English Planning and Governmentality: The Case of the London Legacy Development Corporation

Cecil Sagoe

Submitted for the degree of PhD in Geography at University College London.

Declaration

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis investigates how contemporary English planning operates as a system of governmentality. It explores what policy agendas, what rationalities of governing, and which governance actors have shaped the London Legacy Development Corporation's (LLDC's) housing and regeneration plans for London's Olympic area. In doing so, the thesis discusses how English planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing currently operate to shape the production of local-level plans. Crucially, the LLDC's planning process offers an important opportunity to observe in real time the structuring impacts of the English planning system on a Local Plan production process. This thesis adopts a broad conceptual approach which draws from Foucauldian literature, critical approaches to neoliberalism, relational approaches to multi-level governing, the regulatory capitalism discourse, and critical pragmatism. To gather research data, a multi-method approach was employed comprising process observation, participant observation, planning document analysis and interviews.

This thesis presents three key findings. Firstly, that English planning has structured the LLDC into privileging economic growth goals, market-based criteria, the role of the private sector, financial considerations, and technocratic forms of governing within their housing and regeneration plans; although this thesis discusses other policy goals and rationalities of governing that have also shaped the LLDC's plans. Secondly, that English planning's structural technologies of governing, and statutory spaces within the LLDC's planning framework, have empowered governance actors who are privileging these policy goals and rationalities of governing to exert chief influence over the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. Thirdly, that governance actors who are challenging these policy goals and rationalities of governing, and seeking to privilege social justice goals and principles, have had marginal influences on the LLDC's plans. Bringing these findings into conversation with this thesis' conceptual framework, the argument is developed that in the arena of local-level planning English planning currently operates as a system of neoliberal governmentality.

Key words: LLDC, governmentality, English planning, neoliberalism, social justice, housing, regeneration, community.

Contents

List of figures

List of tables

Abbreviations

AAP	Area Action Plan
BAME	Black and Minority Ethnic
C.A.R.P	Carpenters Against Regeneration Plans
CIL	Community Infrastructure Levy
CPO	Compulsory Purchase Order
CPRE	Campaign to Protect Rural England
DCA	Dorset Community Association
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DVS	District Valuer Services
EiP	Examination in Public
FALP	Further Alterations to the London Plan
GCNF	Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum
GDV	Gross Development Value
GLA	Greater London Authority
GTANA	Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment
HWFICIG	Hackney Wick and Fish Island Cultural Interest Group
LCS	Legacy Communities Scheme
LDA	London Development Agency
LDDC	London Docklands Development Corporation
LGBTQ	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or queer
LGTU	London Gypsy and Traveller Unit
LLDC	London Legacy Development Corporation
LOCOG	London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games
LPA	Local Planning Authority
LTGDC	London Thames Gateway Development Corporation
LVRPA	Lee Valley Regional Park Authority
MDC	Mayoral Development Corporation
NPPF	National Planning Policy Framework
NPPG	National Planning Practice Guidance
NPV	Net Present Value
ODA	Olympic Delivery Authority
OPDC	Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation
OPLC	Olympic Park Legacy Company
ORS	Opinion Research Services
PDC	Planning Decisions Committee
PPDT	Planning Policy and Decisions Team
RCG	Revolutionary Communist Group
REMA	Revised Early Minor Alterations to The London Plan
RICS	Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors

RSL	Registered Social Landlord
SHLAA	Strategic Housing Land Availability Assessment
SHMA	Strategic Housing Market Assessment
UCL	University College London
UCLU	University College London Union
UDC	Urban Development Corporation

Acknowledgements

Great thanks are due to my supervisors Andrew and Ben for their careful commentary on my thesis. Andrew's guidance and support over the last four years has been critical in helping me to get to this stage. Thank you for constantly pushing me intellectually and for your considered comments on various iterations of my chapters and my thesis. Ben's comments at key stages throughout my PhD have also been massively appreciated, particularly as they have helped me in getting to grips with spatial planning in England. More broadly, within academia, I am also grateful to the many PhD students and lecturers, within UCL and within various conferences and events, who have helped to push me intellectually.

I also owe a massive debt to the community groups that I have researched throughout my thesis. I am grateful that you warmly welcomed me into your groups and that you allowed me to research/participate in your respective activities. I hope that my thesis is of some use to you in your respective struggles within the spheres of urban development, regeneration, housing and planning.

I am also grateful to all my interviewees. For those who were happy to be named in my thesis, I would like to express thanks by name. Massive thanks to Julian, Patrick, Martin, Victor, Ayesha, Eema, Jerome, Janiz, Joe, Osita, David, Duncan, Angela, Richard, Nigel, Richard, Jenny, Simon, Stephen, Martha, Will, Nick, Elspeth, Will, Darren, Guy, Richard, Julian, Sarah, Cleo, Tracie, Mary, Mary, Steve, Yvonne, Dolores, Paul, Ralph, Rich, Steven, Martha and Ilinca. The perspectives that you and the rest of my interviewees provided have had a huge bearing on the arguments developed in this thesis.

Throughout my time as a PhD student I have also benefited from the love and emotional support of my mum, Janet and sister, Effie. Their encouragement and confidence in me has helped me to get through some pretty tough times during my PhD. One of the hardest moments was when my dad passed away soon after I commenced my doctorate. My mum and sister were a massive source of strength through this difficult

time. Thank you so much, and I am sure that dad would have been proud that I finished my thesis.

My wonderful friends have also helped me through this journey. There are too many to mention by name. But, thank you all for listening to me bang on, and on, and on about housing, planning and the Olympics. Thanks for regularly chilling with me after a stressful day in the office (home)—shout outs on this front particularly go to residents of Warwick Gardens and Marriott Road. Also, thanks to my brilliant friends for sharing your own insights with me on the issues that I have covered in this thesis. Your insights and experiences have had important influences on how I approached the issues that I address. Special thanks to Tanzil who has taken the time to go through this tome and offer important feedback on my thesis.

Last, and certainly not least, I want to express my sincere gratitude and utmost appreciation for the love and support that has been provided to me throughout most of my PhD by my partner. Anna, thank you for being there for me every day. You have been a rock that has helped me to get to this stage. Thank you for taking the time to read and offer feedback on my thesis. Thanks for your wise words, love and constant support.

Thanks, and love to you all!

Chapter one: Introduction

1.1   Research aims and scope

This thesis uses the case study of housing and regeneration planning within the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) to shed light on how English planning currently operates as a system of governmentality within the arena of local-level planning. The LLDC is a planning authority that was formed in April 2012 by the Greater London Authority (GLA) to oversee the planning and delivery of large-scale urban development and regeneration in London's Olympic area,[1] otherwise known as the LLDC's planning boundary.[2] In this thesis, I particularly explore how English planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing have influenced what policy goals, what rationalities of governing and which governance actors have had significant power to shape the policy direction(s) of the housing and regeneration plans found within the LLDC's *Adopted Local Plan* (see figure 1.1).

The LLDC's planning boundary (see figure 1.2) is currently one of London's most significant development and regeneration sites, as highlighted by the following extract from the GLA's *2011 London Plan*:

> The 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, their infrastructure and investment have created the most important strategic regeneration opportunities in London for the next 25 years. Successful, viable and sustainable regeneration of the Olympic Park and its surrounding areas is the Mayor's highest regeneration priority and offers a unique opportunity to secure and accelerate the delivery of many elements of his strategies and lessen inequality across London. The Olympic investment in east London, and the recognition arising from association with the Games, should be used to affect a positive, sustainable and fully accessible economic, social and environmental transformation for one of the most diverse and most deprived parts of the capital (Mayor of London 2011: 44)

---

[1] Section 4.2 will discuss the context leading to the LLDC's establishment.
[2] I will use the terms 'LLDC's planning boundary' and 'London's Olympic area' interchangeably in this thesis.

Figure 1.1. LLDC's *Adopted Local Plan*. Source: LLDC (2015a).
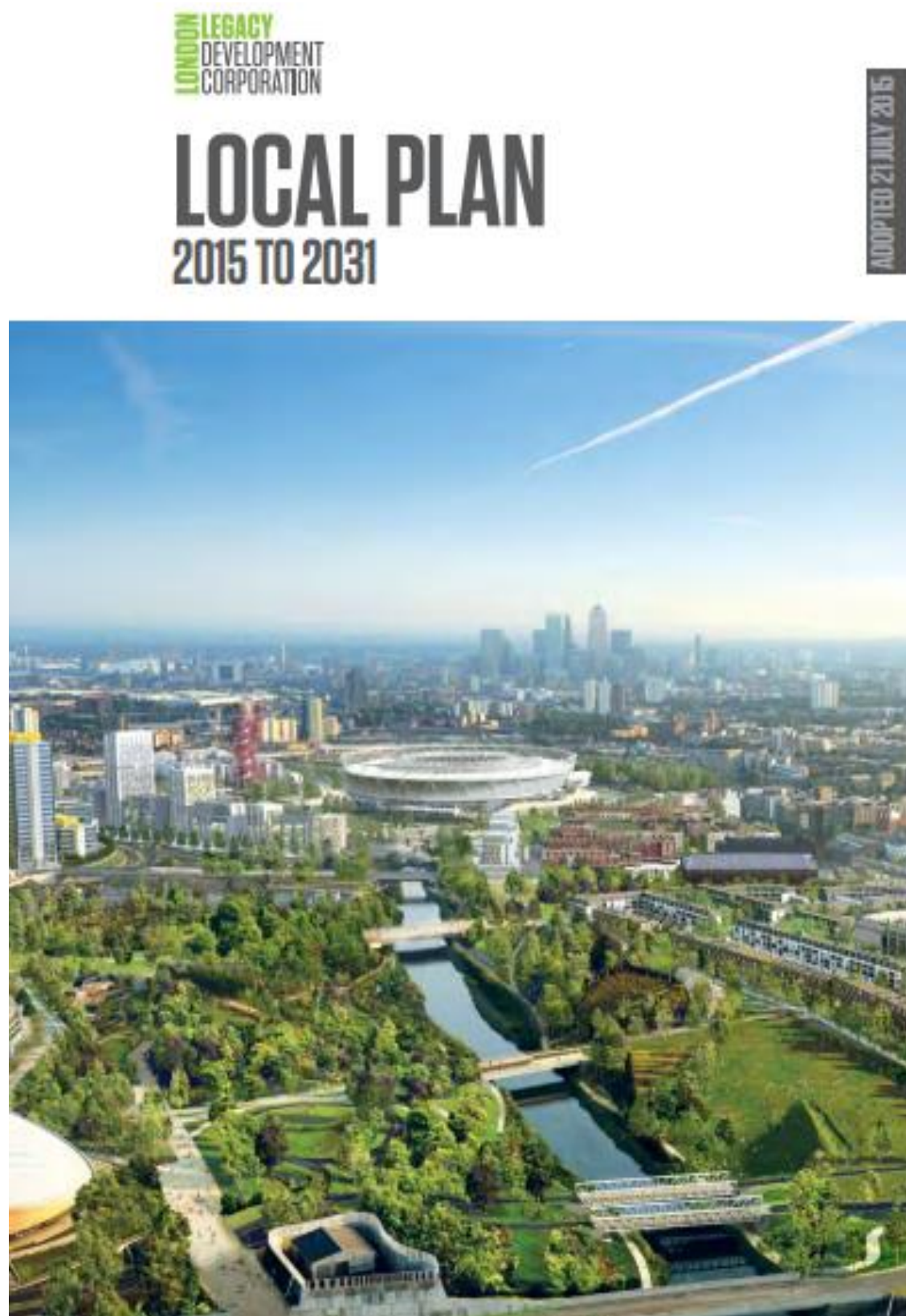
Figure 1.2. LLDC's planning boundary/London Olympic area. Source: LLDC (2015b), with additions made by author.
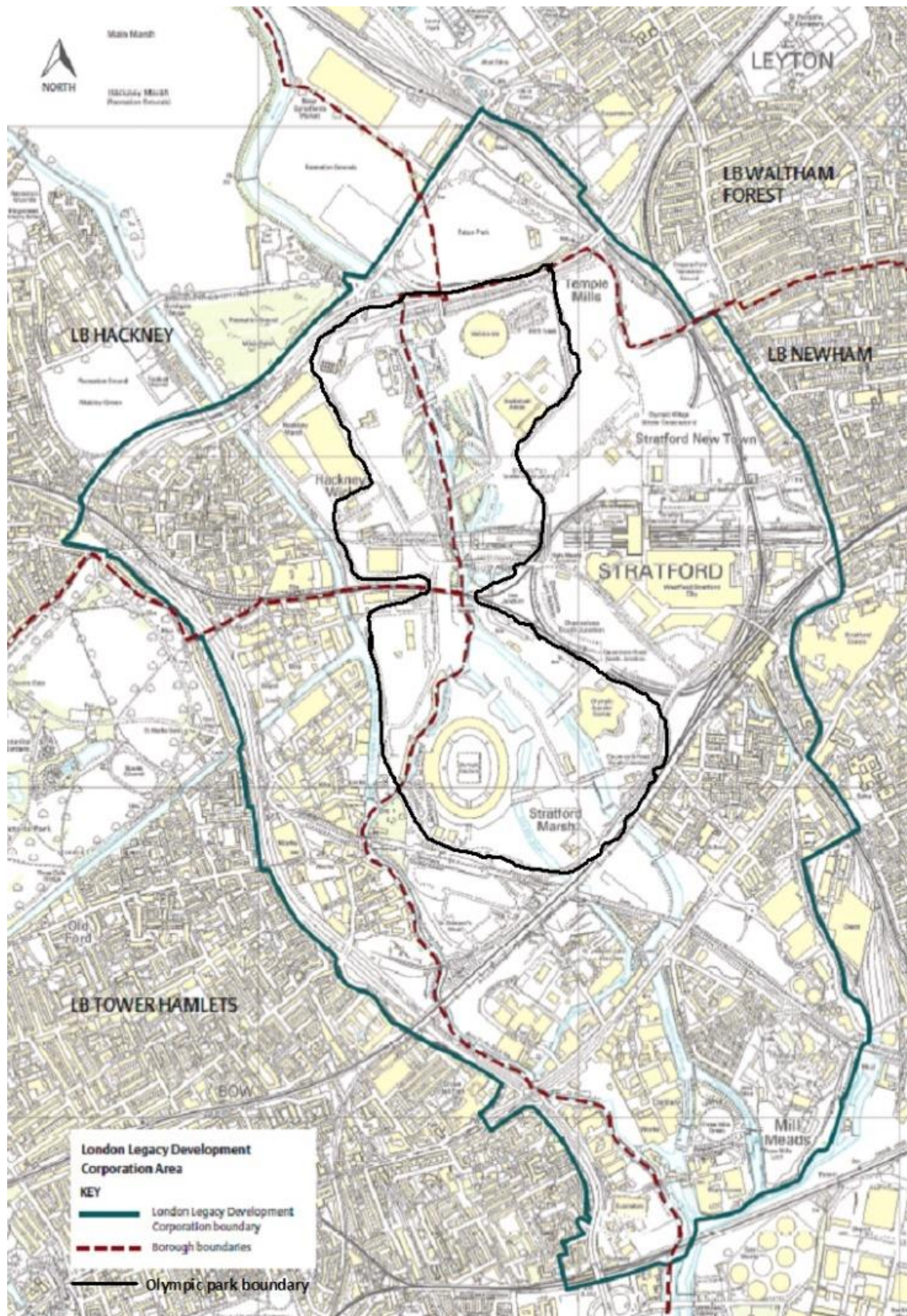
Significantly for this thesis, development and regeneration taking place within the LLDC's planning boundary ostensibly aims to ensure 'that within 20 years the

communities who host the 2012 Games will have the same social and economic chances as their neighbours across London' (London Borough of Greenwich et al. 2009: 4). In other words, the development and regeneration taking place in London's Olympic area will be 'for the direct benefit of everyone who lives there' (*ibid*: 5), in particular the most marginalised and deprived communities in east London. These publicly stated aspirations—known as the convergence agenda (see *ibid*)—will ostensibly be the socio-economic 'legacy' that London 2012 will leave for London, and is the 'legacy' that, on the surface, the LLDC have been tasked with planning for within their boundary.

In being established with this remit, the LLDC follows in the footsteps of two other notable development corporations that were historically set up to oversee the planning and delivery of large-scale urban development and regeneration in east London. Firstly, the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) which was established in 1981 as a planning authority for London Docklands (figure 1.3) as part of a broad roll-out of Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) under successive Conservative governments over the 1980s and 1990s (Brownill 1990; Brownill & O'Hara 2015; Foster 1992; Imrie and Thomas 1999a; Savitch 1998). Secondly, the London Thames Gateway Development Corporation (LTGDC) which was established in 2004 as a planning authority for parts of the Thames Gateway (figure 1.4) as part of a lower-scale roll-out of UDCs under New Labour (see Allen 2006; Ames 2008; Brownill and Carpenter 2009; Raco 2005; Rustin and Cohen 2008).

Research on these two institutions, and indeed on other UDCs more broadly, have sought to highlight what their respective governance and planning stories can tell us about the dynamics of urban governance and urban planning in a British landscape (Brownill 1990; Brownill & O'Hara 2015; Imrie and Thomas 1999b; Raco 2005; Rustin and Cohen 2008). Saliently, this thesis conducts a similar type of research enquiry by exploring what the LLDC and its planning story can tell us about the contemporary dynamics of urban planning within the context of the English planning system.

Figure 1.3. London Docklands map. Source: LDDC (1997).
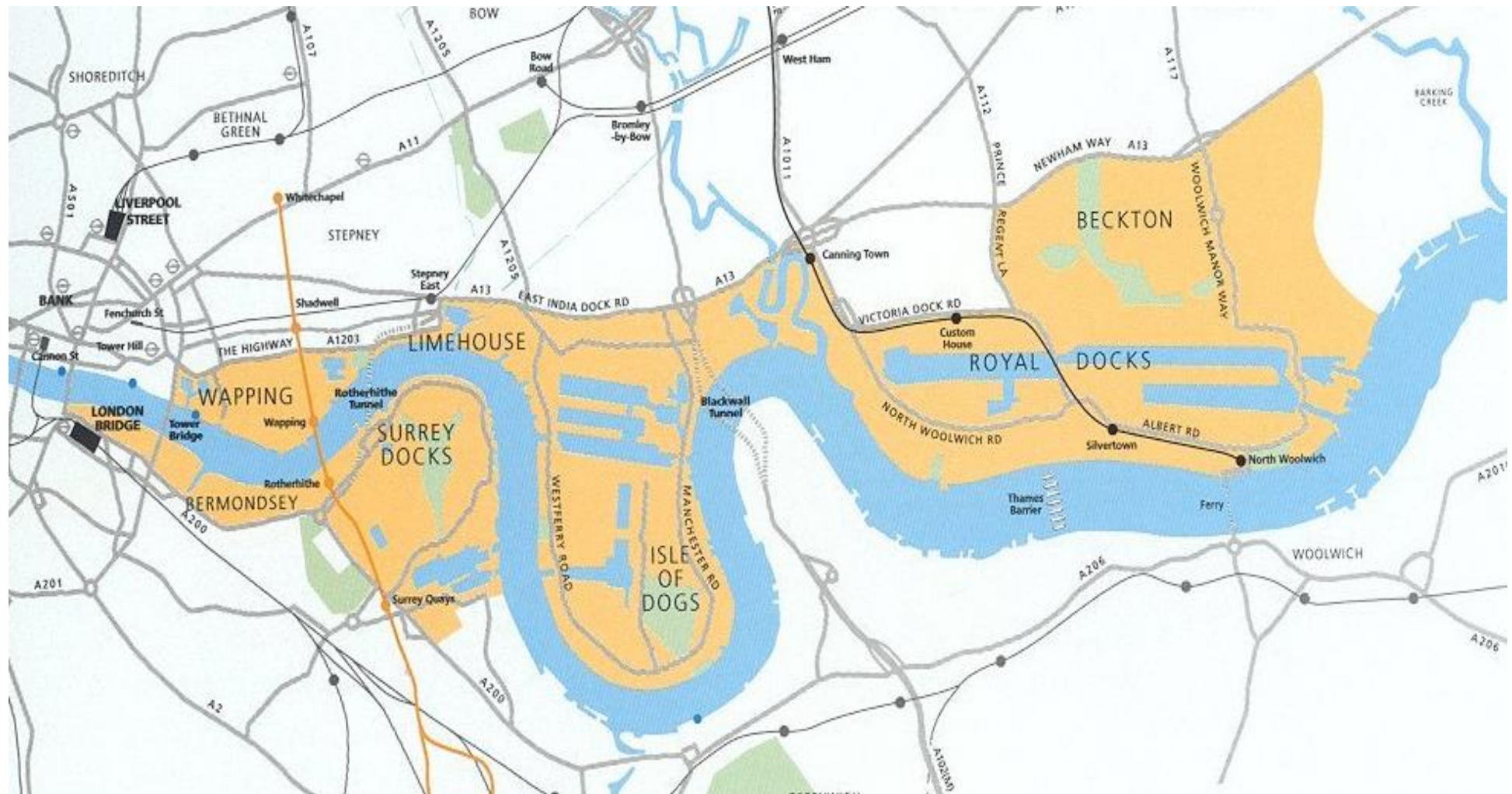
Figure 1.4. Thames Gateway Map. Source: The Oxford Institute for Sustainable Development (2009).
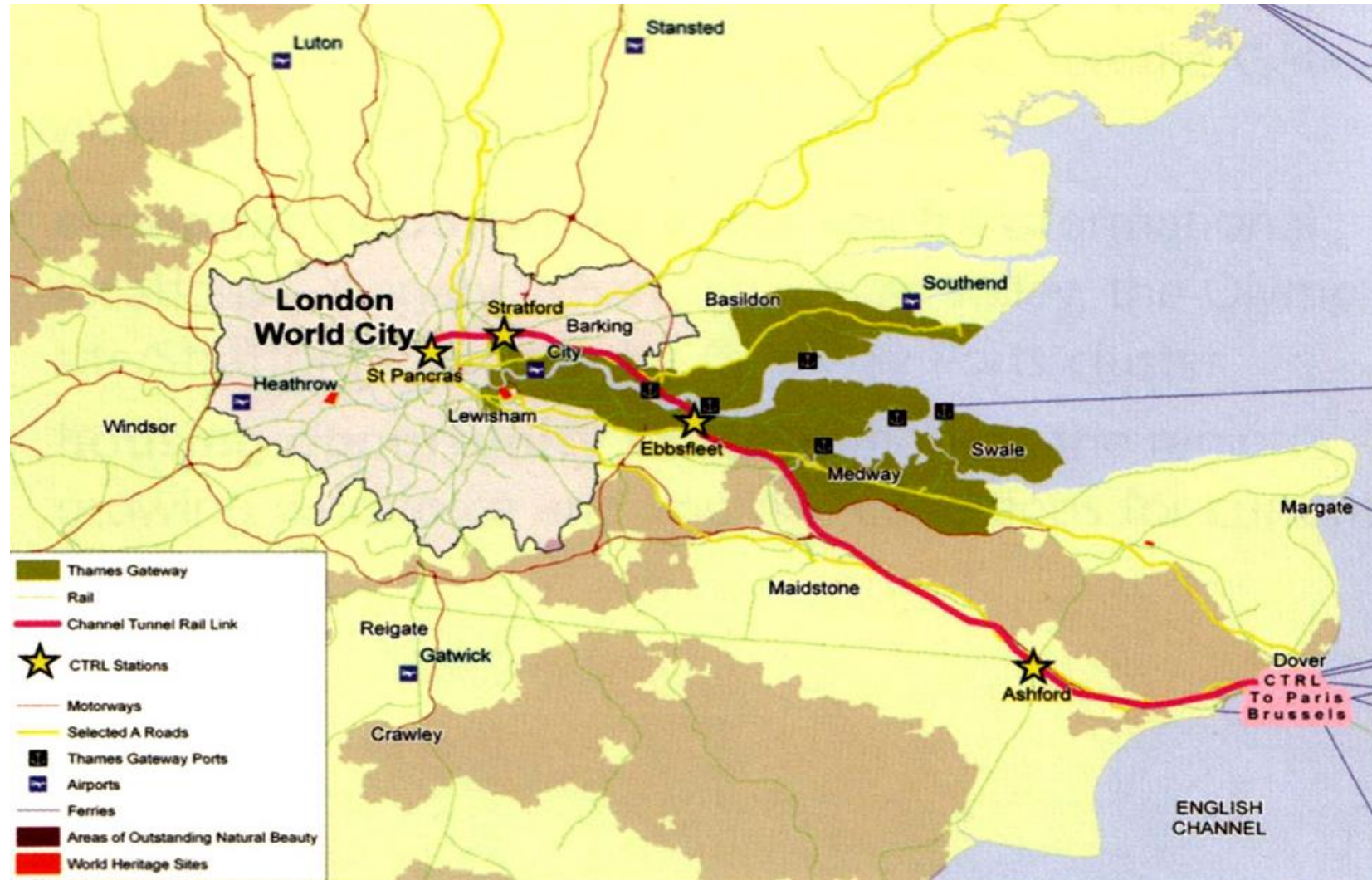
By providing this discussion, I contribute to a research gap that exists amongst important academic contributions that have highlighted social, spatial, planning, political and economic implications of London 2012 for east London, and London more broadly. These contributions have notably: examined pre-London 2012 plans and policy instruments that are shaping the delivery of urban development in London's Olympic area (Bernstock 2014; Davis and Thornley 2010); discussed key political and governance issues surrounding London 2012 (Raco 2012, 2013, 2014); as well as pertinently asking for whom is Olympic-related development and regeneration actually catering for (Watt 2013)? This literature is situated within broader international work focusing on the impacts and implications of Olympic Games on their host cities (for examples, see deLisle 2009; Gold and Gold 2008; Hill 1997; Larson and Park 1993; Tufts 2004; Zhang & Zhao 2009).

Research on London's Olympic area, however, is yet to examine how English planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing are structuring the production of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans for London's Olympic area. This is a research gap that is addressed by this thesis. A normative concern is developed in examining whether English planning, and the current political economy it operates within, enables or impedes the ability of the LLDC to produce housing and regeneration plans that will benefit the working class and marginalised communities that are meant to be at the heart of post-London 2012 development and regeneration.

Precisely because of the research gap that my thesis intends to fill, it is situated within literature that has made important contributions to, and influenced academic conceptualisations of, the contemporary dynamics of urban planning, and urban governance more broadly, within a British political landscape; this is opposed to situating my discussion within bodies of literature discussing the impacts of Olympic Games, and mega-events more broadly, on their host cities. My research is ultimately using the case study of housing and regeneration planning within the LLDC's planning boundary as an empirical device to unpack some of the chief contemporary dynamics of English planning as a form of governing.

My research is seeking to make this analysis through a particular, perhaps unique, case study. However, I agree with Raco (2012: 452) that 'it is dangerous to write off' the governance of London 2012—and the development of post-London 2012 development and regeneration plans—as exceptional. Significantly, although the LLDC's planning processes are influenced by local particularities and local configurations of power, the LLDC is still operating within the same planning system as other Local Planning Authority's (LPAs) nationally. This means that as with other English LPAs the LLDC's plans need to conform with the strategic planning policies laid out within the *National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF)* and the LLDC need to ensure that their plan production process adheres to nationally defined legal and procedural requirements. Additionally, at a London level, as with other London LPAs, the LLDC need to ensure that their plans are congruent with the strategic planning policies laid out within *The London Plan.* For these reasons, conclusions that this thesis makes about the structuring impacts of the English planning system on local-level planning are broadly generalisable to other LPA cases (especially London LPA cases) in the current conjuncture of spatial planning within England.

Moreover, using the LLDC's planning framework as a case to investigate my overarching research enquiry is ideal for two chief connected reasons. Firstly, as will be discussed in detail in section 4.2, the LLDC's establishment as a planning authority has explicitly brought a range of public and private sector governance actors, and people with public and/or private sector backgrounds, together into a single institution to shape the planning of development and regeneration within London's Olympic area. In addition, as will also be discussed in this thesis, LLDC representatives assert that local communities have been integrally involved with the LLDC's planning framework. Consequently, this case study provides a good opportunity to explore the relative power that public sector actors, private sector actors and local communities—and the policy goals and governance rationalities that they have mobilised within the LLDC's planning framework—have had to shape the LLDC's plans.

