from the developer led model. Under the new model, the SPD would fulfil a major function by providing a framework for the preparation of the master plan; a new stage of public consultation would be introduced where local actors as well as experts can critique and propose changes to the plan; moreover, the SCC would be given a key space to negotiate with the Council with respect to any suggestions that come from public consultation and offer binding recommendations to the developer. This provides a genuine space for participation, revision and improvement, which contrasts with the current fixed and static form of consultation where the agenda does not allow for any revision or change.

Fig. 27 | Summary of case studies
The adjacent table presents the value systems that were observed across the five case studies, their recurrence and also the focus of the value in question (institutional, human or economic). It also refines these as tools and mechanisms in order to assess their viability for implementation.

Fig. 28 | Understanding the reformed regeneration model
The SPD as it stands today is merely suggestive and should instead function as a framework for regeneration in the area

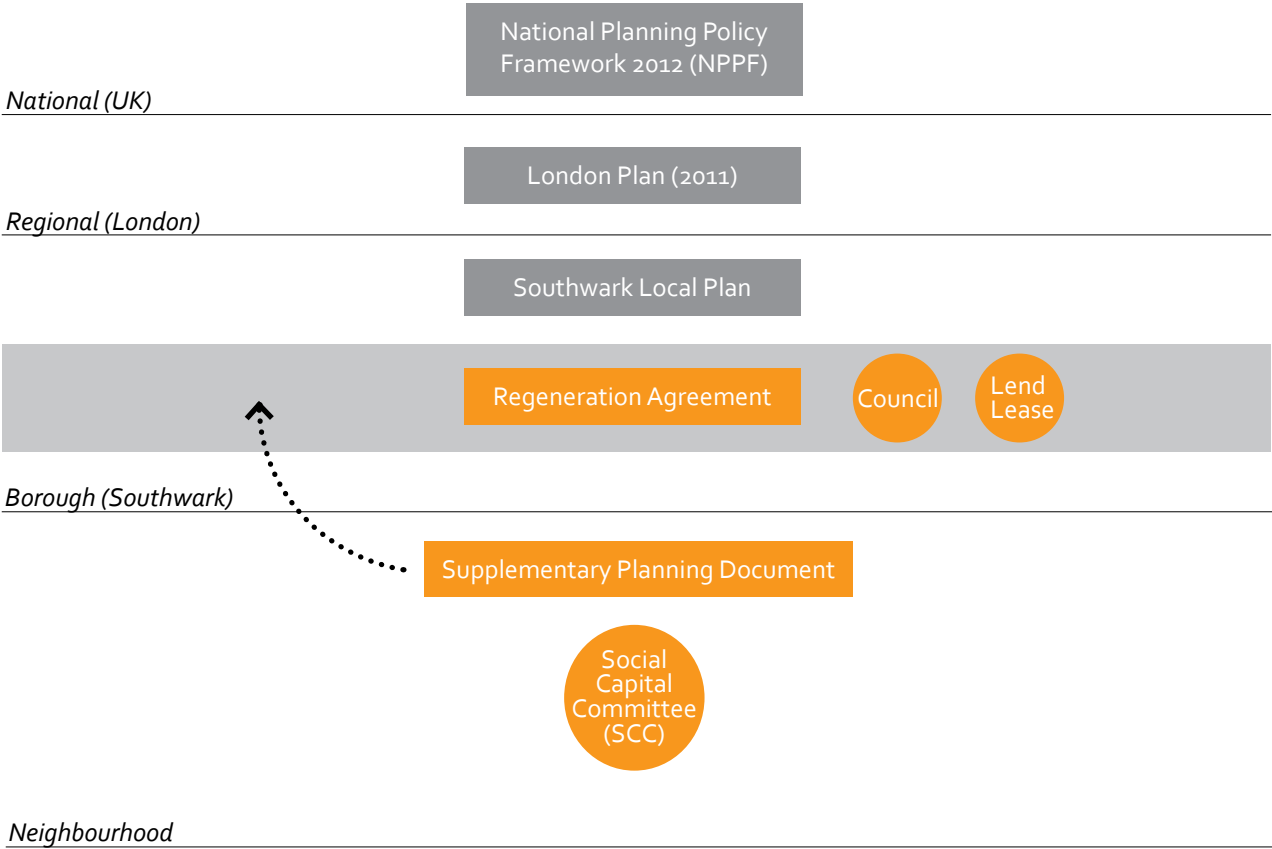


Fig. 29 | The Social Capital Committee
 Director of the Social Capital Committee would join the tier of negotiation to balance power shared by the regeneration partners – Council and LendLease.