Secondly, the temporality of this research project is such that my investigation of these issues has been conducted during the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. This means that researching the LLDC's planning framework has allowed me to explore in real time

the varying and changing power that different sets of governance actors, policy goals and rationalities of governing have had to push and pull the LLDC's plans in certain policy directions throughout the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. Additionally, saliently, the temporalities of this research project have allowed me to observe the long-term influences that English planning has had on structuring the policy directions of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

In discussing these issues, I aim to explore whether the English planning system has operated as a current system of neoliberal governmentality. Importantly, Phillip Allmendinger and Graham Haughton have been chief urban planning scholars who have argued that English planning represents a key system of neoliberal governmentality (see Allmendinger and Haughton 2012; Haughton et al. 2013). For them, 'neoliberal governmentality…refers to the ways in which various forms of neoliberal rationality are mobilised by and through the state, involving a range of governmental technologies' (Haughton et al. 2013: 220). For Allmendinger and Haughton, key neoliberal rationalities of governing include market-based, economic-growth-based and technocratic rationalities of governing, as well as privileging the role of the private sector (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012; Haughton et al. 2013). I aim to use my research to explore whether English planning does indeed currently perform this function through its main technologies of governing.

I do this in three ways. Firstly, by exploring whether English planning has structured the LLDC into pursuing neoliberal policy goals and mobilising neoliberal rationalities of governing within their housing and regeneration plans. Secondly, by considering whether English planning's multi-level governing technology and rules-based governing technology have empowered governance actors who are mobilising the pursuit of neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing to have had privileged power to shape the LLDC's plans. Thirdly, by examining whether statutory consultations within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process have empowered participants to use these consultations to challenge the pursuit of these policy goals and rationalities of governing and promote the pursuit of other, particularly social justice policy goals.[3]

---

[3]Section 2.2.3 will outline what this thesis understands by social justice in the context of spatial planning.

In relation to the first issue, I will use discussions in my empirical chapters to engage with literature conceptualising what constitutes neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing within the context of urban governance and spatial planning (e.g. Allmendinger and Haughton, 2009, 2012, 2015; Davies 2014a, 2014b; Haughton et al. 2013). For the second issue, this thesis' empirical chapters will be used to appraise relational perspectives on multi-level governing (e.g. Jessop 2004; Marks 1993) and will discuss literature from within the regulatory capitalism discourse (e.g. Levi-Faur 2005 and Raco 2012). I will particularly highlight the extent to which these bodies of literature can help in theorising the impacts of English planning's structural technologies of governing on local-level planning. With regards to the third issue, this thesis' empirical chapters will be used to conceptualise the limitations and possibilities that exist for communities, particularly those pursuing social justice policy goals, to use statutory planning consultations as a means to influence the policy goals and rationalities of governing mobilised in local-level plans. In providing this conceptualisation, I will assess the usefulness to my research context of writings on this issue from Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced work (e.g. Allmendinger and Haughton 2012, 2015; Rosol 2015), and from work within a critical pragmatist tradition (e.g. Unger 2007).

This latter research enquiry is subsumed within a broader activist research agenda also shaping my research. I agree with Katherine Gibson's and Julie Graham's (2008: 614) contention that academic researchers should:

> recognise their constitutive role in the worlds that exist, and their power to bring new worlds into being. Not single-handedly, of course, but alongside other world-makers, both inside and outside the academy.

In this spirit, I have aimed to use my research, both in process and outcome, to modestly contribute to community activism that is seeking to make planning within London's Olympic area, and London more widely, primarily responsive to social justice concerns. I have particularly aimed to use my research to assist two community groups. The first group is the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum (GCNF)—established in July 2014 by residents and workers within the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood, Stratford, London. The second group is Just Space—an informal alliance of community groups, campaign groups and independent organisations that was formed in 2006 (Just Space

2016a). Sections 3.3 and 3.4 of my methodology will outline the type of support that I aimed to provide these groups with. But, presently, as I go on to discuss my research questions, I outline the key arguments that I explore in my thesis.

1.2   Research questions and arguments

The overarching argument that this thesis explores is whether:

- English planning currently operates as a system of neoliberal governmentality which has: (1) structured the LLDC into mobilising neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing within their housing and regeneration plans; (2) empowered governance actors who are pursuing these policy goals and mobilising these rationalities of governing to have chief influence over the production of the LLDC's plans; and (3) marginalised governance actors who are challenging these neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing.

To assist my exploration of this argument, this thesis addresses three research questions:

RQ1.   What policy goals and rationalities of governing has English planning structured the LLDC into privileging within their housing and regeneration plans?

RQ1 explores what influence English planning has had on the policy goals and rationalities of governing that have been privileged within the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans; in particular the LLDC's social and 'affordable' housing plans, plans for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, and plans for four LLDC-area neighbourhoods. Within this research enquiry, there is a particular concern with exploring whether, and the extent to which, English planning has structured the LLDC into incorporating neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing and/or social justice policy goals and principles within these LLDC plans. In addressing these issues, I particularly engage with critical debates about neoliberalism, social justice and urban governance.

The argument that I explore in relation to **RQ1** is whether within Britain's current political economy, English planning has structured the LLDC into producing housing and regeneration plans—for social and 'affordable' housing, Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, and LLDC-area neighbourhoods—that: (1) prioritises economic growth policy goals, profit-making goals and 'mixed and balanced communities' policy goals that privilege the production of private sector housing, as well as market-based rationalities, financial considerations, and technocratic forms of governing; (2) subordinates the pursuit of social justice goals to these aforementioned rationalities and agendas; and/or (3) privileges other rationalities of governing and policy goals within these plans.

RQ2.   How have English planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing shaped which governance actors have influenced the policy direction(s) of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans?

RQ2 explores how English planning's structural and statutory tools, techniques and spaces of governing are shaping the power that national-, metropolitan-, local- and neighbourhood-level governance actors have had to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. I particularly explore this issue in relation to three of planning's chief tools, techniques and spaces of governing: (1) planning's multi-level governing technology; (2) planning's rules-based governing technology; and (3) the statutory consultations comprising a *Local Plan* production process.

My thesis understands power as the capacity to influence a given phenomenon or phenomena. Following a Foucauldian epistemology, I understand power relationally (Foucault 1982). Thus, within **RQ2** I explore the influences that planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing have had on the relative capacity that aforementioned governance actors have had to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. In addressing **RQ2**, I engage with Foucauldian literature on governmentality, relational literature on multi-level governing, and the regulatory capitalism discourse.

The argument that I explore in relation to **RQ2** is whether English planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing have particularly empowered central

government, the GLA, and local state and private actors comprising the LLDC's internal governance structure to play particularly significant roles in shaping the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

RQ3. What power have community groups had to use statutory planning spaces and technologies to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans and how can this power be enhanced?

RQ3 explores the capacity that community groups have had to use statutory planning spaces and tools to shape the LLDC's plans. Within **RQ3**, I hold a normative concern for considering whether communities mobilising social justice goals have been able to use statutory planning spaces and tools to privilege the pursuit of these policy goals within the LLDC's plans for London's Olympic area. I particularly explore this issue in relation to two community groups. Firstly, the GCNF. Secondly, the Hackney Wick and Fish Island Cultural Interest Group (HWFICIG)—a community group comprised of local artists and cultural and creative sector workers that was founded in 2009. Within **RQ3**, I am particularly interested in exploring the limitations and possibilities that exist for communities to use their participation in state planning to influence the development of planning policies. Consequently, when addressing **RQ3**, I engage with debates on this issue from Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced work, and writings within the critical pragmatism.

The argument that I explore is whether community groups mobilising social justice policy goals (see section 2.2.3) within the LLDC's planning framework have had a marginal influence on the LLDC's plans through participating in the LLDC's statutory planning processes. I also explore the argument that adopting a multi-faceted strategy of action can enhance the political benefits that communities derive from participating in state planning. Within this exploration, I therefore also discuss and examine the limitations and possibilities associated with further practicable actions that may assist the GNCF and the HWFICIG to powerfully influence the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. I conduct this exploration particularly with reference to my reflections on action around housing and planning in east London by Focus E15, and London more broadly by Just Space.

1.3   Thesis structure

To address my research questions, and to achieve my overarching research aim, I have structured my thesis across the following chapters:

Chapter two critically engages with bodies of literature which conceptualise the core issues that my thesis seeks to address. These include neoliberalism and planning, social justice and planning, governmentality, multi-level governing, rules-based governing, and community participation in planning. This chapter will also highlight the key conceptual issues and tensions raised by the literature that I discuss. Therefore, this chapter will set the parameters of the key theoretical debates that I will explore in my thesis.

Chapter three explains my thesis' methodological approach. This combines ethnography with action research. I will highlight what each of these methodological approaches have involved within the context of my research. Within this chapter, I also discuss and justify my choice of case studies. Additionally, I discuss the research methods that I employed within my research. These methods were process observation, participant observation, planning document analysis and interviews. I also discuss how I analysed my data, provide reflections on my research process, and discuss my research ethics.

Chapter four is the first of my empirical chapters. I begin this chapter by discussing the planning and regeneration history of London's Olympic area which will serve to provide some important context to the LLDC's establishment. I then present, and examine the relationships between, the policy goals and rationalities of governing found within central government's, the GLA's, Newham Council's, Hackney Council's and the Olympic Park Legacy Company's (OPLC's) housing and regeneration planning policies. These are all key planning actors whose plans are likely to have shaped the key LLDC plans that I examine in chapter five. This chapter's discussion begins to address **RQ1** and **RQ2**. Thus, I explore whether planning's rules-based governing technology and multi-level governing technology have affected the relationships between the policy goals and rationalities of governing located within the central government, GLA, Newham Council, Hackney Council and OPLC housing and regeneration plans that I discuss. A key concern will be exploring whether these governance actors' housing and regeneration plans are

privileging neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing and/or social justice policy goals and principles.

Chapter five builds on chapter four's analysis through my examination of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. Again, there is a focus on addressing **RQ1** and **RQ2**. Thus, this chapter explores ways in which planning's rules-based and multi-level governing technologies have operated within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process to structure what policy goals and rationalities of governing and which governance actors' aspirations and planning policies the LLDC have privileged and marginalised within their housing and regeneration plans. As a result of this latter discussion, this chapter also begins my engagement with **RQ3**. This chapter thus also explores and examines the varying power that community groups have had on the development of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

Chapter six simultaneously addresses **RQ1**, **RQ2** and **RQ3**. This chapter furthers my analysis by providing my research participants' own perspectives on the influences that planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing have had on the power that certain governance actors (engaging with the LLDC's planning framework), policy goals and rationalities of governing have had on the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. Importantly, this chapter's analysis will supplement my reflections on these issues within the preceding empirical chapters to provide a more complete understanding of whether the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans can be regarded as privileging neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing and/or social justice goals and principles.

Chapter seven is explicitly concerned with addressing **RQ3.** Consequently, this chapter spends significant time discussing the planning-related activities of the HWFICIG and the GCNF. Importantly, my discussion builds on my discussions in chapters five and six by highlighting what work these community groups are doing outside of statutory consultation spaces to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. This chapter also addresses the latter aspect of **RQ3** through discussing the activism of Focus E15 and Just Space. The broader purpose of these latter discussions is to identify forms of action and strategies that could assist the HWFICIG and the GCNF to make their respective

planning policy agendas occupy more powerful spaces within the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

Chapter eight concludes by reflecting upon the discussions across my thesis' empirical chapters. It is here that I will come to conclusions about the core theoretical debates that my thesis addresses in relation to my research questions and overall research aim. An important element of this discussion will be coming to conclusions about the theoretical tensions raised in chapter two around these debates. I also make brief comments about the broader academic relevance of my research.

Chapter two: Conceptualising English planning as a system of governmentality

2.1 Introduction

This thesis' main aim is to explore how English planning's operation as a system of governmentality is shaping housing and regeneration planning within the LLDC's planning boundary. In this chapter, I begin working towards achieving this aim by examining governance and planning literature that will help to conceptualise my empirical findings. Consequently, I do not provide a comprehensive overview of all theoretical approaches to governance and planning. Rather, I outline and critically engage with bodies of literature that will equip me with the analytical tools to conceptualise my findings in relation to my three research questions:

RQ1. What policy goals and rationalities of governing has English planning structured the LLDC into privileging within their housing and regeneration plans?

RQ2. How have English planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing shaped which governance actors have influenced the policy direction(s) of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans?

RQ3. What power have community groups had to use statutory planning spaces and technologies to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans and how can this power be enhanced?

With regards to **RQ1**, the core conceptual concern I explore is whether English planning structures LPAs into mobilising neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing and/or social justice policy goals and principles within their plans. For **RQ2**, the core conceptual concern I explore is how English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies shape which contextually relevant national-, metropolitan-, local-, and neighbourhood-level governance actors have influence over local-level planning. Within **RQ3**, core conceptual concerns include: the limitations and possibilities associated with communities using statutory planning spaces and technologies to

influence local-level planning; and how communities can have enhanced power to influence local-level planning.

The next three main sections (sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4) discuss the sets of literature that I will use to help me think through these issues across my empirical chapters. Section 2.2 helps me to address the core conceptual concerns in **RQ1**. It begins by providing a broad conceptualisation of the development and evolution of spatial planning in England and discusses chief ideological and policy agendas that planning is argued to serve in the current political-economic conjuncture, as well as providing normative accounts about the ideological and policy goals that planning should be serving. Given my overarching concern to explore whether English planning mobilises neoliberal and/or social justice policy goals, this section will see me particularly engage with literature that discusses: (1) neoliberalism, governance and planning (section 2.2.2), drawing insights from critical scholars reflecting on neoliberalism's roll-out (Allmendinger and Haughton 2013; Braithwaite 2005; Davies 2014a, 2014b; Wacquant 2012); and (2) social justice and planning (section 2.2.3), drawing particular insights from Susan Fainstein (2005, 2009a, 2009b) and Peter Marcuse (2009a, 2009b).

Section 2.3 moves the discussion on from ideologies of governing to the 'how' question of governing, an issue particularly at the heart of **RQ2**. This will lead me to discuss Foucauldian (Foucault 1991a, 1991b, 2008) and neo-Foucauldian literature (Lemke 2001, 2007) conceptualising the importance of governing technologies and rationalities in the art of governing. Exploring these issues will see me introduce the concept of governmentality; a core concept within my overall research. Applying these Foucauldian concerns more concretely to my research context will lead me to critically engage with literature helping me to think about: multi-level governing (Jessop 2004; Marks 1993) in section 2.3.2; and rules-based governing and discretion (Allmendinger 2006; Allmendinger and Haughton 2013; Crook 1996; Levi-Faur 2005) in section 2.3.3.

Section 2.4 is most explicitly concerned with addressing the core conceptual concerns of **RQ3**. This section firstly highlights how I am conceptualising the term community within my thesis. It then critically engages with literature that theorises the limitations and possibilities associated with community participation in state planning spaces and

the use of state planning tools. The particular spaces and tools that I discuss are statutory consultations and neighbourhood planning. In this section, I discuss Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced critiques of statutory consultations and neighbourhood planning (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012, 2015; Rosol 2015). I then seek to move beyond these critiques with reference to work from within a critical pragmatist tradition (Unger 2007).

The literature that I am engaging with, and seeking to learn from, is broad ranging. These different bodies of literature have varied epistemological beliefs and make different ontological claims—although, significant amounts of literature I am engaging with do share similar Foucauldian concerns with the 'how' question of governing. Importantly, then, theoretical tensions and issues will likely emerge. So, a critical aspect of this chapter's overriding purpose is to set the parameters for the theoretical debates that I will have across my empirical chapters.

This chapter's conclusion (section 2.5) will summarise the core theoretical tensions and issues that have emerged across this chapter. I will discuss these issues as part of my presentation of the theoretical approaches I am drawing from in my thesis (figure 2.3). My discussions across this chapter will lead me to argue that there are three core theoretical tensions/issues that need to be addressed in relation to discussions of the influences that English planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces governing have on local-level planning:

1. Whether English planning privileges the pursuit of neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing and/or social justice policy goals and principles within local-level planning.
2. Whether English planning's hierarchical multi-level governing technology, and its interaction with planning's rules-based governing technology, enables top-down and/or multi-directional relations of influence between contextually relevant national-, metropolitan-, local-, and neighbourhood-level governance actors (and their policy goals) in the arena of local-level planning.

3. The limitations and possibilities associated with communities using participation in state planning as a strategy to influence local-level planning.

2.2 English planning, neoliberalism and social justice

2.2.1 *Conceptualising governance and English planning*

Governance is a ubiquitous term within urban studies and urban planning literature. It is a concept which gained significant theoretical focus during the 1970s (Leiva 2008; Murray and Overton 2011); although some academic discussion of governance predates this period (for example, see Low 1904). Since the 1970s, governance as a concept and practice has been subjected to heavy theoretical examination from a broad range of schools of thought. Naturally, then, there has been great debate over what governance means and entails, why it is important and what it seeks to achieve as a practice (Finkelstein 1995). However, Jessop (1997a) has highlighted that governance as a term broadly encapsulates the belief that there has been an increasing dispersal of governing activities away from state actors to non-state actors, particularly private sector actors (Newman and Thornley 1996) and civil society bodies; although within practices of governing the state has not withered away (Wacquant 2012).

Practices of governing come in many forms, and the form of governing that this thesis is concerned with exploring and conceptualising is *planning*, in particular *local-level planning within the English Planning system*. Planning's roots as a professional practice has been popularly attributed to 'the nineteenth-century radicalism of Ebenezer Howard' (Fainstein 2009a: 19) through his initiation of the garden city movement (see Howard 1898), as well as to town planner Patrick Geddes (Auster 1989). Fainstein (2009a) argues that the planning profession was born of a vision to make good places, and 'better places' (Hart et al. 2015: 1). So, '[a]t the core of…planning is a concern with space' (*ibid*: 5), in particular a concern with how spaces and places can be produced that create 'an improved environment for citizens' (*ibid*: 1). From this lens, planning can be regarded as a progressive form of governing.

The genesis of the modern planning system in England can be traced back to discussions taking place during the 1920s and 1930s about the need to spatialise planning (Auster 1989). Politicians, planning professionals, and political theorists strongly expressed that England needed 'a Master Plan, national in scope, into which local plans shall be fitted' (Dalton 1935: 823). These discussions eventually led to the establishment of the *Town and Country Planning Act 1947*, which was concerned with land-use planning. This Act was developed within a context where Britain was dealing with the political, economic, social and physical aftermath of World War Two. As Cullingworth and Nadin (2006: 23) highlight, this meant that planning at this time was concerned with thinking about how land could be used to aid in 'reconstructing blitzed areas, redeveloping blighted areas, securing a "proper distribution" of industry, developing national parks, and so on'. These socio-economic and physical necessities meant that planning practice was primarily shaped by a social democratic principle of 'welfare for all rather than prosperity for a few' (*ibid*: 24), affirming the idea that planning has historically been about creating improved places for people.

Since this time, numerous planning legislations have gradually transformed English planning from a land-use system—regulating land use—to a spatial planning system—shaping place-making through coordinating the spatial impacts of a range of sectoral policies (Shaw and Lord 2009).[4] Phillip Allmendinger and Graham Haughton (2009: 2545) have highlighted that spatial planning emerged as an idea which aimed to direct planners and planning systems towards having a 'renewed emphasis on the need to think and act across territories and between scales, with "traditional" land-use planning implicitly portrayed as incapable of addressing this "new" challenge'. However, Allmendinger and Haughton (*ibid*: 2545) also emphasise that land-use 'forms of planning have always been multi-scalar, worked with different institutional geographies, looking beyond the immediate jurisdiction of a plan or strategy, and seeking coordination across different policy sectors.' From this perspective, modern planning in England has always been spatial.

---

[4]Of note are the: *Town and Country Planning Act 1954; Town and Country Act 1990; Planning and Compensation Act 1991; Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004;* and *Localism Act 2011.*

In later work, Allmendinger and Haughton (2013) argued that accompanying the evolution of spatial planning in England, since the development of the *Town and Country Planning Act 1947*, have been notable shifts in planning's overarching objectives. These shifts have been driven by broader shifts in ideologies of governing on the national and international stage. One notable shift identified by Allmendinger and Haughton (*ibid*) has been located during the late 1970s and 1980s when neoliberal capitalism as an ideology was taking hold globally (see section 2.2.2). During this time, Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government mobilised an approach to planning that deregulated it and pursued a market-led and pro-financial business approach (Allmendinger and Haughton 2013; Cullingworth and Nadin 2006). This is in contrast with the more welfarist approach to planning that has been argued to have been adopted within immediate post-war planning in England (Cullingworth and Nadin 2006); although, Allmendinger and Haughton (2013) argue that post-war English planning has always been market supportive.

Another important shift has been identified as the 'Third-Way' approach to planning adopted by New Labour from the late 1990s (Allmendinger and Haughton 2009, 2010). Allmendinger and Haughton (2013: 11) have argued that there were adverse consequences to successive Thatcherite governments' deregulated and market-led approach to planning which included 'uncertainty and risk for developers, who sought certainty over plans for an area before committing themselves to substantial investments'. These consequences led to a revision, over the 1990s, of the deregulatory aspects of planning that emerged over the 1980s. Notably, the election of Tony Blair as Prime Minister in 1997 saw central government actively use planning as a regulatory tool to promote an economic-growth-based agenda that was discursively framed as being compatible with social and environmental goals (*ibid*). This approach has been regarded as a 'Third-Way' agenda as it attempted to drop the 'critical baggage' associated with previous incarnations of market-led and growth-based approaches to planning by reframing the pursuit of economic growth as enabling rather than hindering the pursuit of social justice (Allmendinger and Haughton 2009: 2547).

The above discussion demonstrates 'that planning is inevitably embedded in politics, reflecting and adapted to what...we call the spirit of the times' (Friedmann 2008: 248).

So, the ideological and policy goals and rationalities of governing that planning privileges at a particular political-economic conjuncture and in a particular geographical context are reflective of the broader ideological and policy goals and rationalities of governing that are privileged within that conjuncture and geographical context. Within this thesis, an overarching argument that is explored is whether in the current political economic conjuncture English planning represents a current system of neoliberal governmentality (Haughton et al. 2013) that has structured the LLDC into privileging neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing within its housing and regeneration plans. But, what are neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing within the context of English planning? These are issues explored in the next section.

2.2.2   *Planning under neoliberalism*

Neoliberalism has been regarded as the prevailing hegemonic ideology within capitalism since the late 1970s (Leiva 2008; Murray and Overton 2011). Davies (2014a) has argued that neoliberalism's origins can be traced back to the 1920s and 1930s where Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises (1936), perhaps most famously in *Socialism: An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, criticised the rationality of socialism. Along with fervent defenders of classical liberalism such as Friedrich von Hayek, von Mises sought to renew the case for economic liberalism within a historical conjuncture in which Western nations had seen 'the rise of corporations, trade unions, social policies, regulations and state socialism' (Davies 2014a: 311). These scholars sought 'to re-imagine economic liberalism in ways that accommodated these new developments or could effectively rebuff them' (*ibid*: 311). So, rather than pursuing a 'nostalgic project' (*ibid*: 310), scholars such as von Mises and von Hayek 'set about reinventing the argument for the price system of the market' (*ibid*: 311). Davies (*ibid*: 311) argued that Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* served as 'a popular introduction to neoliberal ideas for decades'.

Serious theoretical interrogation of neoliberalism as a doctrine and practice emerged within scholarship in the late 1980s/early 1990s that was critical of 'a perceived free market orthodoxy' that was being chiefly mobilised by 'new right' political leaders such as Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan (Davies 2014a: 309; for some critiques of neoliberalism over the late 1980s/early 1990s see Nye 1988; Otero 1993; Peck and

Tickell 1994). Since this time, neoliberalism as an ideology and practice has continued to be subjected to significant theoretical treatment (see Hall and O'Shea 2013; Jessop 2002; Peck 2010; Robinson 2011). This scholarship has: analysed neoliberalism's various principles and the various ways the term is deployed (Ferguson 2009); identified the impacts of neoliberal ideology at a variety of intersecting scales (Gill 2012); identified how neoliberalism manifests differently across space (see Springer 2010; Davies 2014b for discussion); examined how neoliberalism both as an ideology and a practice has evolved over time (Peck and Theodore 2012); and even asked strong questions about whether neoliberalism's force as an ideology is beginning to 'unravel' (Peck et al. 2010).

Loïc Wacquant (2012) has importantly highlighted that some neo-Marxist critiques of neoliberalism (see Brenner and Theodore 2002) have helped develop an economic conception of neoliberalism, which has been disregarded as a 'fairy tale' by some critical commentators (Braithwaite 2005). Wacquant (2012: 68) notes that this economic conception regards neoliberalism as:

> the straightforward imposition of neoclassical economics as the supreme mode of thought and the market as the optimal yet inflexible contraption to organise all exchanges.

More specifically, this critique of neoliberalism posits that neoliberal ideology has promoted: the disempowerment of the state in shaping political, economic and social life; the empowerment of private sector actors, private sector interests and market rationales in shaping political, economic and social life; and deregulation and free markets (see Wacquant 2012 for discussion). In short, neoliberalism was viewed to be marked by 'the hollowing out of the state, privatisation and deregulation' (Braithwaite 2005: 10), as a method for advancing the arenas for profit-making, capital accumulation, and growth-based agendas and policy goals (McChesney 1999).

These rationalities of governing (hollowing out of the state, empowerment of the private sector and deregulation) have been argued to have powerfully permeated English planning during the 1980s as part of 'attacks on planning in the Thatcher years' (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012: 95). For example, Allmendinger and Haughton (2009: 628) argued that during this period state planning obtained a narrowing remit

and played a 'developer-friendly role'. Additionally, Dabinet and Ramsden (1999) argued that the introduction of Enterprise Zones in the 1980s represented experiments in deregulation. However, ample planning research has also suggested that despite planning's changing remit, planning, and governance more broadly, under this period of neoliberalism was still marked by heavy state intervention (Brownill 1990; Brownill and O'Hara 2015; Haughton et al. 2013). Additionally, although English planning during the 1980s, and subsequently, has been marked by deregulation, it has simultaneously been argued to be marked by regulation and re-regulation (Albrechts et al. 2003) in ways enabling market criteria rather than social concerns to dominate decision-making (Thornley 1993).

These latter perspectives speak to broader efforts from critical scholars to challenge and re-frame understandings of chief neoliberal rationalities of governing—as posited by aforementioned neo-Marxist perspectives—in light of critically reflecting on how neoliberal ideology has been rolled out in practice. For instance, as will be discussed in section 2.3.3, theorists from the regulatory school of thought have contested the idea that state regulation is anathema to neoliberalism (Braithwaite 2005; Levi-Faur 2005). Additionally, some critical theorists, although agreeing that private sector actors and interests have been significantly empowered since the onset of neoliberalism, have rejected the idea that neoliberalism's ascent has led to the dismantling of the state (Wacquant 2012; Peck and Theodore 2012). Rather, it has been argued that states have been reordered to 'no longer represent positions outside the logic of market capitalism' (Short 2012: 39). So critical theorists argue that a myriad of state, private and indeed civil society institutions are implicitly engaged in governing activities under neoliberalism (Bevir 2013; Ekers et al. 2013; Jessop 2005a; Peck and Theodore 2012; Rosenau 1992, 1995; Wacquant 2012).

These critical perspectives crucially regard a key rationality of governing under neoliberalism to be allowing market criteria to dominate decision-making amongst governance actors. This is with the overriding purpose of pursuing policy objectives that enhance the arenas for profit-making, capital accumulation and economic growth. Discussions across my empirical chapters will reflect on whether these policy goals and rationality of governing are being privileged within the LLDC's housing and regeneration

plans. This research agenda is especially important given that much English literature at the interfaces of housing and planning has argued that these policy goals and rationalities of governing are at the centre of housing governance within England (see Edwards 2016; Hodkinson 2011; McAllister et al. 2016; Watt 2013).

Particularly notable for my research context are: (1) Flynn's (2016) research which has demonstrated that housing planning in England is dominated by market-based rationalities and technocratic forms of governing, such as viability assessments, which empower private developers to centre their profit-making agendas within local-level housing planning; and (2) Lees et al.'s (2012) research investigating the impacts of 'mixed and balanced neighbourhood' policies within British urban landscapes, which they argue represent policy objectives that ultimately aim to enable the state to recapture prime real estate from the urban poor. My discussion across my empirical chapters is concerned with exploring whether these market-based and technocratic forms of governing and policies are serving broader neoliberal agendas.

My investigation of these issues will also explore whether neoliberal governance encompasses other chief rationalities of governing/policy goals. In this regard Davies (2014b: 193, emphasis in text) saliently emphasises that:

> The political success of neoliberalism lies partly in its capacity to harness arguments about *both* justice *and* political transformation, and to locate these within an economic contest.

Davies' (*ibid*) comment suggests that neoliberal governance does not simply ignore or occlude considerations of social justice (Ferguson 2009), but can make space for it (Davies 2014b; Ferguson 2009). This analysis reflects the current manifestation of a discursive neoliberal approach that Allmendinger and Haughton (2009, 2010, 2013) have argued currently characterises English planning (see section 2.2.1). Notably, though, Davies' (2014b) analysis also highlights that the pursuit of social justice is governed according to marketized and economic logics. Thus, although neoliberalism may discursively allow for the pursuit of social justice goals, this pursuit is ultimately subordinate to the pursuit of economic and growth-based goals (Jessop 2002; Raco 2005). This is an important perspective that it is at the heart of one of the core

conceptual concerns of my thesis: ***whether English planning structures local-level planning actors into privileging the pursuit of neoliberal policy goals and/or social justice goals and principles.*** But, before I can address this issue across my empirical chapters, my discussion would benefit from providing conceptualisations of what broad policy goals and principles fall within a planning agenda that privileges the pursuit of social justice.

2.2.3   Planning for social justice

One of the key contributors to discussions about social justice within spatial planning has been Susan Fainstein. A vital element of Fainstein's work has been theorising relationships between planning and what she refers to as the 'just city' (Fainstein 2005; 2009a; 2009b). The context behind this research enquiry for Fainstein is her argument that in the current global political economy:

> the emphasis on economic competitiveness that tops every city's list of objectives causes planning to give priority to growth at the expense of all other values, providing additional evidence to the critics [of planning] who see it as serving developer interests at the expense of everyone else (Fainstein 2009a: 19).

Fainstein's concern is that the prioritisation of growth within urban planning means that it prioritises the consideration of the 'financial impacts' of planning policies rather than primarily considering their 'effects on people's well-being' (*ibid*: 28). Within this context, Fainstein's (2005: 121) overarching normative concern in relation to social justice and spatial planning is theorising '[u]nder what conditions can conscious human activity produce a better city for all citizens?'

Under this normative concern, the pursuit of social justice within planning is something that refers to both process and outcome (Fainstein 2005, 2009a, 2009b; Fischer 2009; Marcuse 2009a; Marcuse 2009b). On the process side of the question, contributions made by scholars within communicative planning approaches have been significant (see Healey 1996, 1997). Inspired by Habermas' (1984) theory of communicative action, the communicative planning approach has a normative concern with developing a 'just

process' of addressing planning matters. Critical to this process is the idea of 'inclusionary argumentation' (see Fischer and Forester 1993). This idea is informed by initially considering 'who is privileged and who is marginalized' within contextually relevant planning spaces and then challenges these spaces to be more 'democratic and collaborative' (Fischer 2009: 64). This is achieved by opening discussion and debate of planning matters to broad and diverse sections of society so that all stakeholders within any given planning context 'have a voice' when trying to develop consensus over planning strategies to be pursued (Healey 1997: 5). So, initially, social justice within planning is about enhancing the spaces and opportunities that broad and diverse sections of society have to participate in developing planning strategies and policies.

The communicative planning approach has been heavily critiqued (see Healey 2003; Fainstein 2005 for discussion of these critiques). However, the critique that is of relevance here is that this conception of a 'just process' does not guarantee 'just outcomes', a second key element of the pursuit of social justice within spatial planning. Urban planning literature discussing this issue highlights that social justice on the outcome side of the debate primarily focuses on how planning practice can be made to facilitate distributive justice within particular contexts (Fainstein 2009a; Marcuse 2009a). Fainstein (2009a) elaborates that this is fundamentally a question of using planning to move towards realising equitable outcomes within cities. For example, by considering how planning can be used to ensure equity in access to public space for different social groups (*ibid*). This latter example suggests that social justice in relation to spatial planning is also therefore about using planning as a tool to help people and groups realise their social needs, with a normative concern for using planning as a tool to help marginalised groups realise their social needs. From a capabilities approach, helping people to realise their social needs is about enhancing people's opportunities 'to do and to be' (Nussbaum 2002: 123). So, the pursuit of social needs within the context of spatial planning can be understood as using planning as a tool to shape the production of places in ways enhancing people's capabilities and capacity to live within those places.

A critical link between a 'just process' and a 'just outcome' in any given context is 'the role of power' (Marcuse 2009a: 91). Within urban planning literature, legitimate

concerns exist that further democratising planning does not guarantee that groups typically marginalised by and from contextually-relevant planning spaces and processes will be empowered to ensure that their collective well-being and capabilities will be at the heart of planning strategies (see section 2.4 for discussion). Given these concerns, another vital element to social justice within the context of spatial planning is a normative concern with ensuring that participation is accompanied by transformations in existing power relations. Notably, in ways empowering the voices, perspectives and social needs of social groups historically marginalised by and from planning in particular contexts to shape debates about planning matters. Marcuse (*ibid*: 94) argues that existing power relationships within planning result 'from the social, economic, and political structures of a particular society at a particular point in history'. Consequently, the pursuit of social justice within spatial planning necessarily encompasses, and is contingent upon, realising broader structural change (Marcuse 2009a; Fainstein 2009a).

This perspective raises questions about the sorts of broader structural changes that need to occur to enable the pursuit of social justice, as it has been presented above, to be achieved within urban planning. Fainstein (2009a) usefully argues that one important change required is the development of counter-institutions that actively work to challenge and transform existing institutions which lead to power imbalances, in terms of which social groups can and cannot effectively shape planning strategies on a context-by-context basis. Additionally, Fainstein (*ibid*: 21) highlights that justice within urban planning 'is not achievable at the urban level without support from other levels'. Fainstein's arguments suggest that those who are concerned with achieving social justice within any given urban planning context also need to take stock of the sorts of counter-institutions that need to be developed and policy changes that need to occur at other levels to facilitate social justice aims and principles being realised at the urban level. Within my research context, this point is germane given the multi-level nature of English planning (see section 2.3.2). In my empirical chapters, I am keen to explore whether multi-level action is indeed necessary to enable social justice policy goals and principles to be realised within the LLDC's plans.

This section has outlined key connected goals and principles that encompass a social justice agenda within planning: (1) enhancing the spaces and opportunities that broad

and diverse sections of society, particularly social groups marginalised by and within planning processes, have to shape the development of contextually relevant planning strategies and policies; (2) ensuring that these spaces and opportunities empower these social groups to have their voices, perspectives and needs shape the development of contextually relevant planning strategies and policies; and (3) ensuring that these processes translate into planning outcomes that help to produce distributive justice by addressing collective social needs, particularly the social needs of marginalised social groups. Thus, in my empirical chapters, when working through my first core conceptual tension— whether English planning privileges the pursuit of neoliberal and/or social justice policy goals and rationalities of governing—these criteria will help to form the basis of my assessment.

However, at the same time, within my empirical chapters I also identify how my research participants have come to understand the pursuit of social justice, to understand what this policy goal means within my research context. Thus, when working through the first core conceptual tension I identified, I also use my research participants' understanding of social justice to help me assess whether English planning has structured the LLDC into privileging the pursuit of social justice within their plans. But now, as I move on to the next section, I discuss literature that will help me conceptualise how English planning structures which governance actors have privileged power to shape the policy goals and rationalities of governing located within local-level planning actors' plans.

2.3   Governmentality and the English planning system

An important thread running through **RQ1** and **RQ2** is to theorise how English planning has shaped the ideological and policy goals, rationalities of governing and governance actors that have had privileged power to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. Thus, my conceptual framework would significantly benefit from discussing and drawing from governance literature addressing the 'how' question of governance. This conceptual enquiry has been most prominently taken up by Foucauldian and neo-Foucauldian scholars. This section will begin by presenting Foucauldian and neo-Foucauldian writings on governance. As a result of my specific research enquiries (see section 1.2)—investigating how multi-level governing and rules-based governing have

shaped the LLDC's plans—this section will then ground my discussion of the 'how' question of governance by discussing literature that will provide me with analytical tools to conceptualise these research enquiries. As with section 2.2, the overriding purpose is to highlight a core theoretical tension that I will explore in my thesis.

2.3.1   Conceptualising the 'how' question of governance: Foucault and governmentality

The 'how' question of governance is a question that has been most intimately tied with Foucauldian writings on the art of governing. Foucauldian approaches to governance have an explicit concern with the 'analytics of government' (Lemke 2007). Michel Foucault's (2008 [1979]: 2) analytics of government explored 'the reasoned way of governing best and, at the same time, reflection on the best possible way of governing.' As Lemke (2007: 47) emphasises, Foucault's analytics of government studied 'the practical conditions under which forms of statehood emerge, stabilize and change'. This analytical concern led Foucault to develop the seminal political concept of governmentality. Foucault first developed this concept in a series of lectures he gave between 1978 and 1979 at the Collège de France which focused on the genealogy of the modern state (Lemke 2001). Foucault was concerned with exploring how the state achieves its political goals through governing itself and its populace, as well as exploring how the populace is, in turn, made to govern itself (Foucault 1991a). He was thus concerned with identifying the governing tools and techniques of the state (Burchell et al. 1991; Rose 1999), or, in Foucault's (1991b) words, he was concerned with exploring the 'technologies' of government. These technologies encompass political, material and semiotic devices (Lemke 2007), as well as techniques of self-governing (Davoudi and Mandanipour 2013; Lemke 2007).

At the same time, Foucault's analytics of government was concerned with exploring what he termed 'state rationality' (Foucault 1991b: 97). With this concept, Foucault was arguing that the state, and the self, is governed and governs 'according to rational principles which are intrinsic to it and which cannot be derived solely from natural or divine laws or the principles of wisdom and prudence' (*ibid*: 97). So, for Foucault, a rationality of government was conceptualised as:

> a way or system of thinking about the nature and practice of government...
> capable of making some form of that activity thinkable and practicable both
> to its practitioners and to those upon whom it was practised (Gordon 1991:
> 3).

Bringing together these two areas of concern, Foucault (1991b) coined the term governmentality, which he conceptualised as 'the tactics of government which make possible the continual definition and redefinition of what is within the competence of the state and what is not' (*ibid*; 103). Foucault's concept of governmentality was effectively demonstrating that 'it is not possible to study the technologies of power without an analysis of the political rationality underpinning them' (Lemke 2001: 191). Thus, Foucault was also broadly concerned with exploring the broader ideological agendas that tools and techniques of governing were serving.

Incorporating Foucauldian and neo-Foucauldian theorisations of governmentality into my conceptual framework is vital as they necessarily focus my attention on exploring how governance is enacted, and the rationalisations informing this enactment. Foucault (1991b: 97) argues that these rationalisations 'cannot be derived solely from natural or divine laws'. This suggests that that the rationalisations shaping the operation of a system of governmentality are context dependent. The context of my research is the English planning system (and the broader British political economy that this operates within). So, my discussion in my empirical chapters is concerned with investigating the rationalisations currently underpinning the deployment and operation of English planning's technologies of governing.

As highlighted in section 1.1, this research enquiry has been powerfully taken up over the last several years by Phillip Allmendinger and Graham Haughton (see Allmendinger and Haughton 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2015; Haughton et al. 2013). Allmendinger and Haughton have argued that English planning over the last forty years has come to represent a chief form of 'neoliberal governmentality' within a British governance landscape (Allmendinger and Haughton 2010; Haughton et al. 2013). For them, this means that over this period the British state has come to tailor, re-work and introduce new technologies and spaces to English planning that 'justify' 'individualised and institutionalised routines' which consolidate the marketisation and financialisation of

planning (Haughton et al. 2013: 221). This is in addition to the British state putting planning's technologies of governing to work to consolidate the pursuit of economic growth agendas (Allmendinger and Haughton 2010). My thesis contributes to this discussion by exploring whether, within local-level planning, English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies currently empower governance actors who privilege the pursuit of neoliberal policy goals (as part of my concern with exploring which governance actors and which of their policy goals have had privileged power within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process). Consequently, sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3 now critically outline bodies of literature that will help me to analyse these issues across my thesis' empirical chapters.

2.3.2 English planning and multi-level governing

A vital element of **RQ2** is exploring how multi-level governing currently operates as a technology of governing within English planning. This research enquiry is being explored due to the importance that multi-level governing plays in English planning's operation as a system of governmentality. As highlighted in section 2.2.1, arguments mobilised by politicians, planning professionals and political theorists strongly expressed the need for English planning to develop a multi-level system of governing (Dalton 1935). This materialised, and within the current English planning system, in contexts where cities have a Mayor (as with London), there are several statutory tiers to this system—the national level, the metropolitan level, the local level, and the neighbourhood level. Notably, the neighbourhood level became added as a statutory tier to this system after the introduction of the *Localism Act 2011*. This Act introduced new legislation permitting neighbourhood communities to formally constitute themselves as neighbourhood forums and develop a neighbourhood plan for their neighbourhood (see section 2.4.2 for further discussion).

Within this multi-level system of governing, development plans produced by statutory planning bodies at lower strategic levels must generally conform with the development plans laid out by statutory planning bodies operating at higher strategic levels. In practice, this means that lower-level plans must conform with the *strategic policies* laid out within higher-level plans (see figure 2.1). Effectively, and importantly for **RQ2**, this

means that English planning's multi-level governing technology is hierarchical and initially appears to chiefly operate in a top-down manner (*ibid*). But, do systems of multi-level governing always operate in a top-down manner? Engaging with theorisations of multi-level governing can help in conceptualising this issue.

Figure 2.1. Structure of the English planning system.

Multi-level forms of governing were given serious theoretical treatment in a European context in the early 1990s (Allmendinger and Haughton 2005; Hooghe and Marks 2001; Marks 1993). Extensive literature on multi-level governance emanated from Gary Marks' (1993) reflections on the implications of developments in the European Community's structural policy (which became incorporated into the European Union in 1993) for Europe's political order. At the time, Marks believed that political commentators were placing too much emphasis on the relative role of supranational versus national institutions within this new European political context. Marks wanted to refocus

attention on theorising the roles that subnational institutions would play within this new political climate, and their 'myriad connections with other levels' (*ibid*: 392).

Marks explored how the changing European political context was influencing the political rationalities that would go on to shape European governing technologies. It is within this changing political context that Marks mobilised the concept of multi-level governance, which represents:

> a system of continuous negotiation among nested governments at several territorial tiers—supranational, national, regional, and local—as the result of a broad process of institutional creation and decisional reallocation that has pulled some previously centralized function of the state up to the supranational level and some down to the local/regional level (*ibid*: 392).

Marks' conception of multi-level governance is important insofar as it will direct me towards exploring the extent to which debates and negotiations between imbricated tiers of the state are shaping governance outcomes within my research context. However, Marks' conception of multi-level governance retains a strong air of realist thought as there is still a privileged focus on the roles that states play in multi-level governing. Section 2.2.2 presented arguments which argued that non-state actors and institutions are also integral players within systems of governing (Bevir 2013; Peck and Theodore 2012; Rosenau 1992, 1995; Wacquant 2012). So, an interesting issue to explore within **RQ2** is the power dynamics between state actors and non-state actors within my research context.

However, in relation to the question I posed above, another interesting, and core, issue that I explore within my thesis emerges from Marks' broad conceptualisation of structures of multi-level governing. Marks' (1993) discussion implies that multi-level governing does not simply operate in a top-down manner. Rather, his conception recognises the possibilities that lower-scale actors have a degree of constrained autonomy over their activities. His approach chimes with relational approaches which recognise that lower-scale governance actors also have the power to shape the activities of higher-scale governance actors (Brenner 2004; Jessop 1997b). These approaches trouble the idea that hierarchical systems of multi-level governing, such as planning,

operate exclusively in a top-down manner. Consequently, another core theoretical issue that I will explore in my thesis is: ***whether English planning's hierarchical multi-level technology of governing enables top-down or multi-directional relations of influence between national-, metropolitan-, local-, and neighbourhood-level governance actors (and their policy goals) in the arena of local-level planning.***

This issue is a complex one to work through as it raises difficult questions about how and why governance actors may or may not be able to work against planning's hierarchical structure and whether hierarchical structures such as planning can encompass multi-directional flows of power. To work through this issue, it would be beneficial to draw insights from a strategic-relational approach to multi-level governance. This approach has been chiefly mobilised within the field of politics by Bob Jessop. Jessop (2004: 48) examines:

> structure in relation to action, action in relation to structure, rather than bracketing one of them. Structures are thereby treated analytically as strategically-selective in their form, content, and operation; and actions are likewise treated as structurally constrained, more or less context-sensitive, and structuring.

So, a strategic-relational approach explores how a given governance structure may empower the interests of certain governance actors, and privilege certain ideological agendas, governing technologies, and some methods of action over others. Simultaneously, this approach explores how governance actors navigate the constraints of the structure that they are operating within, and considers the impacts of this navigation on the governance structure (*ibid*).

Jessop's strategic-relational approach appears to resonate with Anthony Giddens' (1984) structuration theory. Giddens (*ibid*) treats structure as a set of reproduced rules and resources that constrain and facilitate social action. At the same time, he (*ibid*) argues that governance actors are knowledgeable and skilled actors who can use a structure's rules and resources subversively to alter that structure. However, as Jessop (2004) notes, a strategic-relational approach departs from structuration theory on two key counts. Firstly, there is an appreciation for the fact that a given governance

structure's operation and impacts are also shaped by broader systems, structures and orders (Jessop 2005b). Secondly, a strategic-relational approach explicitly acknowledges that built within governance structures are systems and rules which create varying capacities for different governance actors to impact upon a structure (Jessop 2004).

For two reasons, these features of a strategic-relational approach to multi-level governing will help me to think through the tensions arising from the possibility that hierarchical systems of governing do not only encompass top-down flows of power between governance actors. Firstly, I can account for situations that may emerge where local-level governance actors are able to work against planning's hierarchical multi-level governing technology by attributing this ability to broader spatial, socio-economic and political questions. For example, how do the broader political-economic agendas that Olympic-related development is meant to be serving shape the capacity that local governance actors have to work against planning's hierarchical structure? Secondly, I will be drawn to exploring whether English planning's systems and rules may or may not enable different types of governance actors (and the rationalities of governing and policy agendas they mobilise) to work against English planning's hierarchical structure. This latter issue begins to suggest that rules may be an important element to English planning, and this is an issue that I now turn towards conceptualising.

2.3.3   Rules-based planning within England

Another important issue that this thesis explores, within my discussion of the how question of governing, is the operation of rules-based governing within English planning. This research enquiry is relevant for me because, as discussed in the last section, one of planning's key rules is that lower-level plans must conform with the strategic policies laid out within higher-level plans. It is also relevant because sitting at the top of the English planning system is central government who have developed the *NPPF* which 'sets out the Government's planning policies for England and how these are expected to be applied' (DCLG 2012: 1).[5] Upon being published, the *NPPF*—a document with just under 60 pages—replaced thousands of pages of planning policy statements and

---

[5]I will discuss the *NPPF* in greater detail in chapter four.

planning policy guidance notes in setting the national-level planning policy framework for England. Consequently, the *NPPF*'s introduction could potentially be regarded as a form of planning deregulation, troubling arguments articulated in section 2.2.2 that neoliberalism should not be readily and chiefly equated with deregulation (Braithwaite 2005). However, the *NPPF* still sets out the 'rules' regulating the nature of developments that can take place within England. Additionally, the *NPPF* is accompanied by extensive (albeit heavily stripped down) *National Planning Practice Guidance (NPPG)* that offers further guidance on how the policies in the *NPPF* should be applied. This means that despite the stripping down of national-level planning policy, English planning still has the capacity to operate as a rules-based form of governing.

In light of this capacity, one body of literature emerging in the last decade which seems apt to draw insights from is the regulatory capitalism discourse. It is a discourse developed by David Levi-Faur (2005: 13) who primarily argues that:

> [g]overnance through regulation (that is, via rule making and rule enforcement) is at the same time both constraining and encouraging the spread of neoliberal reforms.

The regulatory capitalism discourse has theoretical roots in theories of the regulatory state (Braithwaite 2005; Scott 2004). In relation to planning, theories of the regulatory state have examined the roles that planning systems and state governance structures have played in supporting a broader regime of capital accumulation (Feldman 1995; Goodwin 2001; Leo 1997; Painter 1991; Painter and Goodwin 2000). So, moving beyond just addressing the 'how' question of governance, there is a Gramscian concern (see Ekers and Loftus 2008 for discussion) with addressing the 'why' question of governance. Consequently, theories of the regulatory state attempted to elucidate the broader political and economic objectives that state governance structures serve.

But, as the name of this discourse implies, on the 'how' side of the question, there is a particular concern with conceptualising how state systems, state practices, and state actors regulate capital accumulation; although there is also a recognition that market actors could help shape forms of regulation (Stoker 1989). Levi-Faur (2005), in developing the regulatory capitalism discourse, moved away from this realist way of

looking at the global political economy. Levi-Faur (*ibid*) wanted to conceptualise new forms of governance that have emerged between states, markets and civil society since the onset of neoliberalism. He mobilised a conceptual framework which argued that market actors are just as important as state actors in shaping forms of regulation that are geared towards bolstering capital accumulation. Consequently, the regulatory capitalism discourse leaves us open to considering the potentially equally important roles that the state and the market play in shaping rules-based technologies under contemporary capitalism. This will be an important research enquiry within my broader investigation of which governance actors are exhibiting chief influence over the LLDC's plans.

Mike Raco (2012, 2014) has already mobilised a regulatory capitalism framework to analyse governance practices in London's Olympic area. In this analysis, Raco (2012: 453) argues that:

> [u]nder regulatory capitalism, hybrid relationships emerge between states and powerful corporations, to the point that the distinctions between providers and policymakers become increasingly blurred.

The argument that is of relevance here is that we are currently in a stage of capitalism where public and private bodies are collaborating in the production of rules and regulations. Thus, in relation to the governance of urban development and regeneration, public and private actors and their interests 'become involved in co-producing all aspects of urban projects' (*ibid*: 453).

Although Raco is applying this argument to London 2012, it is essential to emphasise that this governance relation has been argued to be a salient feature of Britain's urban governance landscape for at least the last 35 years. Perhaps the most striking example of this argument being made has been in relation to the deployment of Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) within planning. UDCs were the brainchild of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government; although the deployment of development corporations within a British landscape dates back to the establishment of the *New Towns Act 1946* which enabled the establishment of New Town Development Corporations (NTDCs) (Hart 1948).

UDCs were initially regarded as side-lining local government and empowering private enterprise within their respective governance of urban development and regeneration (see Imrie and Thomas 1995 for discussion).[6] Perhaps most prominently remembered in this regard is the case of the London Docklands which Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government desired to regenerate through a large and intense programme of physical and economic redevelopment. At the time, the Docklands encompassed residential land and a large swathe of former industrial land which had been hit hard by dock closures and industrial decline from the late 1960s onwards (Brownill 1990). Charged with delivering the redevelopment of the Docklands was the LDDC. Over its lifespan (from 1981 – 1998), the LDDC was comprised of individuals who had significant experience working within LPAs and/or private sector organisations relating to development. Additionally, as Brownill (1999) highlighted, over the late 1980s surrounding LPAs such as Newham Council and Tower Hamlets Council negotiated to have representation on the LDDC's Board. The effect of this governance dynamic was to marry together within one organisation individuals who had public and/or private sector backgrounds. Some viewed this fusion to have engendered a type of development and regeneration that distilled direct benefits to east London communities (LDDC 1997; LDDC 1998). However, as Brownill and O'Hara (2015) emphasise, the LDDC has also been fiercely criticised for reflecting the broader political-economic climate and engendering development and regeneration projects which benefitted financialised capitalism whilst simultaneously marginalising east London's working-class communities (Foster 1992; Savitch 1998).

Ultimately, what this observation, and indeed what other studies of UDCs suggest (see Imrie and Thomas 1999b) is that close relations between public and private spheres has long been a feature of Britain's urban planning landscape (Imrie and Raco 1999). Consequently, it seems vital for my conceptual framework to draw from Raco's (2012) insights about the operation of regulatory capitalism. However, at the same time an important issue remains to explore just how hybrid relations are between states and powerful corporations in the production of urban policies. Consequently, an issue that I will reflect on in my empirical chapters is whether private bodies have played important roles in shaping the LLDC's housing and regeneration planning policies.

---

[6]Although Imrie and Thomas (1999a) argue that UDCs were subject to institutional and political specificities.

At that the start of this section, I also argued that my conceptual framework would benefit from incorporating this discourse's perspective that rule-making and regulation is a critical aspect of contemporary governance. This is because of the aforementioned structural rule about the relationship that needs to exist between statutory policies laid out in higher-level plans and policies laid out in lower-level plans. However, another important element of this rule is that lower-level planning actors retain some autonomy over interpreting how higher-level planning policies can be applied to their local planning context (Allmendinger 2006; Allmendinger and Haughton 2013; Crook 1996; Hart et al. 2015). This discretionary aspect of planning has notable implications for the second core tension I will explore in my thesis—whether English planning's hierarchical form of multi-level governing also allows for multi-directional flows of influence.

English planning's rule about discretion appears to enable lower-level planning actors to display some agency within its hierarchical structure. I will explore this issue in my thesis through reflecting on whether planning's rule about discretion has empowered the LLDC to have agency over determining whether, how and the extent to which policy goals found within the *NPPF* and the GLA's *London Plan* have carried through into their *Local Plan*. Crucially, exploring this issue will enable my thesis to draw conclusions about the combined structural influences of multi-level governing and rules-based governing on local-level planning. Thus, the second core tension that I am working through across my thesis can be reformulated as: ***examining whether English planning's hierarchical multi-level governing technology, and its interaction with planning's rules-based governing technology, enables top-down and/or multi-directional relations of influence between contextually relevant national-, metropolitan-, local-, and neighbourhood-level governance actors (and their policy goals) in the arena of local-level planning.***

2.4   Community participation in planning

So far, this literature review has chiefly engaged with literature that will help me to think through the main conceptual and empirical issues that I will address within **RQ1** and **RQ2**. Now, this section focuses on critically engaging with literature that will help me to discuss the core empirical concern within **RQ3**: community participation in planning within the

LLDC's planning context. Within England, there is a long history of communities participating in state planning spaces. Perhaps the most prominent government document that has formalised communities participating within state planning is *The Skeffington Report*. This report sought

> to consider and report on the best methods, including publicity, of securing the participation of the public at the formative stage in the making of development plans for their area (Ministry of Housing and Local Government 1969: 1).

This report concluded that development plans should be subjected to full public scrutiny and debate. Since this report's publication, and the ensuing normalisation of community participation in planning, there have been strong debates within planning literature about the merits and pitfalls of participating within state planning spaces for communities (for example, see Brownill and Carpenter 2007; Brownill and Parker 2010; Damer and Hague 1971; Healey 1997; London Tenants Federation et al. 2014). A central component of these debates is:

> whether participation in state planning processes represents a politically effective way for communities to try and shape development plans and outcomes for their neighbourhood (Sagoe 2016: 3).

In this section, I briefly navigate through some of these debates. I do this particularly with reference to Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced perspectives, and perspectives from within critical pragmatism. I aim to highlight how these perspectives can help me to think about community participation within the LLDC's planning framework.

2.4.1   Community: A contested but meaningful concept

Prior to discussing community participation in planning, it is vital to highlight what I understand by the term community. Providing this conceptualisation is challenging, primarily because of the broad ranging ways in which the term community is deployed. The term community can be adopted narrowly. For instance, Healey (1997: 123) has highlighted that '[s]ometimes the word "community" is used merely as a synonym for

"the people who live in an area"'. Yet, at other times the term community can be deployed in a more nebulous manner. For example, Peterman (2000: 21) notes that the term community can encapsulate the idea that a group of people 'share something in common' with one another. But, in seeking to concretise this vague deployment of the term, Peterman emphasises that 'community' can encapsulate the idea that groups of people have a common ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class background, religious belief, interest, and/or career, etc. (*ibid*). Thus, as Peterman (*ibid*: 22) argues '[w]e are all members of many communities'. Importantly, our communities:

> do not exist in isolation…[They] are interconnected in subtle and intricate ways. And they are not static. They are always changing as members join and leave and as connections to other communities grow or wither (*ibid*: 22).

This broad conception of the term community illustrates the many, and changing, things that community can mean to people. The term community is also put to work by people in various ways to satisfy differing agendas. For example, Healey (1997: 123) notes that politicians, citizens and planners often deploy the term community to 'talk nostaligically [sic] of a time when everyone living in an area knew and trusted each other'. However, Healey (*ibid*: 123) has shown that the term community is also commonly deployed by groups as a term of solidarity that demarcates themselves as collectives that are 'in opposition to business, or government'.

The multifarious, fluid and shifting adoptions and deployments of the term community indicates the need for me to identify precisely how I am conceptualising the term. In my thesis, I do ascribe to Peterman's (2000) understanding of the term community, as well as Healey's (1997: 123) identification that the term has strong connotations of 'opposition to business, or government'. But, I am aware of the need to point out what this conceptualisation means within the confines of my research context. At this point, it is germane to revisit a central aim of my research—to explore how people and groups are attempting to shape the LLDC's plans through engaging with their planning framework. Within these engagements, it is people and groups who do not represent the state, private sector organisations, nor civil society institutions, that fall within my understanding of the term community. Congruent with Peterman's (2000)

conceptualisation of the term, these people and groups are members of many interconnected and changing communities.