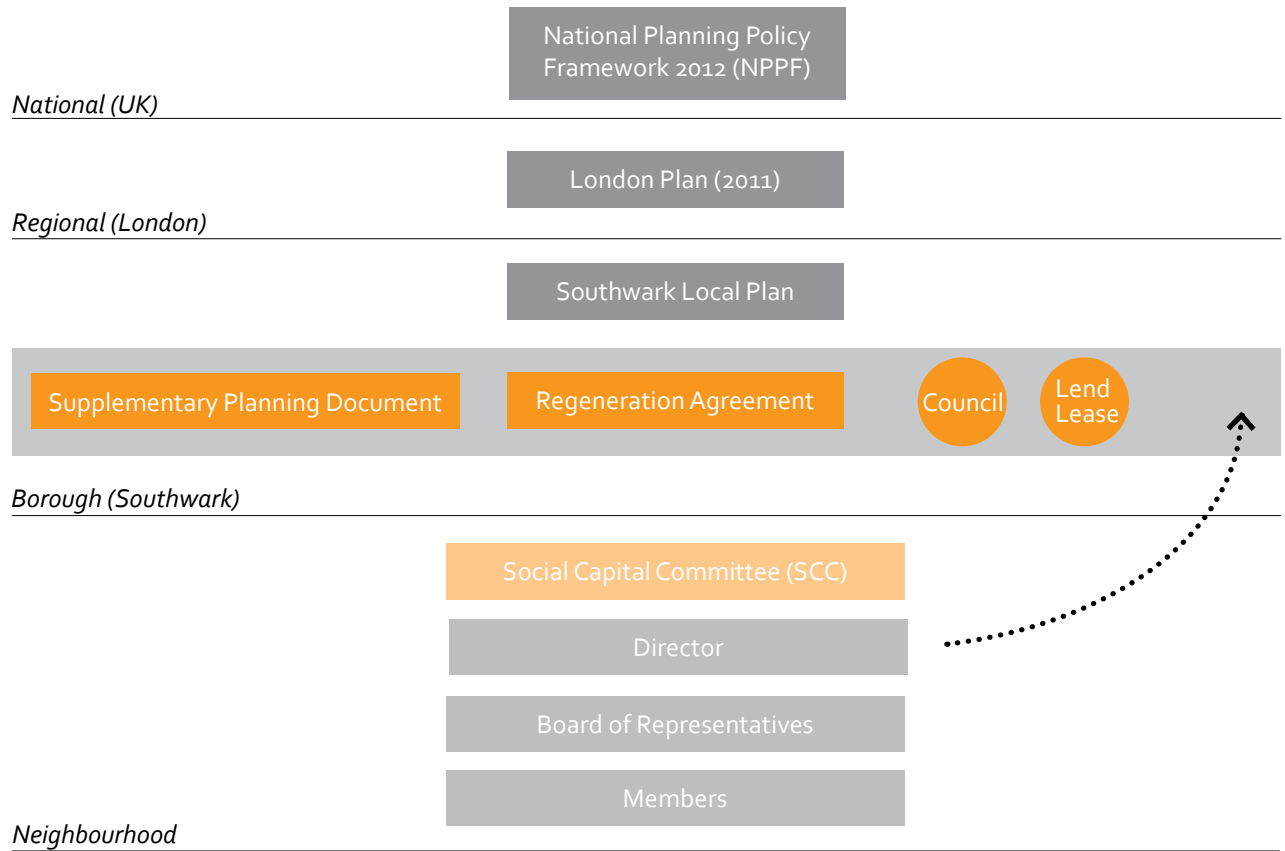


Fig. 30 | The Social Capital Committee: Board of Representatives
 The Board of SCC would comprise of a fixed ratio of representatives in order to assure a healthy mix of participants and avoid private interests taking precedence.