2.4.2 Community participation in planning: Limitations and possibilities

As I stated above, there has been much strident debate between and within government circles, academic circles, and communities, about the benefits that communities derive from participating within state planning spaces. One of the primary mechanisms by which communities are invited to participate in state planning is through statutory consultation procedures surrounding the production of statutory development plans. These consultation procedures ostensibly offer communities important opportunities to comment upon, seek alterations to, and thus shape the policy goals being pursued within development plans for their area. Consultation procedures can thus be seen optimistically as providing a sort of corrective to a top-down model of development (Tandon 2008). Unsurprisingly, the British government argues that these consultations provide empowering opportunities for local communities to play key roles in shaping the development that is being planned for their area (DCLG 2014a).

However, there is ample planning literature which has sought to counter this rose-tinted outlook provided by the government. There have been those who have saliently demonstrated that groups, marginalised along the lines of race, ethnicity, class, gender, ability, sexuality and religion are likely to be further marginalised within or completely excluded from consultation processes (Beebeejaun 2004; Beebeejaun 2012; Thomas 2000). There has also been extensive literature questioning how empowering consultation processes have been for communities that have been able to participate in them (Brownill and Carpenter 2007; Brownill and Parker 2010; London Tenants Federation et al. 2014), in particular, communities marginalised along the lines of the aforementioned structural oppressions—e.g. Gypsies and Travellers (Thomas 2000)— and communities privileging the pursuit of social justice goals and principles.

Many of these denouncements have viewed forms of participation such as consultation as nothing more than what Sherry Arnstein (1969) has termed in her 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' model (figure 2.2) as a form of tokenism (Cornwall 2008; Eversole 2012;

Kothari 2001; London Tenants Federation et al. 2014; Mohan 2001).[7] Generally, these tokenistic forms of engagement make people aware of what is happening and will ask for their input, but their wishes will never really be considered by those running the consultation (Peterman 2000). Thus, some have argued that these consultation procedures are actually a tool of governing designed to give the impression that planning processes are democratic and participatory, whilst simultaneously concealing planning's 'dark-side' (Flyvbjerg 1996; Yiftachel 1994)—i.e. concealing the ways in which power operates to structure what ideological and policy goals and whose interests chiefly shape the production of development plans for a particular place. Consequently, consultation exercises have been derided by some as a form of 'tyranny' (Cooke and Kothari 2001).

Figure 2.2. Ladder of citizen participation. Source: Arnstein (1969: 217).

---
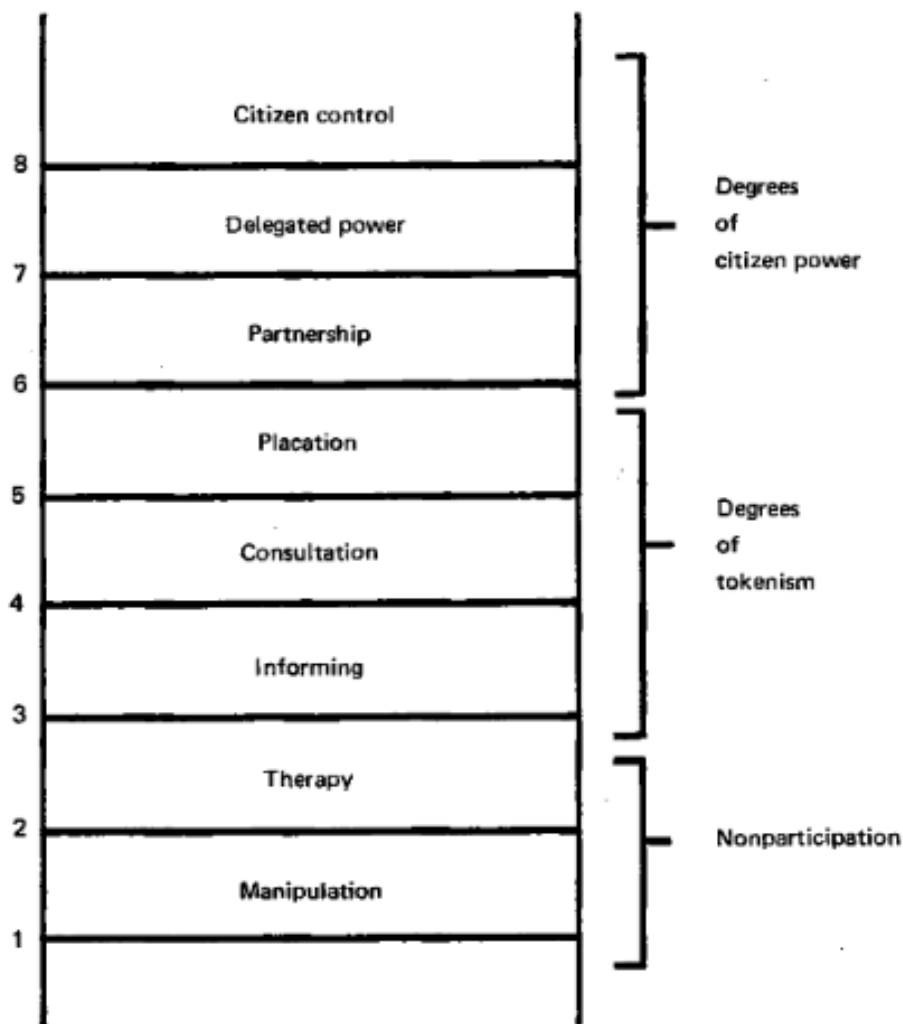
[7]This model has been criticised for delineating only eight forms of participation and drawing such sharp distinctions between them. As Connor (1988) highlights, we may require more rungs that overlap to cover the full range of citizen participation activities which are conducted. However, this model does serve as a useful guide for generally capturing the empowering and unempowering ways communities can be invited to participate in state planning.

These perspectives represent a Foucauldian-type take on community participation in statutory planning in the sense that they analyse this participation as a tool that empowers the state to achieve its political objectives through governing the populace. Rosol (2015) has conducted important research applying a Foucauldian framework to the analysis of participatory processes and power within the context of state planning. Focusing on citizen participation in the development of Vancouver's CityPlan (adopted in 1995), Rosol (*ibid*: 256) demonstrated how the participatory processes involved in the development of this plan could be read as forms of governing 'consisting of conducting the conduct of citizens'. Rosol (*ibid*: 261) argued that conducting the conduct of participants was 'based less on repressive coercion, violence or ideological deception, and more on the freedom of subjects to act. However, this acting…is guided—or conducted'. This guiding or conducting can for instance be achieved by state figures within participatory processes setting priorities for discussion which serves to limit options about what issues can be discussed or debated, or problematising issues in certain ways which assists in producing consensus over certain outcomes from participatory processes (*ibid*). Not only do these techniques of power assist those who run participatory processes to structure outcomes according to their preferences, it does so in a way which limits resistance to these preferences by giving the impression that participants have come to a consensus over these preferences of their own volition (*ibid*).

Within the context of English planning, similar styles of critique about participatory processes have been made by Allmendinger and Haughton. Influenced by Foucauldian concerns, Allmendinger and Haughton (2012) discuss whether tools of governing like consultations allow citizens and communities to fundamentally challenge state-level plans and strategies for an area or whether they essentially function to legitimate these plans and strategies. Allmendinger and Haughton (2012, 2015) argue that within consultations technocratic forms of governing (e.g. viability assessments)—which are rationalised as being value free and incontestable (McAllister et al. 2016)—and the deployment of certain nomenclature—such as 'sustainable development' which presents growth and development as unproblematic—function to quell fundamental disagreement over, and even encourage support for, state development plans and strategies. Thus, for Allmendinger and Haughton (2012: 93) tools of governing like

consultations at best 'mobilise and reproduce acquiescence' for state plans and strategies 'whilst marginalising more radical alternatives'. These critiques of consultations are challenging as they imply that they either do not lead to, or are not designed to, empower citizens and communities who wish to challenge state plans and strategies to realise their planning aspirations for their area of concern. An important conceptual enquiry within **RQ3** is to explore whether planning consultations perform the functions that Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced critiques argue them to, or whether they can empower participants to challenge state plans and realise their planning aspirations for their area of concern.

Another conceptual enquiry within **RQ3** is to explore whether another form of participation which has emerged, and become increasingly prominent, over the last six years, also performs this function. In this regard, it is vital to note that perhaps as a response to the swathe of academic and public condemnation of consultation processes, the British government has provided another avenue for communities to try and shape the planning of development and regeneration within their area. This relatively new avenue has been provided through the *Localism Act 2011*. This Act was established by the former Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government and represents a key legislative element of this administration's localism agenda (see Wills 2015, 2016 for discussion of localism). Amongst other things, the *Localism Act 2011* included a provision which gave power to communities to constitute themselves as neighbourhood forums and develop a neighbourhood plan for their respective neighbourhoods. Once adopted, a neighbourhood plan would become a statutory development plan for a neighbourhood (*Localism Act 2011*), sitting below a LPA's *Local Plan* (see figure 2.1). Consequently, neighbourhood planning is conceptualised in some quarters as radical and exciting as it appears to provide communities with 'a powerful set of tools' to 'get the right types of development in the right place' for their neighbourhood (Locality 2014; Parker 2012). Indeed, given that neighbourhood planning provides forums with 'direct power to develop a shared vision for their neighbourhood and shape the development and growth of their local area' (DCLG 2015a: 11), neighbourhood planning could optimistically be regarded as giving citizens a degree of power over the planning of development within their neighbourhood (Wills 2016). Thus, from a communicative approach to planning, neighbourhood planning could be conceptualised as a progressive planning tool as it is

addressing a normative concern to enable 'all stakeholders to have a [powerful] voice' in the planning of their area of concern (Healey 1997: 5).

However, there are critics of neighbourhood planning who 'are less than sanguine about neighbourhood planning's potential to benefit communities' (Sagoe 2016: 6). Detractors of neighbourhood planning argue that this planning tool does 'not necessarily give communities greater leverage over the principal changes that they are most concerned about' (Gallent and Robinson 2012: 27). This is because neighbourhood planning must adhere to English planning's rules-based governing technology (DCLG 2015a). In practice, this means that neighbourhood plans must be in conformity with strategic planning policies set out at higher strategic levels within the planning system. Critics of neighbourhood planning have highlighted that this planning rule means that neighbourhood planning has not transformed existing power-relationships in the sphere of producing planning policies for neighbourhoods (Gallent and Robinson 2012: 176).

Moreover, some have argued that this planning rule means that neighbourhood planning does not provide communities with genuine opportunities to contest and seek transformations to state-level development and regeneration plans for their neighbourhood (Parker et al. 2015). Foucauldian-influenced writings have argued that this rule serves to conduct the conduct of neighbourhood forums as they are in effect 'deployed to achieve government's objectives' within planning (Davoudi and Mandanipour 2013: 555). Additionally, Allmendinger and Haughton (2012) have argued that this planning rule means that neighbourhood planning at best generates community acquiescence for higher-level state plans (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012). The concern is that this perceived acquiescence can be read as communities giving their consent over the strategic policies laid out within these higher-level plans, which serves to further 'legitimise' these higher-level strategic policies. So, a further concern of Allmendinger and Haughton's (*ibid*) is that within the current political economy neighbourhood planning represents nothing more than an attempt to further legitimise and entrench the pursuit of neoliberal planning policy goals within planning.

These critiques of neighbourhood planning are again challenging as they illustrate significant limitations to its transformational capacity. They also highlight the potential

that neighbourhood planning is a programme which has been deployed deceptively by the state. As a result of these strong critiques about neighbourhood planning another important conceptual enquiry within **RQ3** is whether neighbourhood planning is an empowering or disempowering tool for communities. Together with my enquiry into the function of statutory consultations, this means that another core conceptual tension that I will explore across my thesis is: ***the limitations and possibilities associated with communities using participation in state planning as a strategy to influence local-level planning.*** In addition to using this research enquiry to assess the relevance of aforementioned important, but sceptical, takes on this matter, I also use this enquiry to assess literature that attempts to critically move past these perspectives. Thus, in the rest of this section I outline potential contributions that can be made on this issue from writings within critical pragmatism.

Forester (2012: 5) has argued that '[c]ritical pragmatism provides a line of analysis and imagination that might contribute both to academic planning theory and to engaged planning practices as well.' It is an approach which Forester (*ibid*: 6 – 7) argues:

> can move us from a deconstructive skepticism toward a reconstructive imagination, from presumptions of impossibility to explorations of possibility, from a more passive listening to joint, co-generated problem-solving, from any premise of narrow, zero-sum adversarial bargaining to creative and expansive, joint-gain oriented negotiations satisfying the interests of diverse publics.

The particular aspects of this argument that I am interested in exploring within my thesis are the former aspects which suggest that a critical pragmatist approach can help planning theorists to avoid a pessimism about planning. Of interest for me is whether critical pragmatist approaches can help in critically moving beyond a pessimism about community participation in planning. In particular, in ways helping planning theorists and communities to develop a critical but positive framework for thinking about whether statutory consultations and neighbourhood planning can help communities to realise their planning aspirations for their area of concern. I make this assessment primarily in relation to the writings of Roberto Unger.

Unger is most prominently known for his contributions to legal theory. But, his work also spans the fields of social, economic and political theory. Within these fields, amongst other things, Unger has centrally sought to theorise how individuals and groups can be empowered to change institutions and achieve progressive forms of social change. With this overarching political ambition in mind, Unger wrote *The Self Awakened: Pragmatism Unbound*. In this text, Unger (2007: 7 – 8) theorises how individuals and groups can shape or alter intersecting social, economic, political, and cultural contexts by 'engag[ing] with…[the] world – wholeheartedly though not single-mindedly – without having to surrender to it.' Unger proposes a philosophy of 'radicalized pragmatism' which seeks 'transformations of the established situation' 'by identifying, in each intellectual and political situation, the next steps' (*ibid*: 8, 41, 27).

Importantly, Unger argues for pragmatism in developing a strategy which tries to bring about transformations. In arguing for pragmatism, Unger's framework actively advocates engaging with existing governance systems and processes. Although, Unger is acutely aware that in many cases engaging with these systems and processes can be inhibiting for transformational politics. There is the danger that communities' engagements with these systems and processes may force them to 'genuflect' to the whims and desires of powerful actors wishing to maintain the established situation (*ibid*: 28). This recognition echoes Foucauldian concerns about severe limitations associated with participation in statutory forms of urban governance:

But, Unger (2007: 55) does not confine his framework to this line of thinking as:

> habitual settings of action and thought, especially as organized by the institutions of society and the conventions of culture, are incapable of containing us. Although they shape us, they never shape us completely. Even when they do not invite us to defy and to change them, we can defy and change them nevertheless. There always remains in us a residue or a surfeit of untamed and unexhausted capability.

Essentially, Unger argues that we have the power to engage with existing governance systems and processes subversively. Indeed, it is forms of pragmatism which are informed by subversive intent—i.e. 'extraordinary moves by which we reshape…[our] setting, piece by piece and step by step' (*ibid*: 69)—that causes pragmatism to be radical.

Unger's framework provides a challenge to aforementioned critical takes on community participation in planning (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012, 2015; Davoudi and Mandanipour 2013; Rosol 2015) as this framework suggests that communities *can* participate in state planning subversively. This is because of this framework's position that citizens have power to mobilise their agency to negotiate and work against constraining structures and statutory tools of governing such as consultations or neighbourhood planning. This is an important perspective that I will explore within my broader conceptual enquiry into the limitations and possibilities associated with community participation in planning. This exploration will also encompass discussions of strategies of engagement with statutory forms of governing that are or are not assisting communities to use statutory planning to achieve their development and regeneration aspirations for London's Olympic area.

On the issue of strategy, Unger's (2007) argument that engaging with existing governance or institutional systems represents one potential step in helping to transform a situation is also interesting. It implies taking a relational outlook on forms of engagement with existing governance and institutional systems. Or, in other words, it suggests that it is vital to explore what these forms of engagement are seeking to achieve as part of a broader repertoire of action. This has notable implications when making assessments about the benefits or not that communities derive from participating in statutory planning processes or using statutory planning tools. Rather than making this assessment based on the immediate results of these forms of participation, this assessment is made based on whether this engagement has positively contributed to a broader strategy of action, in spite of the limited results that may have been gained from any instance of participation. Although, Unger recognises that we will be engaging in a degree of experimentation as we can never know *ex ante* whether particular instances of engaging with existing governance and institutional systems will empower us to take steps towards realising our political ambitions. Importantly, however, Unger argues that this process of experimentation is still productive—'in light of our discoveries' (*ibid*: 49), we can retrospectively revise our *a priori* assumptions about the potential benefits that we may derive from particular forms of engagement with existing governance and institutional systems.

Unger's relational outlook on engagement with existing governance and institutional systems can be regarded as the chief way that his radical pragmatism framework may be useful within my thesis. This is because it seems like it can help my thesis to develop a critical but positive framework for considering whether communities can participate within state planning in productive and empowering ways. Within my empirical chapters, I explore whether this aspect of his framework does help in finding value in instances of community participation in planning and whether it captures how the community groups I have researched view their participation. This sits alongside my exploration of whether Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced perspectives on community participation in planning are applicable to my research context.

2.5   Conclusion

This chapter discussed literature on governance and planning which will provide me with analytical tools to conceptualise my empirical findings in relation to my three research questions. In section 2.2, I discussed literature conceptualising ideologies and English planning. This section provided conceptualisations of important features of neoliberal planning (see Allmendinger and Haughton 2009, 2010, 2013) and planning for social justice (see Fainstein 2005, 2009a; Marcuse 2009a). It also emphasised that discursively the pursuit of neoliberal policy goals makes room for the pursuit of social justice policy goals. Although, this section also presented the argument that within planning under neoliberalism the pursuit of social justice is subordinate to the pursuit of economic and growth-based policy goals, market criteria and financial considerations (Allmendinger and Haughton 2009, 2010, 2013; Davies 2014b).

Section 2.3 then shifted the focus from ideologies of governing to how governance is enacted. Consequently, I presented Foucauldian literature on governmentality and conceptualised English planning as a system of governmentality. This conceptualisation led me to focus on two key technologies of governing within English planning: multi-level governing—with reference to Marks (1993) and Jessop (2004); and rules-based governing—with reference to the regulatory capitalism discourse (Levi-Faur 2005; Raco 2012). Within these discussions, I considered how these two technologies of governing

may shape the relative power and agency that national-, metropolitan-, local-, and neighbourhood-level governance actors have over local-level planning.

Section 2.4 then focused on another important 'how' question of governing by conceptualising the functions of community participation in planning and subsequently considering what this means for the limitations and possibilities of community participation in planning for participants. The particular focus was on statutory consultations and neighbourhood planning. I chiefly discussed Foucauldian perspectives (Rosol 2015) and Foucauldian-influenced perspectives (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012, 2015) on this issue before discussing what insights could be made by Unger's (2007) radical pragmatism framework. The sum of the analytical tools that I will use across my thesis in relation to my research questions is outlined in figure 2.3.

My literature review raised various issues and tensions, but there are three key tensions that emerged. Firstly, in relation to **RQ1**, my discussions of neoliberalism and planning highlighted that there are strong arguments that in Britain's current political economy the English planning system structures planning actors into privileging the pursuit of neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing (Haughton et al. 2013). At the same time, there is recognition that English planning has simultaneously been discursively framed as being compatible with the pursuit of social justice (Allmendinger and Haughton 2009). Consequently, within my research context an interesting tension to work through is the extent to which English planning has structured the LLDC into privileging neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing and/or social justice goals and principles within its planning framework. Working through this tension will allow me to assess the contemporary relevance of planning literature arguing that English planning represents a current system of neoliberal governmentality.

Figure 2.3. Conceptual framework.

Conceptualising English planning as a system of governmentality in relation to the LLDC's planning context

Neoliberalism – Critical theorists

Social justice – Fainstein, Marcuse

Strategic-relational approach

RQ1: English planning, policy goals, rationalities

RQ2: Structural technologies, statutory spaces, governance actors

RQ3: Community participation in statutory planning

Roberto Unger's radical pragmatism

Regulatory capitalism

Foucauldian perspectives

The second tension, in relation to **RQ2**, relates to my discussion of multi-level governing and rules-based governing within English planning. I highlighted that English planning is hierarchical. In relation to this issue, I also emphasised that one of planning's chief rules is that lower-level planning actors' plans must be congruent with the strategic planning policies located within contextually relevant higher-level planning actors' plans. However, when discussing multi-level governing I engaged with Marks (1993) and Jessop (2004) who have both argued that relations of influence within hierarchical forms of multi-level governing can be multi-directional. Additionally, when discussing rules-based governing, I noted that the discretionary aspect of English planning means that lower-level planning actors have some degree of autonomy over the extent to which, and the ways in which, higher-level planning policies are interpreted within their plans. Consequently, another important tension to explore is the extent to which multi-level governing and English planning's structural rules have caused top-down or multi-directional relations of influence between governance actors in my research context. Results of this enquiry will enable me to assess the applicability of relational approaches to multi-level governing to my research context.

The last core tension that I will explore, this time in relation to **RQ3**, relates to my discussion of the limitations and possibilities of community participation in state planning. Within my discussion of this issue in section 2.4, I presented Foucauldian, and Foucauldian-influenced, perspectives which argued that participatory processes are tools which chiefly operate to consolidate the pursuit of the preferred policy goals and aspirations of the actors running these processes. The implication is that these participatory processes are severely limiting for citizens and communities who aim to use them to privilege the pursuit of their policy aspirations within statutory planning spaces. I also discussed Unger's (2007) radical pragmatism framework which helps to provide a critical but more positive take about the possibilities for communities within participatory planning processes. Set against this theoretical background, the last core tension that I explore is whether participating within the LLDC's statutory consultations and utilising statutory planning tools has empowered community groups to consolidate the pursuit of their planning aspirations within the LLDC's planning framework. Results from this enquiry will help me to assess the relevance of Foucauldian and critical pragmatist perspectives to my research context.

When providing my final discussion of these conceptual tensions within this thesis' conclusion, I do not aim to abandon or wholeheartedly adopt theoretical approaches that I have discussed in this literature review. Rather, I aim to use this discussion to offer generative critiques of the bodies of literature that I am thinking with across my empirical chapters. These generative critiques are not only aimed at bolstering the ability of these approaches to provide sophisticated accounts of housing and regeneration planning within London's Olympic area. These critiques are also aimed at addressing how these approaches can be bolstered in ways enhancing understandings of the contemporary dynamics of local-level planning within the English planning system.

Chapter three: Methodological approaches to exploring planning within the LLDC's boundary

3.1   Introduction

Chapter two outlined theoretical approaches that I will be using to help me conceptualise my research findings in relation to **RQ1**, **RQ2** and **RQ3**. This chapter discusses the methodological approaches that have allowed me to gather data that will enable me to address my research questions. Section 3.2 begins by outlining and justifying my choice of research case studies and my broad research participants. Section 3.3 outlines how I have combined an ethnographic approach to research with an action-based approach, and outlines challenges I faced adopting this combined methodological approach. In section 3.4, I discuss the methods that I used to gather my research data. I also discuss how I addressed ethical issues that arose whilst conducting my research. In section 3.5, I briefly reflect on my research process. Finally, in section 3.6, I conclude by summarising my discussion and briefly outlining how each of my research methods have enabled me to respond my research questions across my empirical chapters. In this chapter, I argue that it has been necessary for me to adopt a multi-method approach to research to gather the data that will allow me to discuss English planning's operation as a system of governmentality within the LLDC's context.

3.2   Research design: Case selection and research participants

3.2.1   Selecting case studies and research participants

I have adopted a qualitative approach to research, although in chapter four I draw from some quantitative data to provide greater context for my research. Qualitative approaches draw from a variety of epistemologies, but are relatively united in resisting the assumption that the world is knowable in any fixed way (Elwood 2010). Thus, qualitative research does not have a conventional model to work to, as can be the case with quantitative research (Lynch 2014). Rather, the most appropriate methodological approach to adopt in any research context is contingent on the specific phenomena that

a research project aims to shed light on. This also means that the selection of case studies and research participants are typically conscious choices that are highly contingent on the aims of one's research project (Silverman 2000). My choice of case studies and research participants reflects this principle.

Additionally, I had to remain flexible and add or drop case studies or research participants as my research aims evolved throughout my research process. So, my process for selecting case studies and research participants has been iterative. For example, as my research gained greater interest in exploring the interventions that community groups are making into the GLA's planning framework, I added examining Just Space's planning activities as a case study (see section 3.2.2.4). So, the case studies and research participants that I present below represent the final case studies and participants that have helped me address my final research aims.

I am adopting a broad understanding of what constitutes case study research. For me, this encompasses research on groups, places and processes. In the next four sections, I only provide a background to choosing my case studies and the sorts of enquiries that I made within each case study. Additionally, I only provide very general information about my research participants—i.e. I only refer to the types of governance actors that I engaged with within each of my case studies. It is not until I discuss my research methods that I provide more concrete detail about: the methods I used within each case study; the timeframes over which I conducted research within each case study; and the specific identities of the governance actors that I engaged with.

3.2.2   Case studies and research participants

3.2.2.1 The production of the LLDC's Local Plan

A central research objective of mine is to examine how English planning's function as a system of governmentality has operated within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans for their boundary (figure 3.1). This meant that my first case study was the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. Section 2.3.2 noted that the content of a Local Plan will be shaped by the planning policies and

guidance found within the relevant metropolitan and national planning policy frameworks. Additionally, as we will come to see in section 5.2, within my research context LLDC staff have argued that the Olympic host boroughs' Local Plans have also shaped the content of their *Adopted Local Plan.* Furthermore, more generally, the final content of a Local Plan is also shaped by the deliberations taking place within a LPA's internal plan production process.

Figure 3.1. LLDC boundary map. Source: LLDC (2015b), with additions made by author to indicate housing sites of interest.
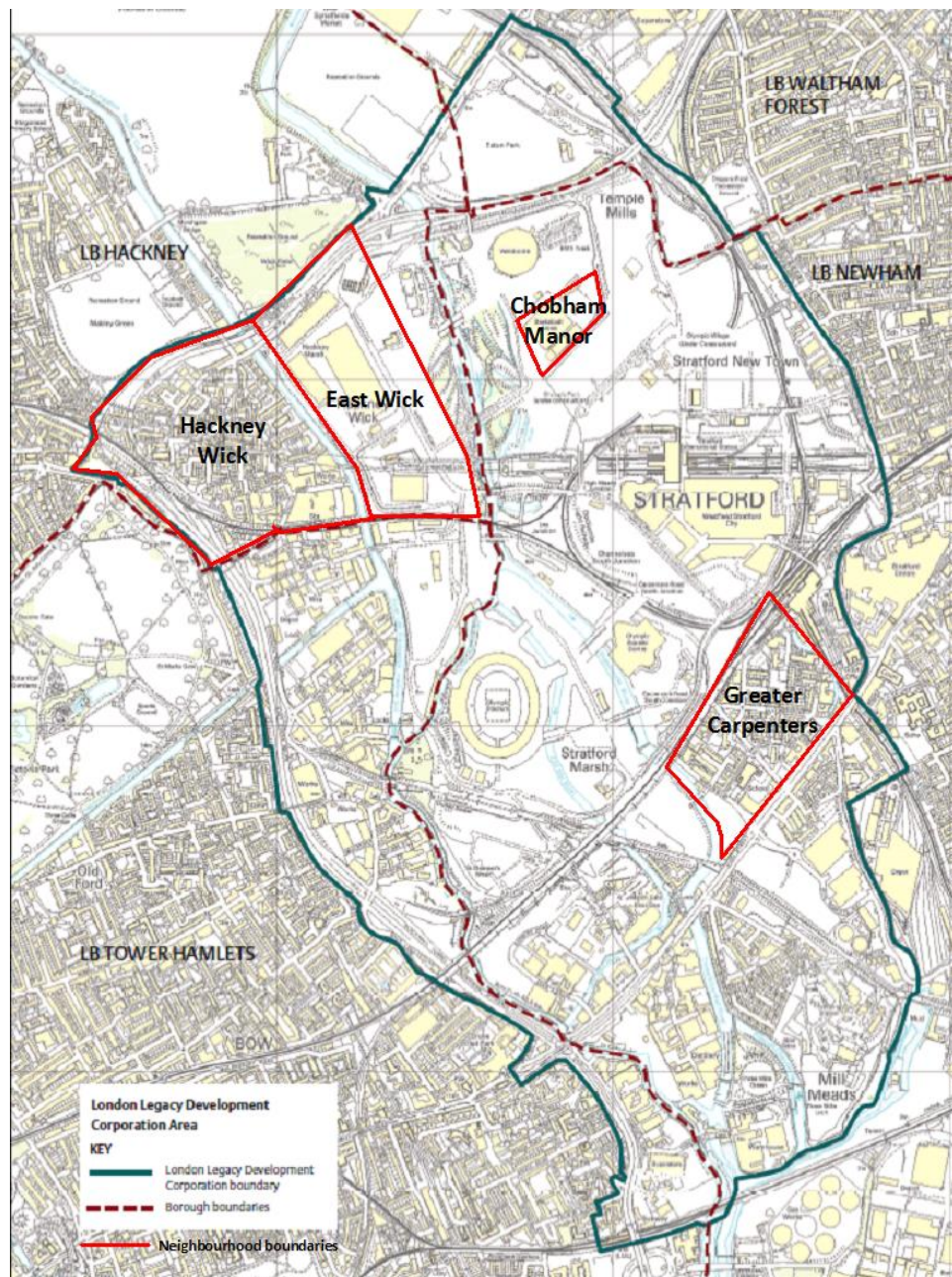
Thus, this case study involved me researching: (1) the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process; and (2) the planning policies and guidance found within central government's and the GLA's respective planning frameworks, and the planning frameworks of the Olympic host boroughs. In relation to the Olympic host boroughs, I only studied Hackney Council's and Newham Council's respective planning frameworks. Early on in my empirical research it became clear that these were the two boroughs that had the most sustained and varied engagement with the development of the LLDC's *Local Plan*. Thus, limiting my focus to these two boroughs would still enable me to explore the wide dynamics of governance permeating the LLDC's relations with the Olympic host boroughs. Importantly, studying these two boroughs' interactions with the LLDC's planning framework would enable me to provide a comparative analysis that could shed light on how a variety of intra urban dynamics are shaping the production of the LLDC's plans. Thus, this comparative analysis will assist me in exploring the capacity that local governance contexts within English planning have had to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

Given that my PhD is concerned with exploring the influence that public, private and civil society actors have had on the development of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans, I thought it vital to approach the following for this case study: representatives from the housing and planning departments in central government, the GLA, the LLDC, Newham Council and Hackney Council; and representatives from private developers, housing associations, local communities and local community groups. Discussion of my research methods (see section 3.4.1) will highlight some of the successes and challenges that I had in getting these governance actors to participate in my research.