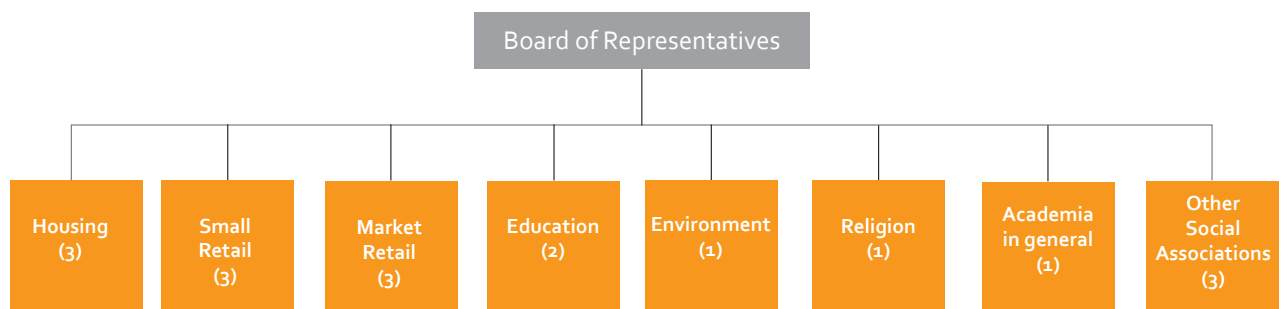


Fig. 31 | Understanding the consultation process: master plan amendments

The master plan is conceived by the developer in compliance with the SPD. Both Council and the Social Capital Committee oversee this process. Feedback from the public consultation is overseen by Council and SCC. Binding recommendations are then forwarded to the developer.

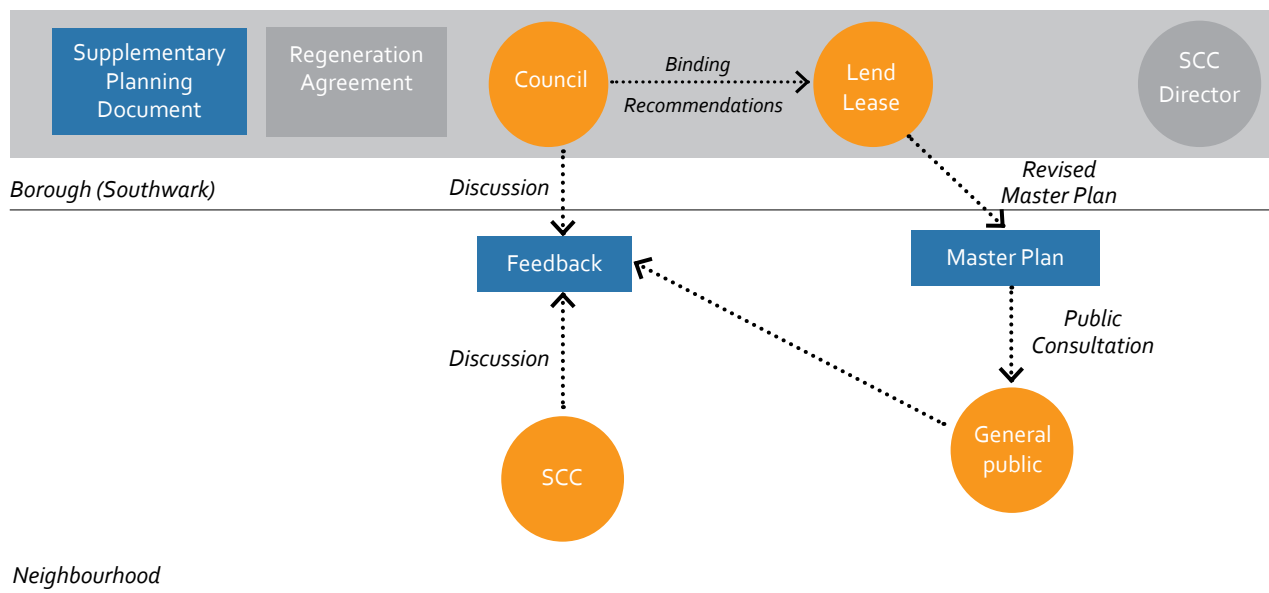
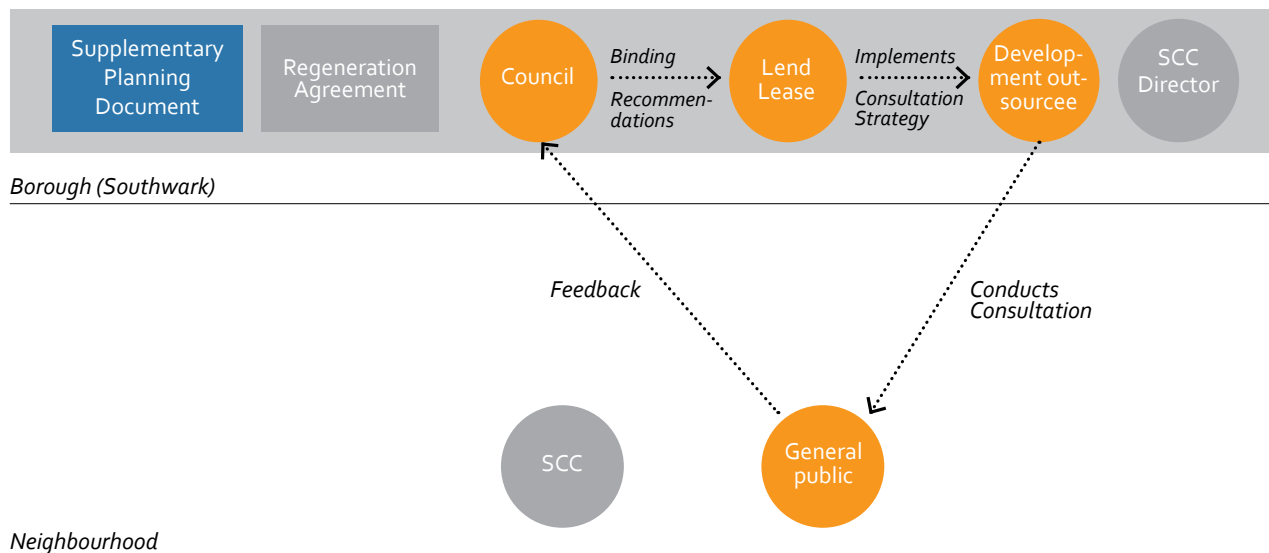