My research also aims to highlight how the LLDC's planning framework is shaping their neighbourhood-level housing and regeneration plans. I thought it essential to conduct this research enquiry both in relation to new neighbourhoods and existing neighbourhoods within the LLDC's boundary. This latter enquiry was critical as it provided me with the chief avenue to investigate the influence that local communities have had on the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. Given my focus on Newham and Hackney, my neighbourhood-level cases were limited to studying neighbourhoods

lying within Newham's and Hackney's sections of the LLDC's planning boundary (figure 3.1). In the next two sections, I present my thesis' neighbourhood-level case studies.

3.2.2.2 Studying the planning of new neighbourhoods within the LLDC's planning boundary

My first neighbourhood-level case study was Chobham Manor (figure 3.2), which lies within the Newham section of the LLDC's boundary. Chobham Manor will deliver 828 new homes and is the first new Olympic neighbourhood being delivered within the Olympic Park. Tasked with constructing and providing these homes is a joint venture called Chobham Manor LLP which comprises private developer Taylor Wimpey and housing association London and Quadrant. I chose this case study as I thought it would enhance my understanding of the relative power that public actors (in this case the LLDC and Newham Council) and private actors (in this case Taylor Wimpey and London and Quadrant) have had to shape the production of the LLDC's neighbourhood-level housing policies.

Figure 3.2. Chobham Manor under construction. Photo taken by author, July 2015.

To gain sufficient data for this case study, I firstly examined the influences of central government's, the GLA's, the LLDC's, the OPLC's, and Newham Council's housing plans

on the LLDC's plans for Chobham Manor. Secondly, I gathered reflections from relevant LLDC, Taylor Wimpey, and London and Quadrant staff about the power that these governance actors have had to shape plans for Chobham Manor. Chapters four, five and six discuss my results from these enquiries.

My second neighbourhood-level case study was East Wick (figure 3.3), which lies within the Hackney section of the LLDC's boundary. East Wick will be the second new Olympic neighbourhood and is being constructed in conjunction with the third new Olympic neighbourhood, Sweetwater. East Wick is expected to deliver about 870 homes and is being developed by a joint venture between Places for People—a large UK property management, development and regeneration company—and Balfour Beatty—an international infrastructure group. I anticipated that this case study would also enhance my understanding of the power that public actors (in this case the LLDC and Hackney Council) and private actors (in this case Places for People and Balfour Beatty) have had to shape plans for East Wick.

Figure 3.3. Land (behind fencing) on which East Wick will be developed. Photo taken by author, December 2015.

To gain sufficient data for this enquiry, I firstly examined the influences of central government's, the GLA's, the LLDC's, the OPLC's, and Hackney Council's housing plans

on the LLDC's housing plans for East Wick. Secondly, I sought the reflections of relevant LLDC, Places for People, and Balfour Beatty staff about the power each of these governance actors have had to shape the final plans for East Wick. Again, chapters four, five and six discuss my results from these lines of enquiry. Importantly, discussing this case study alongside my Chobham Manor case study will allow me to investigate the ways in which more local dimensions of governance have shaped housing plans for these two sites.

3.2.2.3 Studying the planning of existing neighbourhoods within the LLDC's planning boundary

My third neighbourhood-level case study was Greater Carpenters, which lies in the Newham section of the LLDC's planning boundary. Greater Carpenters is comprised of residents from a diversity of class and ethnic backgrounds. Housing within this neighbourhood is also diverse; residents occupy a range of private-rented, home-owned and social housing. This diversity is best reflected within the Carpenters Estate (figure 3.4). The Carpenters Estate lies at the heart of Greater Carpenters and the construction of this Estate in its current format, comprising 703 housing units, was completed in the late 1960s (London Borough of Newham 2011). The long-term residential community within this Estate comprises council tenants, leaseholders and freeholders.

Figure 3.4. Carpenters Estate. Source: GCNF (2016a).

I chose this case study because of the protracted battle that exists over the Estate's future. Newham Council hold aspirations to redevelop the Carpenters Estate (see sections 5.3.1 and 5.5.5). However, many residents on the Estate have not acquiesced to Newham Council's aspirations. Through a variety of means, these residents have promoted alternative refurbishment plans for their Estate. This example therefore enabled me to: (1) explore the relative power that communities have, compared with state actors (in this case the LLDC and Newham Council), to shape housing and regeneration plans for a LLDC neighbourhood; and (2) examine the strategies that a local community is deploying to try and shape the LLDC's plans.

To gather sufficient data for these enquiries, I firstly explored the influences of Newham Council's plans for Greater Carpenters on the LLDC's plans for this neighbourhood. Secondly, I explored how the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process shaped the LLDC's plans for Greater Carpenters. Thirdly, I sought the reflections of Carpenters Estate residents, and representatives from the LLDC and Newham Council, about the relative power each governance actor has had to shape the LLDC's plans for Greater Carpenters. Lastly, I observed and participated in the strategies that Carpenters Estate residents are deploying to try and privilege the pursuit of their aspirations within the LLDC's plans for Greater Carpenters. I discuss my results from these enquiries within chapters five, six and seven.

My fourth neighbourhood-level case study was Hackney Wick, which lies in the Hackney section of the LLDC's planning boundary. Hackney Wick is currently comprised of luxury apartments that sit cheek by jowl with council housing, diminishing industrial spaces, and artistic and creative spaces. I used Hackney Wick as a case study because there are strongly competing visions over what housing and regeneration plans the LLDC should be pursuing for Hackney Wick. These competing visions pit developers and landowners, the LLDC, Hackney Council and local communities against one another. Studying the development of housing and regeneration plans for Hackney Wick provided me with the opportunity to explore: (1) the relative power that market actors (in this case private developers and landowners), state actors (in this case the LLDC and Hackney Council), and community actors (particularly from artistic, cultural and creative sectors) have had to shape the LLDC's neighbourhood-level plans; and (2) the strategies that a local

community is deploying to try privilege the pursuit of their housing and regeneration aspirations within the LLDC's plans. Offering this latter analysis alongside my discussion of activism within Greater Carpenters will allow me to explore the similarities and differences in demands that are being made for London's Olympic area by community groups that come from different class and social backgrounds. In this regard, whereas in Greater Carpenters issues of social housing have most prominently been brought to the fore by community members, in Hackney Wick it is workspace issues. Thus, my discussion of the production of plans for Hackney Wick encompasses discussions of workspace issues.

To gather sufficient data for these enquiries, I firstly explored the influences of Hackney Council's plans for Hackney Wick on the LLDC's plans for this neighbourhood. Secondly, I explored how the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process has shaped the LLDC's plans for Hackney Wick. Thirdly, I sought the reflections of Hackney Wick community members, representatives from the LLDC and Hackney Council, and relevant private developers, about the power each governance actor has had to shape the LLDC's plans for Hackney Wick. Lastly, I observed the strategies that Hackney Wick community members from the artistic, cultural and creative sectors are deploying to try and privilege the pursuit of their aspirations within the LLDC's plans for Hackney Wick. Again, I discuss my research results within chapters five, six and seven.

3.2.2.4 Planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation within the LLDC's boundary

Another case study within my research has been exploring the production of Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans for London's Olympic area. However, this was not one of my initial case studies. I only developed this case study because of empirical observations I made during my research on the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. When researching this process, it became evident that there was an important story to tell in relation to the planning of Gypsy and Traveller accommodation. Critically, this story would enable me to show that housing and regeneration plans for London's Olympic area are being driven by more than just neoliberalism or social justice.

To gather sufficient data for this research enquiry, I firstly explored the influences of central government's, the GLA's and the Olympic host borough's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans on the LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans. Secondly, I explored how the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process shaped their Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans. A critical part of this exploration was examining the impacts that local Gypsy and Traveller communities have had on the LLDC's plans through participating within this process. Thirdly, I also sought reflections from a representative from the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (LGTU)—a charity 'with a mission to support, empower and represent Gypsies and Travellers on all levels' (LGTU 2016a)—about how English planning plans for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation. The results from these lines of enquiry are discussed across chapters four, five and six.

3.2.2.5 London-wide case study

My final case study relates to my increasing recognition of the importance of exploring community interventions into state planning at a London-wide level. As I conducted my research, I gained an ever-increasing understanding of the deep interconnectivity between the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans and the GLA's housing and regeneration plans (see chapters four, five and six). My observations of these deep linkages, and insights made by community-level research participants about these deep linkages, alerted my attention to the necessity of exploring the GLA's planning framework.

As my thesis has a normative concern for considering whether and how social justice goals can have prominence in shaping the LLDC's plans, it also made sense for me to explore whether and how social justice goals can have prominence within the GLA's plans. This exploration necessarily led me to investigate how community groups are attempting to strengthen the role that social justice plays within the GLA's planning framework. I explored this issue by researching Just Space. I chose this group as my research on Greater Carpenters and the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process exposed me to the important, long-term and varied work that Just Space have been doing to try and privilege the pursuit of social justice policy goals within the GLA's planning framework. Many varied groups comprise Just Space (see Just Space 2016b) and I

thought that exploring their activities would allow me to explore the varied work that many London communities are doing around London-level planning. To explore this issue, I firstly sought the reflections of Just Space members about their activities. Secondly, I observed (and participated in modest ways) Just Space's efforts to try and strengthen the pursuit of social justice within the GLA's planning framework. The results from these lines of enquiry are discussed in section 7.4.

3.3 Methodologies for exploring housing and regeneration planning within the LLDC's boundary

3.3.1 Combining methodological approaches

Jones (2010a: 14) notes that 'a methodology is the theoretical, ethical, political and philosophical orientations of the researcher to the research.' In other words, a methodology is the set of epistemological assumptions shaping a researcher's perspectives on the most appropriate methods for gathering knowledge on a research topic. My discussion of my case studies indicate that I do think it is productive to draw from multiple methodologies, especially when researching multi-faceted phenomena such as governance and planning. Accordingly, my approach to data collection has drawn from both an ethnographic approach and an action approach.

Combining methodological approaches has been the subject of some criticism. For instance, Elwood (2010), when writing about mixed-methodologies, argues that there are challenges with combining quantitative and qualitative approaches to research because of the conflicting and potentially irreconcilable epistemologies informing each approach—whilst qualitative approaches resist the assumption that the world is knowable in any fixed way (*ibid*), quantitative approaches draw from positivist epistemologies which argue that there are fixed truths guiding society (Denzin 2012). The conflicts between the different epistemologies shaping different qualitative approaches are certainly much more nuanced. But, the concern still exists that it may be challenging to successfully deploy multiple qualitative methodological approaches as each approach has different perspectives on the most effective methods for acquiring knowledge about a research topic.

Although we should not ignore epistemological inconsistencies between different approaches, difference should not prevent dialogue (Ekers and Loftus 2008). Indeed, Elwood (2010), when discussing the merits of bringing together different qualitative approaches, argues that it is precisely because qualitative research does not assume that there is a dominant way for understanding the world that we should embrace combining different methodological approaches. Combining methodologies has been vital in enabling me to use the most appropriate methods for collecting data on the distinct features of governance, politics and planning that my research questions aim to address. Importantly, triangulating between these different types of data has allowed me to examine how these distinct features have worked together to shape the production of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. In what follows, I discuss how bringing together ethnographic research and action research has aided my research enquiry.

3.3.2   Principles of an ethnographic approach to data collection

Ethnographies have for a long time been regarded as the domain of anthropologists (Jones 2010b). Within anthropology, ethnographic research involves a researcher immersing themselves within a community or group so that they can 'describe in as rich a detail as possible a culture or group of people' (Jones 2010a: 13). However, over time, ethnographic research has become a powerful methodological approach employed across a broad range of disciplines. Notably, ethnographies are 'often represented and viewed in different ways, depending on the disciplinary context' (Jones 2010b: 4). Within geography, ethnographic research is not limited to the immersive study of people, groups and cultures. It also extends to the immersive study of spaces, places (Pink 2008), and/or processes (Vidali 2014). My research is ethnographic insofar as I have immersed myself within the local planning context that is shaping planning for London's Olympic area. I closely studied the planning activities of a variety of governance actors operational within the LLDC's local planning framework. I also studied numerous planning processes that are shaping the LLDC's plans.

Jones (2010a) argues that immersing ourselves within our research context can enable researchers to provide 'thick' accounts of our research contexts. Notably, the close access I gained by conducting ethnographic research on the LLDC's *Local Plan* production

process, the HWFICIG, the GCNF and Just Space has allowed me to provide detailed and illuminating discussions about various planning activities that may have remained hidden if I had just utilised certain qualitative approaches such as desk-based research. For example, I was able to get first-hand insights into the set of power-relations that various governance actors held with one another throughout the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process.

Despite these benefits of an ethnographic approach, I have been mindful of not falling into the trap that ethnographers from a realist persuasion do (Elias 1987, Prus 1996). Realist ethnographers believe that ethnographies can provide an objective account of 'social reality' (see Marcus and Cushman 1982 for discussion). However, this outlook on ethnography has received fierce criticism from critical ethnographers (Denzin 2006; Ellis and Bochner 2006). Critical ethnographers, particularly those who are informed by post-structural and feminist epistemologies (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Jacobs 1993; Jones 2010a), have been concerned with discussing discursive, representational, and power-relation issues associated with ethnographic research. For example, Jacobs (1993: 829) highlights that rather than being a 'mere report on social reality' ethnographies provide 'partial truths'. Importantly, the sorts of 'partial truths' that ethnographies provide are likely to be shaped by researchers' own hidden and explicit political agendas (Naples 2003). The potential corollary is that the partial truths that ethnographies provide can be chiefly tailored towards furthering a researcher's political, ideological and academic agendas (Jacobs 1993). So, rather than providing objective and apolitical accounts of social reality, ethnographies are subjective and are enactments of power (Stocking 1993).

Despite these critiques, ethnographic studies, by enabling researchers to provide subjective and detailed accounts of social phenomena as they are taking place in front of them, can still importantly help researchers to build empirically informed theories about these phenomena. However, what remains important for researchers is to be explicit about how the agendas that we are bringing into our study are shaping: our interpretations of our field observations; the data that we elevate when writing up this research; and the language we use to write up this research (Davies 2008).

Critical ethnographies within geography are also typically informed by several other principles. Firstly, acknowledging the significance of historical and spatial contextualisation (Jones 2010a); it has consequently been important for me to employ methods that have allowed me to account for the historical and spatial factors shaping the governance and planning dynamics I have observed. Section 3.4 discusses what methods have enabled me to do this. A second principle is being reflexive (Jones 2010a; Naples 2003); being reflexive has caused me to pay attention to how my positionality as a researcher, and a participant within the GCNF's and Just Space's activities, are likely to have impacted on the processes and interactions that I observed during my research. A third principle is a stress on ethical commitments to research participants (section 3.3.4). A final principle is the intention to provide the research participants' point of view (Dawson and Sinwell 2012; Gillian and Pickerill 2012; Jones 2010a); this principle has been particularly important due to my desire for my research to be productive for the community groups that I have researched. Thus, I thought it was crucial that their perspectives—perspectives which are usually marginalised within planning practice (see section 2.4.2)—are elevated in my research. The ways in which I have elevated these groups' perspectives has also been shaped by the action research methodology I employed, which I will now discuss.

3.3.3   Principles of action research

My introduction briefly discussed that I want my PhD to modestly assist the communities and community groups that I have researched in their efforts to realise their housing and regeneration aspirations for their areas of concern. This desire has been motivated by my belief that academic research should not just analyse problems but, if possible, socially engaged academic research should also try to assist research subjects' existing efforts to challenge and redress the problems identified within the research (Alkalimat 1974; Andrews 2016; Gibson-Graham 2008). I wanted my PhD to make this contribution not only through the final written document that I produce, but also through my research process.

Consequently, I decided to also draw from an action approach to research. Action research is commonly associated with participatory research. Broadly speaking,

participatory research involves 'researchers and participants working together' (Kindon et al. 2007a: 1). Action research is commonly conflated with participatory research because of the development and popular usage of the Participatory Action Research methodology within research on communities. This approach involves the researcher 'engaging in a collaborative process of reflection, idea generation, action and writing with research participants throughout the research process' (Dawson and Sinwell 2012: 184). My research did ask my research participants to reflect on what I had written in chapters five and seven and requested their feedback. The feedback I received led me to make alterations to these chapters (particularly within sections 5.3, 7.2 and 7.3). However, I would stop short of calling my approach participatory as my research participants were not involved in the generation of my research questions nor my research aims. Neither did they participate in writing up my research.

However, I still regard my research as action based. Action research is distinct from participatory research in the sense that it specifically advocates researchers using their work to assist in changing a problematic situation 'for the better' (Kindon et al. 2007a: 1). Kindon et al.'s (2007b) edited collection highlights that the methods of action deployed within action research are dependent on the particularities of the research context. My action research was conducted in modest ways with two community groups: the GCNF and Just Space.[8] When approaching these groups to discuss whether I could study their activities, I keenly emphasised to each group that I wanted my research process to be beneficial to them. When making this approach, I was mindful of Gillian and Pickerill's (2012) argument that researchers can be beneficial to a community group by increasing the resources and skills available to assist the group in completing various tasks and actions. To varying degrees, members of the GCNF and Just Space thought that the most useful actions I could assist them with were: (1) completing administrative tasks (e.g. for the GCNF I was given responsibility for running the email account and conducting other administrative tasks); (2) facilitating and participating within meetings these groups were having about planning issues (see section 7.4); and (3) assisting in analysing planning documents (e.g. as part of preparations for

---

[8] I also wanted to conduct action research with the HWFICIG. However, after speaking with several HWFICIG members we were not able to identify practical ways in which I could support them in an activist capacity.

consultations into the LLDC's *Local Plan* I participated within several community meetings where members of the GCNF, and their supporters, were analysing various iterations of the LLDC's *Local Plan*).

Conducting these types of action was beneficial for my research in several ways. Firstly, as time progressed, I gained the increased trust of members from the GCNF and Just Space. This enabled me to access and research spaces and meetings which would have otherwise been inaccessible to me if I was just conducting ethnographic research. Secondly, as I was participating in these spaces I also had a more engaged rather than distant experience of the benefits derived, and difficulties faced, by marginalised communities that are using state planning processes to try and shape housing and regeneration planning within London. Importantly, this more engaged understanding helped to nuance my own initial pessimistic preconceptions of the limitations and possibilities associated with community participation in state planning. Thirdly, within my action research my research participants stressed the importance of me not just treating them as objects of my study within my write up. They also stressed the importance of me treating them as people whose experiences and perspectives can help us in theorising issues pertaining to community participation in planning. Indeed, although I do offer some critique of the GCNF's and Just Space's activities, I have elevated their perspectives to help provide some nuance to important but less empirically engaged work on community participation within planning (e.g. Allmendinger and Haughton 2012).

Despite these benefits when conducting action research, I did encounter several challenges. Chief amongst these were issues raised by my simultaneous role as both researcher and participant within GCNF and Just Space spaces. My role as a participant meant that I was privy to group dynamics which I found fascinating as a researcher, but that members of these groups may not have been comfortable with me discussing in my thesis. Additionally, my reading on action research did cause me to reflect on my aspiration to elevate the voices and perspectives of the communities/community groups I researched. Gillian and Pickerill (2012) note the importance of academic research on communities and social movements striving to ground and situate knowledge production within these communities'/social movements' praxis, so that the academy

operates from less of an 'ivory tower'. However, they (*ibid*) also highlight that this does not mean that we should discount the potential value that more abstract knowledge produced in the academy can have in helping us to critique these communities'/social movements' praxis. Lastly, questions remain about the level of reciprocity there was between myself and the GCNF and Just Space. As Just Space (2017: 1) emphasise, action research on/with community/activist groups 'should be productive for both' parties. However, I finished my research still having questions about just how useful my participation within the GCNF's and Just Space's spaces were for these two groups. Additionally, questions remain about how useful my research outputs will be for these two groups. Section 3.5 discusses how I would have approached my research differently to help address these issues. However, in the following section, I discuss how I attempted to account for these and other ethical issues I encountered in my research.

3.3.4   Ethical issues encountered within my research

Gillian and Pickerill (2012: 133) argue that '[e]very stage of the research process…can introduce complex ethical questions' (*ibid*: 133). The ethical issues that arise in research are contingent on a range of variables including the researcher's methodological approach, positionality and relationship to research participants (*ibid*). Ethical issues that arose in my research, many of which have been covered in the previous two sections, were:

- **Positionality:** Firstly, how my positionality as a researcher affected how processes and interactions played out within the spaces that I researched. Secondly, how my positionality as a participant in communities'/community groups' activities made me privy to private dynamics and relations that these communities/community groups may not have been comfortable with me sharing.
- **Representation:** The input that my research participants—in particular the communities/community groups that I researched—had in shaping my representations of them and their activities.

- **Reciprocity:** How productive my research process and research outputs have been/will be for the communities/community groups I have conducted research on/with.

- **Anonymity:** Whether my research participants would remain anonymous within my research.

Positionality: To address the inescapable issues pertaining to my positionality, I did three things. Firstly, within my thesis, I have been explicit about how I think my presence within certain spaces has affected the dynamics of the processes and relations that I observed. In this regard, when initially undertaking my PhD in September 2013 I was very conscious of how my positionality *as a researcher from University College London (UCL)* may have impacted upon my research. Section 7.2.2 briefly discusses UCL's fraught relationship with Carpenters Estate residents. This was borne out of aspirations from Newham Council and senior figures within UCL to develop a UCL campus on a demolished Carpenters Estate (Klettner 2013). I was worried that this troubled history would have created difficulties for me trying to conduct productive research on the GCNF. However, as I was soon to find out, in response to Newham Council's and UCL's plans, many UCL students had developed a group called University College London Union (UCLU) Save Carpenters Estate that campaigned strongly against Newham Council's and UCL's plans (UCLU 2016). Importantly, these UCL students stood in solidarity with Carpenters Estate residents who were also campaigning against Newham Council's and UCL's plans (C.A.R.P 2016). This act of solidarity meant that strong positive bonds had been formed between many UCL students and Carpenters Estate residents. Additionally, in the aftermath of this campaigning, Just Space—who have supported Carpenters Estate residents and who have an important presence within UCL's Bartlett School of Planning—facilitated continual opportunities for UCL students to conduct research that supported Carpenters Estate residents' efforts to protect their estate. I encountered several members of Just Space during the first year of my PhD. After discussing my research with them, they facilitated opportunities for me to speak with and meet Carpenters Estate residents in June 2014. Within these initial discussions, it was evident that the positive standing Just Space had with Carpenters Residents, UCLU's

campaigning, as well as my own research aims[9] all helped to make Carpenters Estate residents comfortable with me researching the GCNF's activities. I am grateful to Just Space and UCLU for their campaigning efforts, without which I may not have been able to conduct research on the GCNF.

The second thing I did to address issues of positionality was in relation to my positionality as a researcher and participant in the GCNF's and Just Space's activities. Prior to participating in these group's activities, I informed them that I wanted to conduct ethnographic research on their activities, and sought their permission for this. After gaining these groups' permission, I still tried to make it explicit whenever practically possible that I was a researcher as well as a participant within these groups' activities. This assisted me in making as many people as possible within these groups aware that I was conducting research on their activities.

The third thing I have done to address issues of positionality relates to my own ideological preconceptions about housing and regeneration planning within England. I came into my PhD conceptualising housing and regeneration planning as phenomena that were largely subordinate to the profit-making interests of state and market forces. In my empirical chapters, where relevant, I discuss how this preconception/outlook has shaped my reading of aspects of housing and regeneration planning that I have observed within my research context. Importantly, I also emphasise where these preconceptions have been challenged by my empirical findings.

Representation: My adoption of principles within critical ethnography and action research alerted me to the importance of having my research participants play an important role in shaping how they are represented in my research. Given my action approach, this particular ethical commitment lay with the community groups/ communities I studied—the Greater Carpenters community, Just Space, and the people

---

[9]The aims I discussed were specifically related to my interest in exploring how communities/community groups are attempting to protect and plan for social housing in the London's Olympic area, and supporting them with their efforts. I highlighted that my interest in researching this issue was motivated by: (1) broader concerns over the detrimental social impacts of council estate regeneration and redevelopment programmes (London Assembly Housing Committee 2015); and (2) my own embodied understanding of how vital secure social housing is for the welfare of working class people and households—I grew up in council housing throughout my childhood in Edmonton, North London.

I engaged with within the HWFICIG. I displayed this commitment by sending these groups draft write-ups of my research on their activities. I sought their feedback on: how I represented them and their activities; concerns they had about my representations; and any alterations they would like to me make to my representations of them which they perceived to be inaccurate. Acting on this feedback has allowed me to meet my ethical stance on issues of representation.

Reciprocity: To address issues of reciprocity during the research process, I tried to be as responsive as I could to the needs of the GCNF and Just Space. However, there were times when I did not have the skill-set to assist the GCNF and Just Space with particular tasks. It was important to be upfront about this so that the GCNF and Just Space had clarity about the ways in which I could actually be useful to them. Importantly, there were times where I questioned how useful I was being to these groups. For instance, with the GCNF it seemed like it would have been particularly helpful if I had more technical knowledge about issues relating to estate refurbishment. Despite these concerns, I do feel that these groups valued my support as they did express thanks for me providing some administrative support, assisting in facilitating meetings/workshops, and assisting in conducting planning document analysis. Additionally, I hope that my dissemination of my research findings to these groups will prove useful for them.

Anonymity: In some circles, anonymising research participants during the write-up is a crucial ethical principle. Indeed, this is a principle I have upheld within my thesis when reflecting on comments made by governance actors participating in key public meetings that I observed as part of my research. I also initially intended on employing this principle with research participants that I interviewed (see Appendix 1). But, soon after embarking on my research, I did find that some interviewees did not want to be anonymised. As Manzo and Brightbill (2007) argue, they believed that insisting on anonymity would muffle their voices and unduly raise my voice. My concern for these representation issues caused me to consider changing my approach to anonymity. I subsequently allowed my interviewees to decide whether their name could be attributed to interview comments that I would use in my thesis (see Appendix 2).

People's thoughts about whether they want to be anonymised changes over time. So, once I completed the first draft of my thesis, I contacted my research participants to see whether they consented to their name being attributed to comments that they had made which appear in my thesis. Many research participants were happy for their name to appear in my thesis, but many wished to be anonymised. These varied responses provided complications—in terms of consistency—as to how I would address the issue of anonymity in the final write-up of my research. A further complication was that my thesis is providing critical takes on some of my interviewees' responses. The concern is that even if my participants were happy being named, my reflections on their comments may unintentionally harm them. UCL's ethics committee require that researchers do not do harm to their participants.[10] To mitigate against my research doing this, I decided to anonymise all of my research participants' interview responses;[11] although for those who were happy to appear in my thesis I have named them in my Acknowledgements.