Fig. 32 | Understanding the consultation process: smaller projects

Currently, the developer formulates and executes the consultation strategy independently. We recommend instead that the Council formulate it and the developer execute- either independently or through a third party. Results from this consultation would be sent to the Council who will make binding recommendations to the developer.



AMENDMENTS TO THE REGENERATION AGREEMENT

The proposed model of regeneration incorporates the idea that a regeneration agreement can be a tool for brokering public/private partnerships. The new regeneration agreement is publicly accessible, as the public interest with respect to large scale development far outweighs the need for commercial confidentiality. Problematic clauses relating to the Management Board and aspects of the Consultation Strategy are addressed through interventions in the reformed organisational structure.

It is critical that the ‘Priority Developer Return’ (Linklaters, 2010:83) in the profit sharing arrangement be removed, and we would envisage that the public share of the money be allocated to address the deprivation specific to the Borough of Southwark. Therefore, money gained from the development would be spent within Southwark on projects for the public interest, and decision making for these projects is made in conjunction with the Social Capital Committee.

Clause 5.11, which allows the developer to compel the Council to enter into further contracts will be removed (Linklaters, 2010:22). There should be a cap on how much Council Land can be sold at a time, so that future large scale projects will be more varied and incremental. When the Heygate Estate was sold to Lend Lease in 2010, it was well below market value during a time of economic recession. Going forward, the sale of public land by Council should try to meet or exceed market value.

Clause 13.6 of the agreement, which concerns the Council's obligations when approving changes to the regeneration plan, should be amended. The clause that requires the Council to ‘act in the best interests of the development’ (Linklaters, 2010:34) should be made subject to the Council's ‘duties and obligations as a public body’ and the stipulation that it cannot unreasonably withhold its approval within the development only will be amended to:

Its reasonableness in giving any such approval shall be judged in the context of the Opportunity Area.

Fig. 33 | Benchmark summary

The central column presents the values that we can observe across the five benchmarks, while the column to the left indicates how recurrent these values have been across the five benchmarks, as well as the focus of the value in question (institutional, human, or economic).

This would allow the Council to consider the interests of the entire local area, as is its mandate, rather than simply the interests of the developer and the development, and will lead to more contextually appropriate built form outcomes.

Value	Mechanism	Implications	<div>Key for type of implication</div> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Social implicationsEconomic implicationsSpatial implicationsBureaucratic implications
1. Scrutiny	Social Capital Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Strengthens relations between local players and redevelopment partners.Assigns responsibility and ownership to local actors.	
2. Consistency		<ul style="list-style-type: none">Ensures a sustainable change in pace and scale of regeneration.Provides a unified voice for safeguarding the interests of small local businesses.	
3. Legitimacy	New consultation process	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Council has more control over the consultation process and its feedback.Feedback divided into two categories making it easier for Council to address.	
4. Accountability		<ul style="list-style-type: none">Empowers the local actors and bridges the technical gap that divides them from the redevelopment partners.	
5. Transparency	Acquisition and disposal of land is treated as a Council policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Large pockets of land would not be given away at the same time to one developer.Social stability and reduction of uncertainty. Maintenance of local actors within the area.	
6. Democracy	Fixed ratio of Development Board membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Fair representation of members.	
	Overage earned by Council should be spend within the borough	<ul style="list-style-type: none">The area is benefitted directly from the profits of the development.	

SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS

Current regeneration efforts for the Elephant & Castle remain notably disconnected from the area's social characteristics and will further fragment the spatial dimension of the roundabout. A conceptual visualisation released by Lend Lease (Fig.33) fuels growing fear of more monolithic, commercially focussed built form. Projects like One the Elephant contribute to this acupuncture urbanism, a derivative of top down planning mechanisms. In addition to this, the perils of single developer led regeneration are visible in Witherford Watson Mann's proposal for the roundabout (Fig.35), which demonstrates a distinct bias towards strengthening spatial connections between the roundabout and the Heygate redevelopment.

The combination of a reconfigured bureaucratic model and an amended regeneration agreement aims to counter the pitfalls of large scale spatial transformation. Restriction in sale of Council land would encourage development to be scattered across the landscape of the Opportunity Area and prevent a high concentration of capital in certain pockets. Allowing multiple developers to invest also ensures healthy competition and a broader vision of 'change'. But most importantly, promoting the SPD as a binding framework would hugely influence decisions to favor overall improvement of the region. With 50% of profit overage reinvested into the borough, in consensus with the Social Capital Committee, greater attention would be given to improve the incentive to linger and enhance the public realm to provide a more inclusive commercial development. Above all, the intervention manifests incremental upgrade that is sensitive to both economic and social capital - both key to a successful regeneration.

Fig. 34 | One the Elephant 3D visualisation

The spatial implications of a non inclusive model of regeneration lead to built form outcomes that are not contextual.

Source: Lend Lease, 2013

Fig. 35 | Proposed scheme for reconfigured roundabout

Single developer-led projects favours pedestrian diversion to boost retail offer. Source: SE1, 2013



CONCLUSION

As David Harvey would say, powerful social forces have been driving the urban process at a pace and scale determined only by those who hold the economic and political capacity to do so, in so far as ‘we have been remade several times without knowing why or how’ (Harvey, 2012:4). The combination of a new bureaucratic order together with an amended regeneration agreement reconfigures a ‘right to the city’ that has been narrowly conceived as the right to access the resources that the city embodies; instead, it opens a possibility to actually make the city: ‘the right to change and reinvent the city more after our heart’s desire’ (Ibid).

The new regeneration model explores a different set of values that find in the proposed mechanisms of intervention a channel to be executed. The recommended set of tools not only has bureaucratic implications, but more importantly, it confers political, social and spatial reconfigurations on the site of regeneration and on the relations that hold the actors together –or apart from each other (Fig.33). The set of values and mechanisms propose a regeneration that is not only driven by a legal contract that safeguards the economic interests of two partners that share profits. On the contrary, it brings a new social arrangement, where community groups, businesses and individual actors can contribute to the regeneration, where their uncertainty about the future of the area is diminished and the responsibility they gain is incremented; moreover, redevelopment partners can no

longer stay in isolation on a technical-decision making tier but need to work with the expertise and resources that the new actors bring in. On the bureaucratic side, the Council maintains its authority and control over what originally belongs to it: firstly the disposal of one of its biggest resources - the land that it owns; and secondly the consultation strategy, a democratic mechanism highly valued but poorly used. All of this contributes to a different pace of regeneration where the momentum is not set by the agenda and commercial strategy of the developer but rather acquires a rhythm set in combination with the other actors in the area. In that sense, the change is less disruptive and more sustainable as it allows time to build on lessons learnt.

This work does not intend to suggest a fixed recipe for healthy and inclusive regeneration; it rather recognises that regeneration can occur in different contexts where a different set of values and mechanisms may be needed. Therefore, its intention is to propose a different approach to urban regeneration, an inclusive process which departs from the assumption that every space has its own resources which need to be activated in order to access a real ‘right to the city’. Elephant & Castle is a microcosm within a resourceful city where multiple capabilities, capitals and social values amalgamate. Regeneration, as the word suggests, must revive and elevate these assets rather than suppress or ignore them to ensure both social and economic sustainability.

Fig. 36 | Table of Spatial characteristics

The references to four case studies reflect a correlation between processes of planning and urban spatial outcomes as shown below.

Kop Van Zuid and South Pact	The regeneration focused on an ‘adaptive reuse’ strategy which turned old and abandoned sites into active and productive spaces for a diverse mix of uses; notion of growing from the outside in.
Urban Forest	The engagement of a broad range of stakeholders and the process of accretion allowed small physical interventions to be released and supports future projects that could build on the network -the forest- that has been formed.
San Diego	A combination of public and private spaces together with a mix of commercial and residential areas with affordable housing and community facilities promoted an inclusive activation of the space and a maintenance of the residents within their neighbourhood.
La Plata	The participation element together with a small budget strategy made it possible to maintain the footprint and use of the space which was reflected in an active public realm that was coherent with the spirit of the neighbourhood.

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