3.4   Research methods and data analysis

3.4.1   Research methods

3.4.1.1 Process/participant observation

My research is conducting ethnographic work on planning processes, people, and groups. So, the first research method that I made use of was participant and process observation—the dominant research method within ethnographic research (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011). This research method involves inserting yourself within the lived context and environments of your research subject/field of enquiry to observe the actions, behaviours, discussions, relationships and practices taking place within these contexts and environments (Hammersley and Atkinson 2003). My process observation firstly involved me observing the LLDC's Planning Decision Committee (PDC) meetings and community consultations they held between January 2015 and December 2015. It also comprised me observing the Examination in Public (EiP) within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process, which ran from 3 March 2015 until 13 March 2015. The EiP enabled

---

[10]Appendix 3 and 4 also contain details of my ethical approval.
[11]Section 3.4.1 further outlines my strategies for anonymising my research participants.

local state, market and civil society actors (encompassing local communities) to collaborate and compete with each other to try and shape the final content of the LLDC's *Local Plan*. Consequently, observing the EiP allowed me to address **RQ1** and **RQ2**. As I was not able to ask participants within the EiP whether they were happy for their name to appear in my thesis, all EiP comments presented in this thesis have been anonymised (see section 5.5). I have instead noted the affiliation of participants in the EiP (e.g. LLDC representative 1, Community representative 1)

My participant observation involved me observing the private and public planning meetings organised by three community groups: (1) the HWFICIG—I conducted participant observation on this community group from March 2015 until December 2015; (2) the GCNF—I conducted action-based participant observation on this this group from June 2014 until December 2015; and (3) Just Space—I conducted research on Just Space's planning activities from July 2015 until October 2016. My participant observation on these three groups allowed me to address **RQ3** of my thesis. As stated in the previous section, when conducting this participant observation, I was as open as possible, whenever practically possible, about my reasons for being in these meetings. Additionally, in relation to anonymity, when reflecting on comments made by HWFICIG, GCNF and Just Space members within their respective meetings, I have provided them with pseudonyms. This decision reflects my attempt to show the familiar, rather than distant, relationships that I had with HWFICIG, GCNF and Just Space members.

3.4.1.2 Planning document analysis

My second research method was to analyse planning documents that both shaped elements of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process and influenced the final content of the LLDC's *Local Plan.* I used this research method as I wanted to conduct a critical ethnography. As stated in section 3.3.2, this methodological approach places overwhelming importance on ethnographic studies providing historical and spatial contextualisation. I found that the best method for highlighting and analysing the spatio-historical factors shaping the final content of the LLDC's *Local Plan* was to examine the influence that past and present national, metropolitan and local plans have had on the LLDC's plans. This research method therefore helped me to explore **RQ1** and **RQ2** of my

thesis. Additionally, this research method provided a key avenue for me to explore **RQ3**, as a major aspect of my action research was to assist the GCNF in conducting planning document analysis. The planning documents I examined as part of my research are outlined in Appendix 5.

3.4.1.3 Interviews

The third method I used was interviews. As my research was qualitative, I made use of open-ended and semi-structured interviews. Ethnographers typically use these types of interviews as they allow research participants to produce in-depth 'accounts of themselves and their worlds' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2003: 97). When conducting these interviews, I came prepared with broad questions that were tailored around each of my research questions. However, as I wanted my interviews to be open-ended I also had to be prepared to ask questions on the spot that built on my interviewees' responses. Additionally, within my interviews I was trying to gain information on the specific role that each interviewee played within housing and regeneration planning in the LLDC. Thus, for each interviewee, I also came prepared with a set of more particular questions which tried to tease out these specificities. Consequently, this research method provided me with a powerful and varied array of data to address my research questions.

My 60 interviewees are listed in Appendix 6 and most of these interviews were conducted face-to-face at a location that was most convenient for my interviewee.[12] Unfortunately, I did not get to speak to everyone that I had hoped to. People who I was not able to interview included: former London Mayor Boris Johnson; Newham Council Mayor Robin Wales; Hackney Council Mayor John Pope; senior planning and regeneration offers within Boris Johnson's former Mayoral team; planning and regeneration officers within Newham Council; LLDC Board members and PDC members; certain senior planning staff within the LLDC; and representatives from Taylor Wimpey and Balfour Beatty. Many of these people that I approached for interview were not

---

[12]56 of my interviews were face-to-face and took place: at my interviewees' home(s); at my interviewees' workplace(s); at a mutually agreed café; or at UCL offices. Four of my interviews were conducted over email.

available or simply did not respond to my interview request. In these cases, I utilised other research methods to try and shed light on issues that I thought interviews would reveal. This included: conducting field observations of these governance actors' participation within relevant and public LLDC planning spaces (e.g. LLDC PDC meetings and the LLDC's EiP); and conducting planning document analysis to try and ascertain the extent to which these governance actors' participation within the LLDC's planning framework has shaped the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

From Appendix 6 it can be seen that I just provide some general information about my interviewees' position. Additionally, in Appendix 6 it can be seen that each of my interviewees have been assigned an interview number which corresponds to when I interviewed them. Generally, when presenting interview responses in my empirical chapters, they are accompanied by my interviewees' broad governance position and their interview number in square brackets (i.e. [2], [17], [33], etc.). However, in cases where I am discussing interview responses provided by representatives from community groups I have engaged with as part of my ethnographic and action research, their responses are also accompanied by a pseudonym. As discussed in section 3.4.1.1, this decision reflects my attempt to show the more familiar relationships I held with these community representatives during my research process. Appendix 6 denotes how the pseudonyms I use correspond with the interviewee number.

3.4.2   Data analysis

I conducted my data analysis throughout my field research and in the aftermath of my field research, right up until I wrote my research findings. Research data went through four stages of analysis. The first stage involved me typing up: field notes arising from my process and participant observation; dictaphone recordings of meetings I had observed as part of the process and participant observation; relevant sections of, and notes that I had made about, planning documents that I analysed; and dictaphone recordings of interviews that I conducted.

My second stage of data analysis began the process of coding my data. I used NVivo to help me with the coding process. I went over research data numerous times identifying

how sections of data addressed my broad research themes. When identifying the themes that were addressed by sections of data that I analysed, I coded data by assigning relevant acronyms to each set of data; these were acronyms of my broad research themes (see Appendix 7). Sections of research data that I analysed often had multiple coding acronyms assigned to them, indicating the overlapping themes that sections of data addressed. Additionally, this coding process led me to continually refine my research questions; as I coded data, certain aspects of my broad research themes revealed themselves to be particularly important, which is reflected in the final emphasis of my research questions (see section 1.2).

My third stage of data analysis involved data triangulation. This stage was iterative. In light of new sets of data that I analysed I would revisit and reanalyse old sets of data. In many cases, themes which I had not previously picked up on became noticeable in light of new data that I had analysed. Thus, in many cases, I would assign new coding acronyms to many sets of data that I reanalysed. I would then highlight what research questions that sections of this reanalysed data would help me to address. Notably, sections of data would often map onto more than one research question (see Appendix 7).

My fourth and final stage of data analysis involved further data triangulation to help me identify what specific issues my empirical chapters would cover. I explored the relationships that existed between similar and separate pieces of the data. I did this for sets of data that were mapped onto the same research question and for sets of data that were mapped onto different research questions. I also employed my conceptual framework as a tool to assist me in analysing the relationships I had identified between sets of data that I had coded. This assisted me in identifying what themes I wanted to shed particular light on within my thesis, what arguments I would make, and how my different sets of data could work with each other to assist me in making these arguments. Consequently, this stage of data analysis assisted me in identifying what issues and arguments my research data would help me to make in relation to my research questions.

3.5   Reflections on my research process

After conducting my data analysis, I was satisfied that I had gathered sufficient data to appropriately address my research questions. However, I did also spend some time reflecting on how my answers to these questions and my PhD more broadly could have been taken in other interesting directions if I had gained access to different types of data. Importantly, these are areas of research that I am keen to explore beyond my PhD. Firstly, I think it would be interesting to conduct a long-term ethnographic study of the LLDC's quotidian internal governance relations. Conducting this ethnographic study would have enabled me to explore how the everyday relations between different aspects of the LLDC's governance framework are shaping its housing and regeneration plans. Such an ethnographic study would have enabled me to give a more complete picture of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. In the initial stages of my research, I did approach (by email) the LLDC's planning team to see if I could conduct such an ethnographic study. However, I did not receive a response to my request. In hindsight, it would have been beneficial to try and develop a stronger relationship with LLDC staff before making this request; although, I am aware that adopting such an approach may not necessarily alleviate the difficulties that researchers have accessing key 'private' spaces of governance (see Imrie and Thomas 1995), especially in contexts where you are providing a critical take on these spaces of governance.

Issues of institutional access also arose in my attempts to interview representatives from Newham Council. I was unsuccessful in my attempts to interview Newham Council Mayor Robin Wales and senior housing and planning regeneration officers within Newham Council. Speaking to these Newham Council representatives would have obviously bolstered my research project. I could have gained detailed insights into the set of governance relations between Newham Council and the LLDC in private spaces, and how these relations have affected Newham Council's capacity to influence the LLDC's plans. This would have complemented my field observations on this issue within the LLDC's public governance spaces. However, I am not sure what I could have done differently to obtain interviews with Newham Council representatives, especially with representatives intimately involved with formulating plans for Greater Carpenters. Perhaps, I could have been more tactful and not explicitly stated my interest in

discussing plans for Greater Carpenters. But, given that it generally seems like a tricky task to secure interviews with representatives from Newham Council, I am not convinced a more tactful approach would have necessarily paid dividends. Section 6.3.2 will elaborate on issues of institutional access in relation to Newham Council.

Another way in which my research could have been bolstered relates to my research on the GLA. I was interested in exploring the internal and external influences that shaped the production of housing and regeneration plans found within the *Further Alterations to the London Plan (FALP)* (Mayor of London 2015). Unfortunately, my ability to explore this issue was hindered by temporal issues. I did not begin exploring this issue until February 2015, by which time the *FALP* was nearly published (it was published in March 2015). With the benefit of hindsight, it would have been important to take an interest in this issue from the inception of my empirical research (June 2014). I could have then spent some time exploring the statutory processes shaping the production of the *FALP*. I would have then experienced first-hand which governance actors, relations and technologies and what ideological and policy goals have primarily shaped this planning framework. I tried to get an understanding of this issue by seeing if the GLA held records of comments made within the statutory consultations surrounding the production of the *FALP*. Unfortunately, I was unsuccessful in this endeavour. In future research, I am keen to conduct an ethnographic study of the statutory process shaping the production of the next *London Plan*, and exploring how the outcomes of this process shape the LLDC's future plans.

The final way in which I could have productively conducted my research differently is to have carried out participatory research with the GCNF and Just Space. I think that having the GCNF and Just Space play a powerful role in formulating my research aims and research questions would have helped me to develop a research project that more precisely addressed the totality of their theoretical and empirical concerns. Notably, in my initial discussions with the GCNF (June and July 2014), I did broach the idea of conducting participatory research with several GCNF members. This did not materialise, mainly because I did not have an appreciation for the extensive relationship building that is needed before suggesting the pursuit of participatory research. Despite this, my research process did help me to develop stronger ties with members of the GCNF and

Just Space and to get a detailed understanding of their respective concerns and aspirations (in relation to planning). This subsequently helped me to ensure that my research still addressed theoretical and empirical issues that concern the GCNF and Just Space (see sections 7.2 and 7.4).

3.6   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined my choice of case studies, my methodological approach, and my choice of research methods. My methodological approach consisted of me combining a critical ethnographic approach to research and action research, and utilising multiple methods—process observation, participant observation, planning document analysis and interviews. Adopting a combination of methodologies and utilising multiple methods to gather data for my research has been necessary. This approach has enabled me to capture the diverse data necessary for me to be able to discuss and shed light on multi-faceted and intersecting dimensions of governance impacting on the LLDC's planning framework. In what remains of this conclusion I briefly outline how my methodology has enabled me to address my research questions in subsequent chapters.

Chapter four draws chiefly from planning document analysis, and from some interview material, to examine the policy goals and rationalities of governing located within planning documents produced by various governance actors that are likely to have influenced the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. Conducting this planning document analysis will therefore enable me to begin addressing **RQ1** and **RQ2.** In providing this analysis, I explore how English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies have shaped the relationships between a variety of national-, metropolitan- and local-level plans that are likely to have influenced the policy goals pursued within the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

Chapter five uses my process observation, participant observation, planning document analysis (which also represented elements of my action research), and interview material to examine the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. These different research methods enabled me to address all of my research questions. Through process observation, I saw first-hand the power that various governance actors have had to use

the EiP to try and ensure that the LLDC privileges certain policy goals within their plans. My planning document analysis in relation to the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process (e.g. examination of consultation reports) allowed me to explore the changing levels of influence that various governance actors have had on the LLDC's plans. Lastly, my participant observation also allowed me to explore how communities are engaging with state planning spaces as a strategy to shape the LLDC's plans.

Chapter six draws on interview material and process observation to further reflect on how the dimensions of governance within English planning are shaping the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. The interview material that I discuss provides some challenges to arguments that I make in chapters four and five about the workings of planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies.

Chapter seven draws from interview material, participant observation, and my action research. This research material has allowed me to explore various dimensions of **RQ3**. My interview material has allowed me to examine my research participants' views about the limitations and possibilities associated with their attempts to shape housing and regeneration plans for their respective areas of concern. My participant observation has allowed me to provide personal reflections on this issue. The action-based elements of my participant observation have allowed me to provide my own reflections based on a more engaged empirical research process. As I now go on to my empirical chapters, I discuss what my empirical research can tell us conceptually about housing and regeneration planning within the LLDC's planning boundary.

Chapter four: National, metropolitan and local policy goals shaping the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans

It would now be generally agreed…that there is not a unitary public interest but rather multiple interests which may be in conflict over what planning should be trying to achieve and where priorities should be placed (Hart et al. 2015: 8)

4.1   Introduction

This thesis' overarching aim is to demonstrate how English planning's current operation as a system of governmentality has structured the policy goals, rationalities of governing and governance actors that have had privileged power to influence the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. This chapter represents the first empirical chapter that will help me to achieve this aim by beginning to address **RQ1** and **RQ2**. Section 2.2 highlighted that at the heart of **RQ1** is exploring whether English planning has structured the LLDC into privileging the pursuit of neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing and/or social justice policy goals and principles within their statutory plans. Section 2.3 emphasised that central to **RQ2** is exploring whether English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies have resulted in top-down or multi-directional relations of influence between the national-, metropolitan-, local-, and neighbourhood-level governance actors (and their policy goals) that have shaped the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. This chapter begins to address these conceptual concerns by critically outlining sets of national-, metropolitan-, and local-level planning policy goals that are likely to have shaped to the production of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

Section 4.2 begins by contextualising the LLDC's establishment as the official body to oversee the planning and delivery of development and regeneration within London's Olympic area. Crucially for this chapter, this section will shed light on the policy goals located within the historical and evolving set of planning frameworks that have been developed for London's Olympic area. I argue that economic growth-based goals and social justice goals have been consistently present within the historical and evolving set of planning frameworks that have been developed for London's Olympic area. Section

4.2 will also discuss the evolving set of institutions that have had responsibility for developing development and regeneration plans for London's Olympic area since London won the 2012 Olympic bid in 2005. This discussion will demonstrate that the LLDC is in some ways an exceptional and in some ways not an exceptional institution.

Sections 4.3 and 4.4 continue my empirical engagement with **RQ1** and **RQ2** by respectively presenting contemporary national-, metropolitan-, and local-level plans that are likely to have shaped the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. Section 3.2 emphasised that the LLDC plans which I examine within my thesis are their: social and 'affordable' housing plans; Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans; plans for Greater Carpenters; plans for Hackney Wick; plans for Chobham Manor; and plans for East Wick. Consequently, section 4.3 discusses national-level planning policy approaches to social and 'affordable' housing and Gypsy and Traveller accommodation. Section 4.4 explores GLA planning policy approaches to social and 'affordable' housing and Gypsy and Traveller accommodation. Section 4.5 examines Newham Council's and Hackney Council's social and 'affordable' housing plans and Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans, as well as Newham Council's plans for Stratford and Hackney Council's plans for Hackney Wick. This section also discusses housing plans located within the master plan for London's Olympic Park, the *Legacy Communities Scheme (LCS)*; I discuss this scheme's plans for social and 'affordable' housing, Chobham Manor and East Wick.

Together, these three sections help me to begin to address the core conceptual tension that I am working through in relation to **RQ1**. My discussion reveals that neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing as well as social justice policy goals and principles are indeed located within national government's, the GLA's, Newham Council's, Hackney Council's and the *LCS's* plans. However, I argue that social justice policy goals and principles are subordinate to neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing. In particular, social justice goals are subordinate to: (1) economic growth agendas, financial goals and technocratic forms of governing that have the potential to serve profit-making motives within the arena of housing development; and (2) a 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda that has the capacity to privilege the production of private-sector housing over social and 'affordable' housing. Additionally, in relation to the Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans that I discuss, I argue that social need

considerations are being tempered by policy stipulations that have the potential to problematically characterise this form of accommodation as being particularly harmful to urban environments.

Sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 also help me to begin to address the core conceptual tension that I am working through in relation to **RQ2**. These sections reveal that English planning's hierarchical multi-level governing technology and rule about conformity between lower-level plans and higher-level plans has created a top-down relation of influence between the set of planning actors' plans that I discuss. Thus, I argue that the policy goals and rationalities of governing privileged within the national government plans that I discuss are reflected within the GLA, Newham Council, Hackney Council and *LCS* housing and regeneration plans that I discuss. However, I simultaneously illustrate that planning's rule about discretion has meant that lower-level planning actors have retained some discretion to determine how higher-level policy approaches apply within their local-planning context. I highlight that this relative autonomy has manifested in varying 'affordable' housing targets and Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans between the GLA's plans, Newham Council's plans, Hackney Council's plans and the *LCS*.

This chapter concludes by considering the initial implications of my empirical discussions for the main bodies of literature that I am engaging with in relation to **RQ1** and **RQ2**. Consequently, I discuss what my analysis in this chapter can tell us about critical approaches to neoliberal governance and planning under neoliberalism. In particular, in relation to: whether neoliberal governance and planning under neoliberalism: privileges the importance of financial and growth agendas, market-based criteria in decision-making and technocratic forms of governing (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012, 2015; Flynn 2016; Short 2012); and whether it incorporates the pursuit of social justice (Allmendinger and Haughton 2009, 2010, 2013; Davies 2014b). I also discuss what this chapter's analysis can initially tell us about relational approaches to multi-level governing (Jessop 2004; Marks 1993), particularly with regards to considering whether hierarchical systems of multi-level governing allow for multi-directional relations of influence between governance actors.

4.2 Planning and regeneration history of London's Olympic area

On 6 July 2005, it was announced that London would host the 2012 Olympic Games. London's bid Chairman, Sebastian Coe, remarked that hosting the Games would be 'the most fantastic opportunity to do everything we ever dreamed of in British sport' (BBC Sport 2005). However, running alongside this narrative was a 'compelling vision' that Olympic-related development and regeneration post-London 2012, 'had at its heart the potential to transform' east London for 'the benefit of all who lived there' (Bernstock 2014: 1). A core empirical issue within this thesis is to explore whether the LLDC's plans, and the English planning system, are likely to aid in achieving such a vision. But, prior to providing this discussion it is vital to discuss how the LLDC came to be entrusted with the responsibility to lead in the planning of post-London 2012 development and regeneration. In this discussion, I explore the evolution of planning within London's Olympic area and consider whether economic growth goals and social justice goals have been prevalent within this evolution.

4.2.1 Planning and regeneration history of London's Olympic area prior to London 2012

Prior to London winning the 2012 Olympic bid, the site on which the Olympic Park would come to be developed (see figure 1.2 in section 1.1) contained many business and residential communities who would come to be directly affected by Olympic-related development. Davis and Thornley (2010: 92) noted that there were in excess of 250 'highly diverse industries and businesses on the site'. An interview with a former resident of the site highlighted that it also contained: a housing co-operative estate called Clays Lane which contained 450 single occupancy units; an empty tower block of student accommodation known as Park Village; and two Travellers sites—one located at Clays Lane (in the Newham section of the LLDC's planning boundary) and another at a site called Waterden Crescent (located in the Hackney section of the LLDC's planning boundary) [1].

In terms of the planning history of the site that would become London's Olympic area, prior to 2005 it lay across the planning boundaries of four east London boroughs— Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest (see figure 1.2). These

authorities, within their respective boundaries, held the plan-making and planning decision powers. However, land ownership was a more complex picture. On what would become the Olympic Park, boroughs did own sizeable portions of land, as did another public body, the Lee Valley Regional Park Authority (LVRPA).[13] However, at the same time there were numerous private land owners which meant that there was a pattern of 'fragmented land ownership' (Rose 2006: 259). This land ownership pattern was viewed by public bodies like the GLA to be a potential hindrance to achieving regeneration within the area as the different land ownerships had constrained possibilities of achieving 'a comprehensive [regeneration] outcome' (*ibid*: 260).

This land ownership issue took place within a context where, as a key figure within London's 2012 bid team stated, 'there had been…a whole lot of different plans over the years' for development and regeneration in London's Olympic area (which encompasses, but is broader than, the Olympic Park site–see figure 1.2) [56]. Significantly, though, in the early 2000s there were important visions and aspirations emerging which aimed to develop comprehensive development and regeneration strategies. Notably, Ken Livingstone's *2004 London Plan* had designated the area as an opportunity area, as part of the Lower Lea Valley opportunity area (figure 4.1). The *2004 London Plan* stated that the Lower Lea Valley had the capacity to accommodate 8500 new jobs and 6000 new homes by 2016 (Mayor of London 2004). To aid in realising this aspiration, the GLA partnered with the London Development Agency (LDA)—London's regional development agency—and consulted with Hackney Council, Newham Council, Tower Hamlets Council and Waltham Forest Council to commission the preparation of a Lower Lea Valley regeneration strategy and Lower Lea Valley planning framework. The development of these frameworks importantly followed from the aforementioned councils giving planning consent to the LDA's 2004 Olympic and Legacy Planning Permission (Bernstock 2014), which was anticipating a scenario that London would be successful in its 2012 Olympic bid.

---

[13]The LVRPA was established in 1967 to manage and develop land within the Lee Valley Regional Park, which London's Olympic Park is located within.

Figure 4.1. The Lower Lea Valley in the context of east London. Source: Mayor of London (2007: vi).
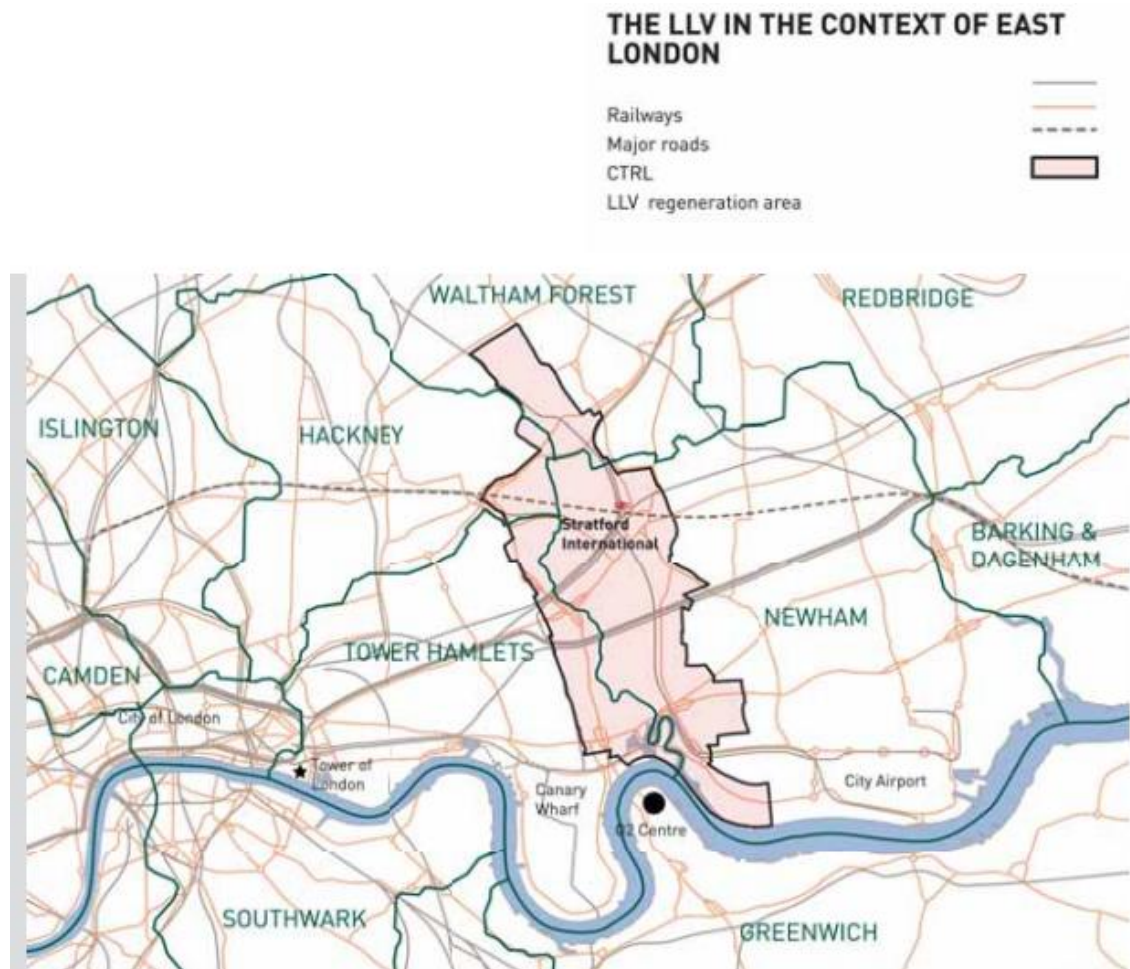
With the potential for London to win the Olympic bid in mind, it was emphasised that the Lower Lea Valley regeneration strategy and 'the planning framework must reflect this bid' (Mayor of London 2004: 249).[14] So, this strategy and framework needed to prepare for the release of surplus land in the area in anticipation of accommodating 'high-density' mixed-use development (*ibid*: 249). At the same time, this opportunity area designation wanted to 'optimise the utility of the industrial offer' in the area and benefit local communities (*ibid*: 249). Indeed, the initial Lower Lea Valley Plan that was developed in 2004 held overarching ambitions to 'support the realisation of London-wide objectives for the Lower Lea, whilst respecting and benefiting existing local communities'. It also wanted to 'create a context for the development of successful and sustainable communities' (GLA et al. 2004: 3). So, on the surface, this planning framework was simultaneously concerned with accommodating the broad social needs

---

[14]Although, the development of this regeneration strategy was to also account for the possibility that London did not win the Olympic bid (GLA et al. 2004).

of existing local communities as well as responding to the GLA's broader economic growth, environmental and social agendas for this area which were shaped by an anticipation that London would win the 2012 Olympic bid (see Mayor of London 2004). At this time, it was decided that the LTGDC, which was established in November 2004 (see section 1.1), would take a lead on overseeing the delivery of plans that were emerging for the Lower Lea Valley. To aid the LTGDC with this task, in October 2005, they were given planning decision powers for the Lower Lea Valley from Hackney Council, Newham Council, Tower Hamlets Council and Waltham Forest Council.

Alongside these visions and aspirations for the Lower Lea Valley, concrete plans were being considered by Newham Council for a large-scale development and regeneration project. In April 2003, development partners Chelsfield, Stanhope and London & Continental Railways submitted an application to Newham Council for outline planning permission for a mixed-use development project called Stratford City. This would be developed on top of Stratford Rail Lands—a large area of publicly owned land that sits directly below Stratford Town Centre and directly to the right of what would become the Olympic Park (figure 4.2). Newham Council granted planning permission for this project in February 2005. This meant that they had given a green light to a development project that was projected to comprise '1.4m sqm of development including 5,000 homes, a 2,000 sqm retail and leisure centre, 500,000 sqm of offices, 2,000 hotel rooms and an array of community facilities including schools, [and] health centres' (London Borough of Newham 2006: 13). Newham Council believed that this development project would be 'a catalyst for the regeneration of East London' and would distil direct benefits to local residents (London Borough of Newham 2011).

Discussion of Stratford City and of the Lower Lea Valley Opportunity area illustrates that by the time the announcement was made in July 2005 that London would host the 2012 Olympic Games there was already significant effort to get large-scale development and regeneration going in London's soon to be Olympic area. Reflecting on these developments, a key figure within London 2012's bid team asserted that hosting London 2012 represented a salient opportunity. They emphasised that it would help bring these emerging plans to fruition by getting 'real momentum, impetus, finance, resources, politics [and] national-level' government support behind a long-term and large-scale

development and regeneration project for the site [56]. Thus, London 2012, rather than being the singular catalyst for development and regeneration in London's Olympic area, can instead be seen as something that would powerfully 'accelerate and extend…urban regeneration project[s] that…[were] already underway' (Smith 2014: 1924).

Figure 4.2. Stratford City masterplan concept, developed in 2004. Source: Arup Associates (2017), with additions by author.
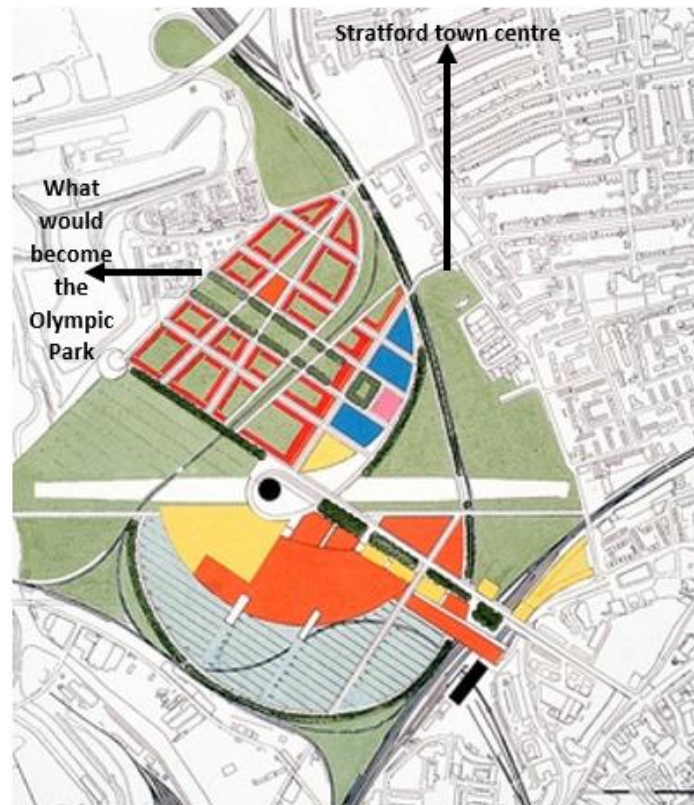
The idea that the 2012 Olympics could be a powerful force for regeneration in east London was a perspective that was prevalent throughout the bidding process. A leading member of London 2012 bid team noted that this process had been going on since 1997. During this process, deliberations were being made over whether London should prepare 'a west London based bid…an east London based bid' or 'something between' [56]. A key factor within these deliberations was 'what it [hosting the Olympics] could do for the regeneration of' London [56]. Feelings among this individual, and within the bid team, were that an Olympic Games could do a lot more, in terms of regeneration, for east London than for west London [56]. Consequently, it was decided in 2001 that east London, in particular areas in and around Stratford Rail Lands and Hackney Wick, would be the base of London's bid to host the 2012 Games, especially after former

London Mayor Ken Livingstone was supportive of the bid 'provided it's in east London' [56].

This leading London 2012 bid team member highlighted that subsequently, a central aspect of London's 2012 Olympic Games bid was considering what hosting the Games could do for communities in east London. Important questions that the bid team thought about were 'what are the benefit for communities? How can we ensure jobs? How we can ensure that a park that's developed can be used? How will people feel ownership of it?' [56]. This bid team member suggested:

> the consequence of that collectively was that when we came to put in the bid submission legacy was and became a much more powerful instrument for us than, than had ever been before. And I think we won our bid because of the commitments that we'd made around legacy [56].

From this framing, London won the 2012 bid based on an agenda that had the welfare of local communities at its heart. However, a slightly alternative framing has been provided by an individual who was working closely on development and regeneration issues in the Thames Gateway within the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) during the bidding process. They noted that when the bid team were deciding where to base the Olympic bid there was strong consensus within central government and the GLA that the bid should be based in east London as:

> land was in the east, the space was in the east, land was cheaper in the east, and you know we were trying to attract investment, the Thames Gateway was trying to attract investment to the Royal Docks and Stratford [55].

This perspective suggests that the decision to base the bid in east London was simultaneously informed by a growth agenda; hosting the Olympics was also about attracting new and extensive public and private sector investment in ways that would 'change…the image of part of east London' and 'shift…the trajectory of the growth of east London' [55, 56].

These ambitions for Olympic-related development were substantial. After London won the 2012 Olympic bid, attention turned to considering the institutional infrastructure

that was necessary to bring such ambitions to fruition. As London's Olympic park lay across the borough boundaries of three LPAs—Hackney Council, Newham Council and Tower Hamlets Council—as well as within the Lower Lea Valley Opportunity area, one option was that these LPAs and/or the LTGDC could have been entrusted with leading on planning for London 2012 and its aftermath. However, a variety of factors prevented this and led to other institutions taking this leading role. These factors included issues of fragmented land ownership within London's Olympic Park, central government's desire to closely control developments in the Olympic Park, and their desire to establish organisations that were only focused on Olympic-related development [55, 56].

Entrusted by former Mayor Ken Livingstone with carrying out the necessary land acquisitions to facilitate the development of London's Olympic Park was the LDA. Such a function fell within the LDA's remit because of their aim to 'take the lead role for economic development and regeneration activity in the capital' (Syrett and Baldock 2003: 69). The LDA subsequently issued a Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) on 16 November 2005 for a 345-hectare site that would become the Olympic Park (BBC News 2005). CPOs are a legal instrument that statutory bodies can use to acquire land that they do not own if it is: (1) 'suitable for and required in order to secure the carrying out of development, redevelopment or improvement'; and (2) 'required for a purpose which it is necessary to achieve in the interests of the proper planning of an area in which the land is situated' (*Town and Country Planning Act 1990*: 149). The LDA stated that their order was necessary:

> for the purposes of securing the economic development and the regeneration of land, promoting business efficiency, investment and competitiveness, promoting employment, enhancing the development and applications of skills relevant to employment and contributing towards the achievement of sustainable development within its area and for the purposes incidental thereto, namely by the development of the land which will result in the significant regeneration of the area by the provision of the main facilities for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, the Legacy facilities and the development of the Stratford Rail Lands (Rose 2006: 1).

This statement suggests that the LDA's decision to conduct a CPO on all land on this site was fuelled by growth-based concerns (e.g. economic development, investment and competitiveness) and some social concerns (e.g. promoting employment). However,

research on the CPO process has raised important questions about the extent to which the social needs of local residents and businesses, particularly those inhabiting and using the land which the LDA wanted to compulsorily purchase, were at the heart of this CPO (Bernstock 2014; Davis and Thorney 2010). Indeed, a former resident of the Clays Lane Estate emphasised that residents and businesses were concerned that the CPO would: displace residents and businesses; lead to them facing higher rents in the places that they would be relocated to (which was likely to only be offset in the short term by the compensation they would receive as part of the CPO); and fracture their existing social networks [1]. So, there was a concern that a CPO would negatively impact on their social bonds and their capability to live affordably. Despite these concerns, all of which actually materialised (see Bernstock 2014; Davis and Thornley 2010 for some discussion), the inspector during this CPO enquiry concluded that:

> the objections relating to the Clays Lane Estate, the overt sense of community and the value that many residents put on their homes and their surroundings is foremost in my mind. Their loss will be a substantial one. However, I find the anticipated benefits of the Legacy and the catalytic effect of the Olympic Games to be a more forceful factor. My analysis of the key issues leads me to the conclusion that the justification for the Games, in this particular location, and the need to take the estate, is irreproachable (Rose 2006: 308).

Consequently, on 19 December 2006 the LDA's CPO was confirmed (BBC News 2005). This meant that the LDA could begin decanting existing residents and businesses from the land they had acquired so that the development of the Olympic Park could begin (see Bernstock 2014; Davis and Thornley 2010 for discussion).

Whilst the LDA were using a CPO to acquire land, another institution was being set up to oversee the delivery of the Olympic Park. In March 2006 the *London Olympic and Paralympic Games Act 2006* was given royal assent. This Act enabled the Department for Culture Media and Sports (DCMS) to set up an institution called the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA). The ODA represented an arms-length quango (Raco 2013) that was intended to enable central government to have 'very close control' over developments in the Olympic Park [55]. Together with the London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games—which was established in October 2005 jointly by the DCMS, the Mayor of

London and the British Olympic Association—the ODA was responsible for organising London 2012.

The ODA's specific responsibility was to use the government's budget for the Olympics to oversee 'the construction of sports venues and infrastructure, and planning and funding transport' for London 2012.[15] The ODA was also responsible for regulating advertising and trading and completing the closing-out of commercial contracts related to the Games' delivery (ODA 2014). In this latter regard, the ODA hired CLM (a consortium between CH2M Hill, Laing O'Rourke and Mace) as a project manager to oversee and coordinate the contractual arrangements for the development of London's Olympic Park (Raco 2013). Despite this governance decision, an interview with a senior planner in the ODA highlighted that the ODA still held two important planning functions. Firstly, the ODA took a lead on developing planning applications relating to the preparation of London's Olympic Park. Secondly, the ODA was an authority that was responsible for determining the outcome of these applications [51], taking over responsibility for planning decision-making for the Olympic Park from the LTGDC (which still retained planning decision-making powers for the rest of the Lower Lea Valley Opportunity area). So, the ODA's process of planning for the Olympic Park and its infrastructure was very in-house. However, this senior planning officer also emphasised that the ODA's planning applications and decisions about those planning applications were shaped by the 2004 Olympic and Legacy Planning permission and the *Lower Lea Valley Plan* that had also been developed (see GLA et al. 2004) [51]. Thus, the ODA's planning process was also being closely driven by the GLA's, the LDA's, Hackney Council's, Newham Council's, Tower Hamlets Council's and Waltham Forest Council's broader planning agendas for the area.

In this regard, as work was being done to prepare for the delivery of the Olympic Games, the aforementioned LPAs, along with Greenwich Council (another Olympic host borough), developed a salient regeneration framework known as the convergence framework. This was published in October 2009 (London Borough of Greenwich et al. 2009). This framework did not have any statutory power, but it would come to influence

---

[15]The ODA's budget was initially £2.375 billion before rising to over £4 billion in October 2006 and then £5.3 billion in March 2007 (BBC News 2007).

local-level planning and London-level planning for London's Olympic area (see LLDC 2015a; Mayor of London 2011, 2015; OPLC 2012a). Section 1.1 noted that the convergence framework represented a regeneration strategy which on the surface wanted to use Olympic-related development to improve the social and economic livelihoods of east London's communities, particularly east London's ethnically diverse low-income communities (*ibid*). So, there was an apparent social justice agenda at the heart of this convergence agenda. This is especially the case when considering that the document was thinking about how to 'use the 2012 Games as a catalyst for radical socio-economic and physical regeneration' that would bring average life chances in east London up to those in West London (*ibid*: 14). The key criteria for measuring this progress would be: 'raising results at Key Stage Four (GCSE); 'improving results at Key Stage Two (11 year olds)'; 'increasing employment rates'; 'increased mean incomes in the bottom two fifths of earners'; 'reducing the number of families in receipt of benefits'; 'reducing the rate of violent crime'; and 'increasing life expectancy' (*ibid*: 10). The convergence framework was also updated in 2011 to revise these key indicators into three interconnected themes: creating wealth and reducing poverty, developing successful neighbourhoods and supporting healthier lifestyles (Host Boroughs Unit 2011).[16]

The idea that the convergence framework on the surface had a social justice agenda running through it also seems to be supported by the aspirations for housing articulated in this framework. For instance, the framework states that 'the supply of new homes [in east London] must demonstrably respond to local needs' which includes responding to 'affordability [needs] in all tenures' (*ibid*: 13). This translated into the framework highlighting that of the 50,000 homes that the *2008 London Plan* wanted the Olympic host boroughs to collectively plan for within their boundary, at least 12,000 would need to be 'affordable'[17] to meet the collective needs of low-income people and families (*ibid*).[18] Although, it was recognised that 'financial pressures'—in the form of the availability of government funding for housing delivery—would have particular implications on the ability of the Olympic host boroughs to deliver substantial levels of

---

[16]Within this plan, Barking and Dagenham became included as a host borough.
[17]Section 4.3.3 will provide detailed discussion of what 'affordable' housing encapsulates.
[18]Section 4.4 will provide a discussion of these needs.

housing that would cater for the housing needs of low-income people and families in their boroughs (*ibid*).

However, I also encountered more critical takes on the convergence framework. A key individual who was seconded from the DCLG to help the host boroughs draw up the convergence framework reflected that the convergence framework was effectively 'a measurement of gentrification to be honest' [55]. This person held this perspective because although convergence was framed as being 'about equality' they believed that the framework was more about making east London become 'more middle-class like the rest of London' [55]. Even GLA representatives held concerns 'about whether local people will get their fair share of the new housing compared with more affluent incomers' (Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee of the London Assembly 2010: 7). Assessing the validity of these strong critiques necessitates exploring how this convergence agenda came to be subsequently interpreted, and incorporated within the plans developed, by the institutions that would come to be tasked with overseeing the planning and delivery of Olympic-related 'legacies'. In this regard, a key empirical concern of this thesis is whether such social justice agendas have been privileged within the LLDC's plans.

But, before the LLDC's establishment, another institution had been initially tasked with overseeing the delivery of London's Olympic-related 'legacies'. This institution was the OPLC which was set up in May 2009 jointly by the GLA, the DCMS and the DCLG. So, it was directly responsible to these three government bodies. In being established, the OPLC took over responsibility for developing the Olympic Park site post-London 2012 from the LDA.[19] The OPLC took over this function from the LDA as the government and the GLA thought that the OPLC 'would provide a focal point for securing the right expertise, accountability and leadership for the Olympic Park', and that the OPLC would 'take forward early legacy development and transformation decisions and will play a key role in building investor and community confidence' (LDA 2009: 6). This meant that alongside the Olympic host boroughs who were taking a lead on achieving convergence within their wider boundary area, the OPLC would lead on realising convergence aims

---

[19] The LDA would come to be abolished in 2012 by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition in the wake of the establishment of the *Localism Act 2011*.

within the Olympic Park (Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee of the London Assembly 2010).

To assist the OPLC with this task, the LDA transferred over key staff who had been working on Olympic-related development to the OPLC (Bernstock 2014); this is in addition to appointing individuals to the Board who had backgrounds in private sector or public sector institutions, including former Hackney Mayor, Jules Pipe and current Newham Mayor, Robin Wales (Hill 2009). They were also allocated a £300m budget from government to oversee transformation works in the Olympic Park post-London 2012 (Public Accounts Committee 2011). Additionally, crucially, the Olympic Park land that the LDA owned was transferred over to the OPLC in March 2010. This meant that they would lead on developing future planning applications for development relating to the transformation of the park post-London 2012. This included taking over responsibility from the LDA for developing the master plan for the Olympic Park, which would come to be known as the *LCS.*

The *LCS* was largely informed by the aims of convergence. When submitting the *LCS* application in September 2011, and amendments in September 2012, to the ODA (which was the planning decision authority at the time for the Olympic Park) the OPLC highlighted that their plans were committed to creating wealth and reducing poverty, developing successful neighbourhoods and supporting healthier lifestyles as: (1) they estimated that 4400 end-use jobs would be generated from the scheme, which would support business growth, alongside a continual stream of construction jobs across the build-programme: (2) the *LCS* was hoping to result in 6870 new homes being delivered on the Olympic Park; (3) the *LCS* was providing key social infrastructure, including new schools, health and community facilities; (4) the quality of the proposed development project and the estate management strategy would ensure a high quality public realm; and (5) that the development would contribute to 9.5 hectares of open space (OPLC 2012a). Section 4.4.3 will begin to discuss whether the housing proposals within the *LCS* are likely to meet local social needs. But, again, on the surface this planning scheme seemed to be dually motivated by a social agenda (i.e. providing social infrastructure) and a growth agenda (i.e. supporting business growth). Despite the headway that that the OPLC were making on developing the *LCS*, and overseeing the delivery of the Olympic

Park's transformation post-London 2012, it would not actually be the OPLC who would come to see these tasks through. As section 4.2.2 now discusses, this task would be left with an evolved form of the OPLC.

4.2.2   The LLDC's establishment

On 1 April 2012, the OPLC was transformed into the LLDC. The LLDC's establishment was the product of the establishment of the *Localism Act 2011* by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government. A senior regeneration officer at the LLDC asserted that a critical aspect of the localism agenda informing this Act (see Eagle et al. 2017 for discussion) was central government wanting to 'give more devolved power to directly elected Mayors' of cities [14]. Consequently, this Act empowered former London Mayor, Boris Johnson, to declare any part of the capital a Mayoral development area and create a Mayoral Development Corporation (MDC) for that area if he believed their establishment would be 'expedient for furthering any one or more of the Greater London Authority's principal purposes' (*Localism Act 2011*: 207). The senior LLDC regeneration officer that I spoke to stated that:

> by any criteria what was happening in this part of London [the Olympic Park] would be the sort of thing that a Mayor would want to take control over…there's a lot of investment from London so a lot of Mayor's money coming in here…So, obviously this is a situation where a Mayor is going to want to be involved… [as]…it's a project that's so big it's of London-wide significance. Getting it right makes an enormous difference to the whole city. Getting it wrong makes an enormous difference to the whole city [14].

Accordingly, Boris Johnson decided to establish the first MDC within London's Olympic Park. With its establishment, the LLDC took over land ownership powers from the OPLC, which became defunct after the LLDC was established. A senior LLDC planning officer also noted that a lot of staff working on London's Olympic area within the OPLC, ODA and LTGDC were transferred over to the LLDC [8]. Additionally, the LLDC would come to be bestowed with the full planning powers of a LPA when designated as a planning authority on 1 October 2012. The LLDC not only obtained planning powers for the Olympic Park. They also obtained planning powers for a wider area immediately surrounding the Park, inclusive of Stratford Rail Lands (see figure 1.2 in section 1.1). This

meant that the LLDC took over plan-making powers for their boundary from Hackney Council, Newham Council, Tower Hamlets Council and Waltham Forest Council. This also meant that they took over planning decision-making powers from the ODA and the LTGDC. The aforementioned key figure within the DCLG stated that the GLA gave the LLDC these planning powers over a wider area as there was:

> an acknowledgement...that the Olympics was, was still a little sort of isolated. And there needed to be some kind of framework to, to blend the Olympic Park in otherwise it was gonna remain this sort of [isolated area] [55].

Being given these land ownership and planning powers meant that the LLDC held the most comprehensive set of planning and land ownership powers for London's Olympic area since 2004 when Hackney Council, Newham Council, Tower Hamlets Council and Waltham Forest Council were the respective planning authorities for this area (see figure 4.3 for summary of changes in planning and land ownership powers).

The LLDC's establishment reflected governmental belief that an UDC was again the ideal policy instrument to oversee the delivery of large-scale development and regeneration in east London. As section 1.1 discussed, the LLDC's establishment followed in the footsteps of the LDDC being established in 1981 and the LTGDC being established in 2004. However, the LLDC had come to obtain more comprehensive powers than either the LDDC or the LTGDC. While the LDDC and LTGDC held planning decision powers and land ownership powers within their respective planning boundaries, they were not the plan-making authority for their boundary. In fact, the LLDC can be regarded as a relatively unique UDC as the LLDC is the first one to have the full set of planning powers bestowed to LPAs under the *Town and Country Planning Act 1971*.[20]

---

[20]The OPDC, the second MDC, would come to obtain similar powers for the Old Oak and Park Royal area in West London after being established as a planning authority for the area on 1 April 2015.

Figure 4.3. Timeline of changes in land ownership and planning powers and important developments in regeneration plans for London's Olympic area. 2003 – 2015.

Hackney Council, Newham Council, Tower Hamlets Council and Waltham Forest Council are the existing planning authorities

November 2005 - LDA launch CPO for land that would become the Olympic Park

October 2005 – LTGDC becomes the planning decision authority for Lower Lea Valley

March 2006 - ODA established as planning decision-making authority for the Olympic Park

March 2010 - OPLC gains ownership of Olympic Park land from the LDA

October 2012 - LLDC established as plan-making and planning decision-making authority for London's Olympic area

April 2012 - LLDC becomes land owner for Olympic Park

November 2004 - LTGDC established

May 2009 - OPLC established

2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015

March 2004 – Lower Lea Valley Joint Area Action Plan and Opportunity Area Planning Framework published

February 2005 – Newham Council grant planning permission to Stratford City

January 2007 – Updated version of Lower Lea Valley Opportunity Area Framework published

2011 – 2015 Convergence Strategy and Action Plan published

July 2015 LLDC *Local Plan* adopted

April 2004 – LDA's Olympic and Legacy Planning Permission given permission by the four chief Olympic host boroughs

October 2009 – Convergence framework published

September 2012 – *LCS* given planning permission by the ODA

In terms of budget considerations, the LLDC is unique compared with the LDDC and LTGDC. The LDDC and the LTGDC were both directly funded by central government (LDDC 2009, Data.Gov 2010). However, the LLDC receives funding from 'government money [that is] now rooted through the Mayor', meaning that the GLA is the chief form of government that has direct responsibility over the LLDC's budget [14]. This dynamic has meant that unlike with other LPAs in London[21], the GLA has a significant role in financing the LLDC's development and regeneration activities. Table 4.1 outlines the substantial amount of money that the GLA have allocated for the LLDC's activities.

Table 4.1. Yearly income that the LLDC has received from the GLA. Source: GLA (2012, 2013, 2014a, 2015).

Year	Funding £'000
April 2012 – March 2013	151,084
April 2013 – March 2014	213,625
April 2014 – March 2015	42,633
April 2015 – March 2016	37,125

Despite the LLDC's uniqueness in these regards, the LLDC's governance dynamics do also in some ways share key resemblances with the LDDC, the LTGDC and other London LPAs. In terms of internal governance relations, both the LDDC and the LTGDC were comprised of individuals who had long backgrounds working within private sector organisations, public sector bodies and/or the LPAs adjacent to their respective boundaries (see Brownill 1990; Foster 1992; Rustin and Cohen 2008; Savitch 1998 for some discussion of this). As table 4.2 demonstrates, a similar composition of types of governance actors have also occupied key positions within the LLDC. Although, in the LLDC's case London's former Mayor, Boris Johnson, was also part of the internal governance structure. This meant that metropolitan government had representation within the LLDC in ways that were not the case with the LDDC and LTGDC.

---

[21]The exception here is the OPDC which holds a similar financial relationship with the GLA.

Additionally, as section 1.1 highlighted, the LLDC shares similarities with other LPAs, particularly London LPAs, by virtue of them operating within the same planning system as each other. This therefore means that they are bound by the same procedural and legal requirements. As a result of this commonality, the LLDC does represent a good contemporary case to explore how national and metropolitan planning policy goals shape the policy goals privileged in local-level plans. However, because of the LLDC's relative exceptionality, both in terms of their governance dynamics and their local planning context, the LLDC also represents an ideal case to explore whether local particularities shape the policy agendas pursued in local-level plans. The next three sections delve deeper into exploring these issues as I now examine, and discuss the relationships between, key central government, GLA and local-level housing and regeneration plans and planning policies that are likely to have influenced the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

Table 4.2. Governance actors comprising the LLDC's Board, PDC and PPDT. Source: LLDC (2016a, 2016b).

LLDC Board	*Chair*
	• As of **December 2016**, the LLDC was without a Chair.
	• **September 2015 – May 2016**: David Edmonds was the Chair. Previously David Edmonds was a Chairman of NHS Direct and occupied senior positions within the OPLC.
	• **May 2015 – September 2015:** Neale Coleman was the Chair. Neale Coleman was previously the leader of the GLA's London 2012 team in the run up to the Games.
	• **September 2012 – May 2015:** Boris Johnson was the Chair whilst simultaneously being the Mayor of London.
	Board Members
	• The leaders of the four surrounding LPAs – Hackney Council, Newham Council, Tower Hamlets Council, and Waltham Forest Council.
	• Chairmen, directors and Board members of private sector organisations related to sporting development.
LLDC PDC	*Board members*
	• Three representatives from the LLDC's Board
	LPA representatives
	• Two representatives from Newham Council
	• One representative from Hackney Council
	• One representative from Tower Hamlets Council
	• One representative from Waltham Forest Council
	Independent members
	• Three representatives who have respectively been involved with previous development corporations, Olympic institutions, public and private sector planning institutions, transport and architectural institutions
LLDC PPDT	• Staff have been transferred in from the LTGDC, the ODA and the OPLC.
	• Staff have also previously held positions within the surrounding LPAs.

4.3   The policy goals filtering vertically through the planning system

4.3.1   The policy goals lying at the heart of the NPPF

This section begins my discussion of policy goals filtering vertically through the English planning system that are likely to have shaped the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. As section 2.3.2 discussed, at the top of this planning system is the *NPPF*. It is a national-level planning policy framework that was formally adopted in March 2012. During the development of the *NPPF* there was notable conflict about the policy goals that the *NPPF* should be privileging. Much of this conflict emerged when the DCLG put the *Draft NPPF* (DCLG 2011a) out to consultation in July 2011. The *Draft NPPF* (*ibid*) was contested by many LPAs, civil society institutions, community campaigners, and private individuals (Gray and Hope 2011). The DCLG received over 16,000 responses during the consultation into the *Draft NPPF* (DCLG 2011b). The most prominent actors to challenge the *Draft NPPF* were the Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE), the National Trust, and The Telegraph. These institutions' main bones of contention were that the *Draft NPPF*: championed a presumption in favour of 'sustainable development', where the conception of sustainable development was overwhelmingly hinged on satisfying economic aims rather than social and environmental aims (CPRE 2012); and that it suggested that the default answer to development proposals 'is yes' (LGiU 2011), which would serve as a justification for developers to build on protected rural and greenfield sites (Gray 2011).

The challenges provided by the CPRE, the National Trust and The Telegraph can be critiqued for parochially focusing on the implications of the *Draft NPPF* for rural and greenfield land in Britain. However, these contestations did saliently call out the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition's attempts to amend national planning policy to consolidate the pursuit of economic agendas, to the detriment of realising more social and environmental goals. Accordingly, these institutions, along with many other civil society institutions, community campaigners, and private individuals, demanded that the final *NPPF* removed the stipulation that the default answer to development 'is yes'. These governance actors also requested that the final *NPPF* include 'an explicit definition of sustainable development…that makes clear that developers must take

account of environmental and social factors – as well as economic' factors (*ibid*). In response to these demands, the DCLG, perhaps surprisingly, adopted a conciliatory approach. The final *NPPF* no longer contained the stipulation that the default answer to development 'is yes.' Additionally, the final *NPPF* more strongly referenced the social and environmental aspects of sustainable development (CPRE 2012).

As it currently stands, the *NPPF* still avers that '[t]he purpose of planning is to help achieve sustainable development' (DCLG 2012: i). Tellingly, the *NPPF* emphasises that sustainable development is about growth. Although, growth is conceptualised as 'making economic, environmental and social progress for this and future generations' (*ibid*: i); this position reflects Allmendinger and Haughton's (2009, 2010) argument that under contemporary planning the pursuit of economic growth is conceptualised as being compatible with the pursuit of social goals. So, ostensibly, the *NPPF* is reconciling and giving equal prominence to three agendas. Firstly, the *NPPF* pursues an economic agenda which attempts to identify and coordinate development opportunities to support growth and strengthen England's competitive economy. Secondly, it pursues an environmental agenda which seeks to protect and enhance the natural, built and historic environment. Lastly, it pursues a social justice agenda which aims to support and maintain strong and healthy communities by addressing a range of their socio-economic needs (*ibid*). If planning is giving equal prominence to these three agendas, then this would challenge an overarching argument that my thesis is exploring—that English planning privileges the pursuit of financial and economic-growth-based policy agendas. Within my discussion of the *NPPF,* I explore this argument through discussing the policy goals informing key *NPPF* policies that will have a bearing on how planning authorities plan for housing and regeneration.

4.3.2   The NPPF and planning for social and 'affordable' housing

How the English planning system plans for housing is a key empirical concern across my thesis. This research concern takes place within a context where England has long been experiencing a housing affordability crisis. This housing crisis affects swathes of households to varying degrees (Chakrabortty 2016). In London, and arguably within the rest of England to different extents, this current crisis began to emerge in the late

1980s/early 1990s (see Brownill and Sharp 1992), off the back of neoliberal policies pursued by successive Conservative governments during the 1980s. Successive Thatcher governments impelled the further marketization and financialisation of housing (Edwards 2016), contributing, particularly in London, to high house prices, increasingly unaffordable private rental rates, and increasing homelessness (Brownill and Sharp 1992). 'Prolonged neo-liberal reforms under the twin lodestars of "privatisation" by Conservative and Coalition governments and "modernisation" by New Labour' has only exacerbated this crisis (Watt and Minton 2016: 204).

Currently, a prominent manifestation of this housing crisis is the chronic shortage of social and 'affordable' housing (Edwards 2016). The current role the *NPPF* plays in addressing this aspect of England's housing crisis is to provide the planning policy framework which enables LPAs to plan for 'the full, objectively assessed needs for market and affordable housing in the[ir] housing market area' (DCLG 2012: 12, paragraph 47). For national government, 'affordable' housing is a term which encompasses three very different housing tenures: (1) social-rented housing, which is typically owned by local councils and private registered providers.[22] Social housing is widely regarded as the only housing tenure that is actually affordable to working-class and low-income groups, although even within this tenure around two-thirds of residents are unable to meet the cost of their rent without the support of housing benefits (London Tenants Federation 2011); (2) 'affordable'-rented housing, which is let by local councils or private registered providers. Under this tenure, rents can range from anywhere between social-rented levels to up to 80 percent of local market rates. This has prompted many to assert that 'affordable'-rented housing is in fact unaffordable for those eligible for social housing (Gavron 2016; Hodkinson and Robbins 2013; London Tenants Federation 2011; Wiles 2014); and (3) intermediate housing, which covers homes for sale and rent that are provided at a cost above social rent but below local market rates, subject to the criteria outlined above with regards to 'affordable'-rented housing (DCLG 2012).

---

[22]Private registered providers are private (not-for-profit and for-profit) institutions that are registered with the Homes and Communities Agency and who provide social housing.

In addition to pursuing this social agenda, the *NPPF's* housing policies also promotes a 'mixed and balanced communities' policy. Paragraph 50 of the *NPPF* states that LPAs are permitted to set policies for meeting identified need for social and 'affordable' housing in their borough as long as 'the agreed approach contributes to the objective of creating mixed and balanced communities' (*ibid*: 13). This policy initially appears to have positive social aims at its heart. Who could be against the idea of mixed and balanced communities? After all, as Ley (2012: 54) points out social mixing has had a history of being seen as 'politically progressive'.

Whilst positive social considerations are informing some attempts to foster mixed and balanced communities, we must remain alert to more worrying deployments of this agenda. As highlighted in section 2.2.2, for some, the pursuit of mixed and balanced communities represents nothing more than gentrification by stealth, which is informed by profit-making intent and aspirations to accumulate capital (Lees et al. 2012). Within my empirical chapters, I explore whether, as we work our way down the planning system, pursuing mixed and balanced communities typically translates as displaying a reticence to positively planning for neighbourhoods with high proportions of social-rented housing. I also explore whether this policy agenda translates as sanctioning the replacement of social-rented housing with 'affordable'-rented housing and private housing. Notably, it is in these circumstances that a 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda can be regarded as duplicitous—the positive connotations associated with the term 'mixed and balanced communities' masks how this policy agenda can in fact be deployed in ways that: (1) brutally break up neighbourhoods with high proportions of social-rented housing; and (2) consequently enhance the rent and profit that can be extracted from the land on which the social housing formerly sat.

Working in tandem with social need considerations and a 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda is also a key financial rationale. This rationale is not to be found within the housing section of the *NPPF.* Tucked away towards the end of the *NPPF* is policy paragraph 173, which discusses issues pertaining to development viability and deliverability:

Pursuing sustainable development requires careful attention to viability and costs in plan-making and decision-taking. Plans should be deliverable. Therefore, the sites and the scale of development identified in the plan should not be subject to such a scale of obligations and policy burdens that their ability to be developed viably is threatened. To ensure viability, the costs of any requirements likely to be applied to development, such as requirements for affordable housing, standards, infrastructure contributions or other requirements should, when taking account of the normal cost of development and mitigation, provide competitive returns to a willing land owner and willing developer to enable the development to be deliverable (DCLG 2012: 43).

This policy conspicuously highlights the central role that viability considerations should play in shaping the delivery of development within England. To put it more bluntly, this policy prioritises the ability of landowners or developers to gain competitive returns from the delivery of development—at the expense of more need-based obligations.

Finding out what the *NPPF* means by 'competitive returns' is no easy feat. I unsuccessfully trawled through a wide variety of planning documents providing guidance on viability and planning.[23] But, after extensive digging, I did come across one source of clarity. This source was a development valuation training manual produced by District Valuer Services (DVS), the specialist property arm of the government's Valuation Office Agency. DVS (2012) noted that in the current market, developers can expect to gain profits on housing developments that are between fifteen to twenty percent of Gross Development Value (GDV). So, paragraph 173 of the *NPPF* privileges planning authorities creating housing delivery plans that enable developers and landowners to realise tidy profit margins from housing development schemes at the expense of social need considerations—this is because social-rented and 'affordable'-rented housing generates less returns for developers than market housing (British Property Federation 2013). But, to what extent has the GLA adopted a similar approach within their *London Plan*? Exploring this issue would help in demonstrating: (1) in relation to **RQ1**, whether neoliberal policy goals and/or social justice policy goals are privileged at lower-levels within the planning system; and (2) in relation to **RQ2**, whether national government's policy goals have filtered down into the GLA's policy goals.

---

[23]This search involved looking at: the RICS's (2012) *Financial Viability in Planning*; the *NPPG* (DCLG 2014a); the Homes and Communities Agency's (2015) *Development Appraisal Tool;* and the Three Dragons' (2016) *Viability Toolkit Guidance*.

4.3.3   Planning for social and 'affordable' housing in The London Plan

Sitting below the *NPPF,* and providing the spatial planning policy framework for Greater London, is *The London Plan.* The first version of *The London Plan* actually precedes the *NPPF*. It was first published in 2004, under Ken Livingstone's tenure as Mayor. New versions of *The London Plan* have usually been published, although not exclusively, after each London Mayoral election (see Mayor of London 2004; Mayor of London 2008; Mayor of London 2011; Mayor of London 2013; Mayor of London 2015). As section 4.2.1 noted, the *2008 London Plan* contained nascent plans for development and regeneration within London's Olympic area, with the *2011 London Plan* and *2013 London Plan* substantiating on these provisional development plans. Particularly relevant for my case, however, is the *2015 London Plan*. Due to planning's top-down multi-level and rules-based governing technologies, the agendas being pursued in *The London Plan* need to be 'consistent with' and 'express' the agendas pursued in the *NPPF* (Mayor of London 2015: 4). Consequently, economic agendas, social agendas, and environmental agendas are undergirding *The London Plan's* policies. Although, as I argue below, economic agendas (particularly informed by financial considerations) are being privileged within *The London Plan*.

London has long been in desperate need of a substantial social and 'affordable' housing delivery programme. Table 4.3 contains illuminating data from the DCLG, highlighting the number of London's households requiring social housing. This figure rose from 196,995 households in 2000 to a peak of 380,301 households in 2012, and in 2015 stood at 263,491 households. LPAs in London (and England) are struggling to satisfy this need for social housing (and 'affordable' housing), largely due to the heavy depletion of state funds for social housing (and 'affordable' housing) since the 1980s (Watt and Minton 2016). For example, under the moniker of austerity, central government slashed the 'affordable' housing budget for 2011-2015 to £4.5bn, which is nearly half the £8.4bn budget allocated from 2007 – 2010 (Hodkinson and Robbins 2013). This long-term withdrawal of central government funding for 'affordable' housing has for instance seen national completions of new social housing fall from almost 150,000 per year in the 1970s to around 25,000 per year in the 2000s (figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4. Social housing completions since 1969. Source Adam et al. (2015: 10).
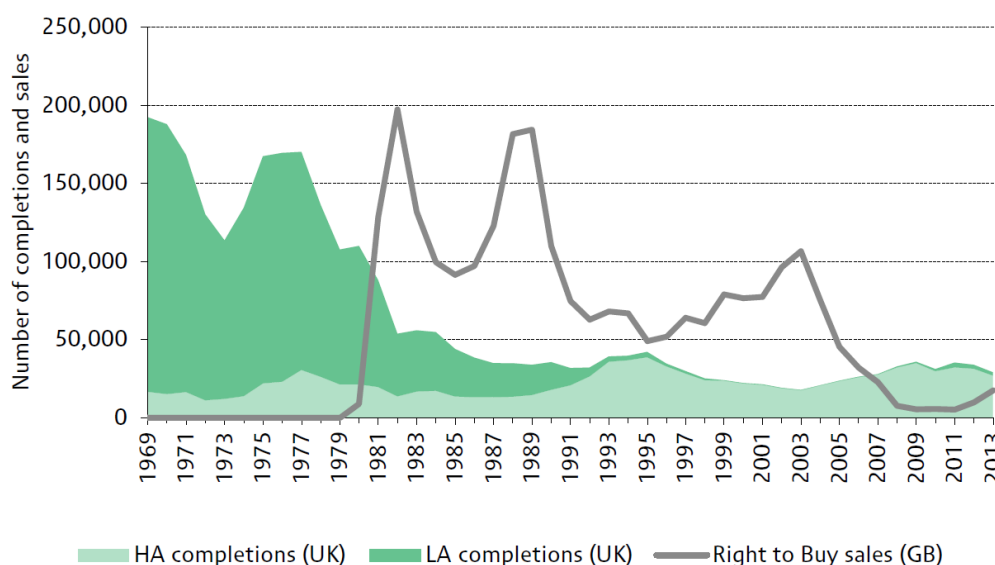
As a result of LPAs' diminishing ability to meet London's need for social and 'affordable' housing, private developers and housing associations have increasingly been relied upon to meet this need. However, developing large quantities of social and 'affordable' housing is something of an anathema for private developers—these housing tenures yield less financial returns to developers than market housing (British Property Federation 2013). Additionally, diminishing central government funding for social and 'affordable' housing is pushing housing associations to increasingly behave like private developers. Housing associations are increasing the proportion of private housing for sale within their developments to cross subsidise their provision of social and 'affordable' housing (Gardiner 2014). In this climate, a strong social-need-based metropolitan planning policy framework, in conjunction with a seismic boost in funding for social and 'affordable' housing, is necessary to assist London in boosting its existing supply of social and 'affordable' housing (see table 4.4 and table 4.5).

The GLA's *London Plan* mobilises a policy approach to social and 'affordable' housing which initially appears to be chiefly driven by need-based concerns:

> The Mayor will, and boroughs and other relevant agencies and partners should, seek to maximise affordable housing provision and ensure an average of at least 17,000 more affordable homes per year in London over the term of this Plan… 60% of the affordable housing provision should be for social and affordable rent and 40% for intermediate rent or sale (Mayor of London 2015: 119).

Table 4.3. Number of households on local authority housing waiting lists in London, 2000 – 2015. Source: DCLG (2016a).

Number of households in London on local authority housing waiting lists by year															
2000	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
196,995	211,469	226,789	242,389	279,729	309,072	331,230	333,857	352,953	354,389	344,771	354,401	380,301	344,294	255,729	263,491

Table 4.4. Social housing stock in London, 2000 – 2014. Source: DCLG (2015b) and DCLG (2016b).

Social Housing Stock															
Year	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
LPA Stock	551,006	530,015	515,975	499,705	482,835	468,318	456,761	450,881	435,542	432,937	403,672	404,225	412,822	410,011	406,387
Registered Social Landlord (RSL) Stock	250,378	271,093	302,937	312,232	315,676	319,970	328,335	335,895	350,596	357,743	370,300	376,799	384,999	390,773	392,434
Total	**801,384**	**801,108**	**818,912**	**811,937**	**798,511**	**788,288**	**785,096**	**786,776**	**786,138**	**790,680**	**773,972**	**781,024**	**797,821**	**800,784**	**798,821**

Table 4.5. 'Affordable' housing completions in London, 2000 – 2015.[24] Source: DCLG (2014b).

'Affordable' Housing Completions by Year														
2000-2001	**2001-2002**	**2002-2003**	**2003-2004**	**2004-2005**	**2005-2006**	**2006-2007**	**2007-2008**	**2008-2009**	**2009-2010**	**2010-2011**	**2011-2012**	**2012-2013**	**2013-2014**	**2014-2015**
8270	8490	8480	10,910	9850	11,500	13,180	15,110	13,070	13,560	14,030	17,230	8,710	9,230	18,270

---

[24] 'Affordable' housing in this table comprises social rent, 'affordable' rent, intermediate rent and low-cost home ownership.

The London Plan's 'affordable' housing target works out as roughly 40 percent of the GLA target to produce 42,389 homes annually over that period. However, the *2013 London Strategic Housing Market Assessment* (*SHMA*) (Mayor of London 2014a)*,* which provides an assessment of London's housing needs, states that to actually satisfy London's 'affordable' housing requirements London should be providing 25,624 new 'affordable' homes annually; although table 4.3 indicates that this need is much, much higher. The reason why the GLA's social need target is not adopted within their *London Plan* is as a result of the conclusions made within the *2013 London Strategic Housing Land Availability Assessment* (*SHLAA*) (Mayor of London 2014b). According to the DCLG (2012: 39), SHLAAs 'establish realistic assumptions about the availability, suitability and the likely economic viability of land to meet the identified need for housing over the plan'. As a result of paragraph 173 of the *NPPF,* it would be expected that viability considerations would be the overriding concern within SHLAAs. However, to truly understand the importance of economic viability considerations in determining a SHLAA's results we need to knit together sporadic points made about SHLAAs within the *NPPG*.

For the DCLG (2014c), a critical feature of SHLAAs is assessing the development potential of sites. Assessing a site's development potential involves assessing its suitability and achievability. Suitability decisions should have 'consideration of the types of development that may meet the needs of the community' *and* market and industry requirements (*ibid*). However, particularly interesting is what the DCLG (*ibid*) say about achievability:

> A site is considered achievable for development where there is a reasonable prospect that the particular type of development will be developed on the site at a particular point in time. *This is essentially a judgement about the economic viability of a site,* and the capacity of the developer to complete and let or sell the development over a certain period (emphasis added).

Latching onto the DCLG's (*ibid*) guidance, the Mayor of London (2014b) accordingly asserts that '[t]he viability of a scheme is important to understanding if a site is deliverable or developable'. Thus, the *NPPF* and *NPPG* have created a sufficient policy framework for economic viability considerations to play the deciding role in shaping how

much 'affordable' housing the *2013 London SHLAA* suggests the *2015 London Plan* should plan for.

I previously noted that housing schemes are considered to be economically viable if they enable developers to gain fifteen to twenty percent profit margins on GDV. Essentially, the DCLG's framework has encouraged London's former Mayor, Boris Johnson, and his Mayoral team to adopt a planning framework that enables housing developers to gain substantial profits rather than meaningfully satisfying 'affordable' housing needs. Indeed, the following comment from a Green Party London Assembly officer suggests as much:

> A few of the Assembly workers that I work with think that the Mayor is too quick to accept the arguments of private developers that if you don't let us get away with this low level of affordable housing nothing will get built. You know, cos the Mayor's view is one that it is better to have 10 percent of something than 50 percent of nothing [31].

Given the DCLG's (2014c) guidance, and English planning's rule which requires lower-level plans to conform with the strategic planning policies laid out in higher-level plans, it is unsurprising that Boris Johnson's *2014 London Housing Strategy* concluded that the *2015 London Plan* should plan for less 'affordable' housing than what the *2013 London SHMA* identified was necessary (Mayor of London 2014c).

The London Plan also enables a framework which places viability considerations at the heart of determining 'affordable' housing levels within individual housing schemes. The *2015 London Plan's* 'affordable' housing policies emphasise that when trying to maximise the provision of 'affordable' housing within a scheme:

> Negotiations on sites should take account of their individual circumstances including development viability, the availability of public subsidy, the implications of phased development including provisions for re-appraising the viability of schemes prior to implementation ('contingent obligations'), and other scheme requirements (Mayor of London 2015: 132).

Currently, the primary mechanism for assessing a scheme's viability are financial viability assessments. Financial viability assessments, somewhat of an enigma within

planning (McAllister et al. 2013), have been rationalised as providing 'hard facts' about the levels of 'affordable' housing which can be delivered within individual housing schemes (McAllister et al. 2016). However, Flynn (2016) has conducted crucial research which troubles this rationalisation and dissects the duplicitous use of financial viability assessments by private developers. Flynn focuses on Lend Lease's use of viability assessments to determine 'affordable' housing levels within their controversial redevelopment of the Heygate Estate in Southwark, London. Southwark Council's *Local Plan* has a 35 percent 'affordable' housing target, subject to viability considerations (London Borough of Southwark 2011). Lend Lease accordingly conducted a viability assessment for their proposed redevelopment of the Heygate Estate. Within this, Lend Lease's baseline consideration was a scheme with 25 percent 'affordable' housing within it. Consequently, there was never any consideration of whether it would be financially viable for them to develop a scheme which comprised 35 percent 'affordable' housing. This is even though the viability assessment demonstrated that providing 25 percent 'affordable' housing within the scheme would potentially leave Lend Lease with 25 percent profit on costs. Flynn (2016: 284) concludes that financial viability assessments unquestionably put the 'developers' need for profits' above 'the local community's need for homes it can genuinely afford to live in'.

For those pursuing social justice agendas, Flynn's case is a source of great disquiet. Flynn's example demonstrates how viability assessments operate as a technocratic form of governing which are rationalised as value-free in order to 'legitimise' developers' brazen departure from formal and need-based planning rules in the search for profit. The way that planning policy is constructed, both at a metropolitan level and at a national level, ensures that these viability assessments systematically have a more powerful influence than social need considerations on social and 'affordable' housing plans. Given that local plans must conform with higher-level strategic policies, it is likely that the LLDC's *Local Plan* will replicate this approach (this issue will be particularly explored in sections 5.3.2 and 5.5.2).

Also likely to filter down into the LLDC's planning policy approach to social and 'affordable' housing is a 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda. *The London Plan* states that a LPA's 'affordable' housing target should take account of 'the need to

promote mixed and balanced communities' (Mayor of London 2015: 129). Within *The London Plan* this 'mixed and balanced communities' agenda initially seems benign:

> [c]ommunities mixed and balanced by tenure and household income should be promoted across London (*ibid*: 126).

However, as we work our way through this policy we clearly see that this 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda directly threats positively planning for the socially necessary levels of social and 'affordable' housing within London:

> [a] more balanced mix of tenures should be sought in all parts of London, particularly in some neighbourhoods where social renting predominates and there are concentrations of deprivation (*ibid*: 126).

Tellingly, *The London Plan* does not also suggest the converse—that a more balanced mix of tenures should be sought in all parts of London, particularly in some neighbourhoods where market housing predominates and there are concentrations of wealth. Thus, this policy can be seen to be producing a prejudicial logic as it is a policy which particularly and inexplicably views neighbourhoods comprised of high concentrations of social housing as a threat to creating and maintaining mixed and balanced communities. It is this logic which has also contributed to the sustained governmental attack on social housing since the 1980s (Hodkinson et al. 2013). Given planning's hierarchical structure, it is to be expected that the centrality this policy plays in shaping the GLA's planning policy approach to social and 'affordable' housing will be replicated in the LLDC's 'affordable' housing policy (sections 5.3.2 and 5.5.2 will particularly explore this perspective).

4.3.4 The NPPF and planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation

My analysis has so far explored the policy goals shaping the *NPPF's* and *The London Plan's* planning approach to social and 'affordable' housing. At the end this analysis, I began to highlight that prejudicial logics/rationales are also permeating planning. Further potentially harmful rationales began to appear as I looked over central government's and the GLA's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans. In this section,

I explore English planning's policy approach to Gypsy and Traveller accommodation. Providing this exploration will aid my research enquiry within **RQ1**; it will help me illuminate whether other policy agendas, that are not necessarily classifiable as neoliberal or social-justice-based, also prominently shape housing planning policies within my research context.

An apparent long-standing principle within planning is that '[c]onsideration of diversity should be at the heart of planning activities' (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2005). However, there have been well-founded concerns that the planning system acts in opposition to this principle. Notably, English planning has been argued to display prejudice towards and exclude ethnic minorities (Beebeejaun 2004; Krishnarayan and Thomas 1993; Loftman and Beazley 1998). Gypsies and Travellers have long been on the receiving end of this (Ellis and McWhirter 2008; McWeigh 1997; Thomas 2000; Thomas 2008). For instance, the *Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994* revoked the obligation that LPAs had to provide Traveller sites, alongside removing central government financial support for providing sites. Ellis and McWhirter (2008: 85) argue that:

> the resulting policy vacuum further discouraged planning authorities to take positive action in the interests of Traveller-Gypsies and, by the mid-1990s, the provision of sites for Traveller-Gypsies had become a very low priority.

In fact, 'where policies for Traveller-Gypsies sites did exist, most were very negatively worded' (*ibid*: 85), leading to 179 Traveller pitch closures from 1994 to 2002 (Niner 2002).

This planning problem that Gypsies and Travellers face has been argued to be rooted in planning's normative assumption in favour of sedentary lifestyles (Ellis and McWhirter 2008; McWeigh 1997; Thomas 2000). Gypsies' and Travellers' more nomadic lifestyles are viewed by planning to be 'deviant' (Ellis and McWhirter 2008; Niner 2004). The perceived 'deviance' of Gypsies' and Travellers' way of life amongst LPAs facilitates their general and unjust reticence to positively plan for Traveller sites (Ellis and McWhirter 2008). It was not until 2006 that national planning policy responded to this reticence by

releasing *Circular 01/2006* (DCLG 2006). This Circular reintroduced the duty on LPAs to provide sites for Gypsies and Travellers.

Currently, the national planning policy framework for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation is not found within the *NPPF*. Instead, it is located within a separate document titled *Planning Policy for Traveller Sites* (DCLG 2015c).[25] When first reading this document, there appears to be a sincere social justice agenda running through it. It states that LPAs should develop effective strategies to meet the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers. LPAs should also 'ensure fair and equal treatment for Travellers, in a way that facilitates the traditional and nomadic way of life of Travellers while respecting the interests of the settled community' (*ibid*: 1).[26] However, a closer inspection of the text surrounding planning for Traveller sites begins to reveal more harmful agendas and rationales.

Policy 13 of *Planning Policy for Traveller Sites* states that any Traveller site should be 'sustainable economically, socially and environmentally' (*ibid*: 4). On the face of it, this policy statement seems benign. However, policy 13 also emphasises that Traveller sites are only acceptable if their provision does not negatively affect the local community's amenity and environment, and 'avoid[s] placing undue pressure on local infrastructure and services' (*ibid*: 4). The *NPPF* does not explicitly apply this standard to other forms of accommodation. The explicit inclusion of this standard within *Planning Policy for Traveller Sites* represents and feeds a rationale which views Gypsy and Traveller accommodation as having the potential to more greatly hinder the residential amenity of surrounding communities than other forms of accommodation. This perspective reflects and reproduces a long-standing problematic perspective that Traveller accommodation has a greater propensity to be an environmental burden, and thus burden on the urban landscape, than other forms of accommodation (Thomas 2000). Notably, this mind-set hinders LPAs from positively planning for the identified need for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation within their planning boundaries. Thus, *Planning*

---

[25]The first version of this document was published in 2012 by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition.
[26]Although, it is important to highlight that on 12 May 2016 the Conservative government pushed through the controversial *Housing and Planning Act 2016* which removed LPAs' obligation to assess Gypsies' and Travellers' accommodation needs in a separate category to other residents.

Policy for Traveller Sites may exacerbate the well documented reticence that LPAs have historically displayed in positively planning for Traveller sites (Clements 1997).

4.3.5   The London Plan and planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation

Whilst national government has extensive planning policy and guidance for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, the GLA's *London Plan* contains no Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy. Neither does *The London Plan* set an annual pitch target for Traveller sites.[27] This is despite consultation submissions made, and protests held at City Hall, by numerous London Gypsies and Travellers which argued that the GLA's refusal to assess their accommodation needs was in fact discriminatory (LGTU 2016b). Providing a London-wide target for Traveller sites would assist in creating a positive strategic planning framework for ensuring that that Gypsy and Travellers' accommodation needs are met across London (LGTU 2009). However, London's planning framework only contains several pepper-potted statements pertaining to Gypsy and Traveller accommodation. *The London Plan* adroitly circumvents this inadequate metropolitan-level policy framework by speaking the language of localism:

> The Mayor is clear that the planning system should ensure fairness between the settled and Traveller communities. It is his view that assessing levels of genuine local need, deciding on the level and location of suitable provision to meet that need and carrying out the necessary consultation with relevant communities and stakeholders is far more effectively done locally (Mayor of London 2015: 125).

The GLA's approach to planning for Traveller sites is contrary to the approach that is taken when planning for conventional housing supply (e.g. self-contained private housing and 'affordable' housing). For conventional housing, the GLA not only provides an assessment of housing need, they also use this assessment of need to partially inform the annual conventional housing supply targets adopted within *The London Plan*; although I have already expressed reservations over the extent to which need-based considerations are chiefly driving the GLA's planning policy approach to 'affordable' housing. Within the few statements *The London Plan* does provide on planning for the

---

[27]The last time that a London-wide assessment of Gypsy and Traveller accommodation needs was conducted was in 2008 (see Fordham Research 2008).

accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers we can see an approach which mirrors central government's approach:

> Both because of the level of locally-specific detail involved, and the scale of the issue (relative to London's other strategic housing needs), the Mayor agrees with national Government that boroughs should work with Gypsies and Travellers and other stakeholders to identify local needs for temporary and permanent sites, and develop and [sic] effective strategies to meet need through the identification of land for sites through their LDFs as set out in accordance with national guidance (Mayor of London 2015: 125).

Again, this approach initially puts forward a social justice agenda, promoting LPAs working in collaboration with Gypsies and Travellers to assess the local need for Traveller sites. But, at the same time, *The London Plan* notes that potential Traveller sites should be 'sustainable economically, socially and environmentally' (*ibid*: 125). As highlighted in section 4.2.4, on its own this explicit stipulation seems benign. But, its inclusion—in a context when this stipulation is not explicitly applied to other forms of accommodation—could potentially feed a historical reticence to sufficiently plan for the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers (see section 4.3.4). Importantly, sections 5.3.2 and 5.5.3 will explore whether this issue has materialised within the LLDC's context.

4.4   The policy goals travelling horizontally through the planning system

I have so far discussed the policy goals filtering down the planning system that are likely to have shaped the LLDC's housing plans for their boundary. But what about the policy goals coming horizontally through the planning system? To what extent does the mobilisation of a multi-level governing technology within English planning enable local planning actors to shape one another's planning policies? In this section, I begin to address this issue by discussing the policy goals present within Newham Council's and Hackney Council's respective housing and regeneration plans. Of particular interest to me are: *Newham's Local Plan – The Core Strategy;* the *Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan Development Framework;* the *Hackney Core Strategy*; and the *Hackney Wick Area Action Plan (AAP)*. I also outline the policy goals located within the *LCS* developed by the OPLC. As section 4.2 discussed, the OPLC is an institution that in effect

represented a previous incarnation of the LLDC, and the *LCS* was the master plan for London's Olympic Park prior to the LLDC being established. Consequently, it is reasonable to expect that this local-level planning framework would have had a notable bearing on the LLDC's plans. In this section, the empirical focus will again be on planning policy approaches to social and 'affordable' housing and Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, as well as housing and regeneration plans for Stratford, Hackney Wick, Chobham Manor and East Wick.

4.4.1   Newham Council's pre-existing housing and regeneration plans

Newham Council view the Olympics as a significant opportunity to catalyse urban transformation in their borough (London Borough of Newham 2012). This perspective is congruent with long-term central government, Mayoral and GLA perspectives on the transformational capacity of the Olympics (see section 4.2) (HM Government and Mayor of London 2013; Mayor of London 2004; Mayor of London 2008; Mayor of London 2011; Mayor of London 2015). Newham Council view Stratford, which lies in their 'regeneration supernova' the 'Arc of Opportunity' (Hancox 2014),[28] to be the main place where this Olympic-related transformation will take place. Newham Council envision a legacy of housing provision within Stratford that will catalyse and cater for 'new and rejuvenated communities' within their borough (London Borough of Newham 2012: 39). Essentially, Newham Council hold aspirations that the Olympic-related development, alongside their Stratford City project, will catalyse a housing-led regeneration of Stratford. Regeneration programmes can often facilitate racialised and class-based gentrification processes that fracture and displace existing ethnically diverse working-class communities in the pursuit of capital accumulation (Johnson 2011; Lees et al. 2012). Fears that Newham Council have a similar vision for Stratford are amplified when considering their broader ambition that 'as the City spreads eastwards' the borough becomes placed 'at the heart of the economic growth of London' (*ibid*: 31). From this perspective, it can be surmised that Newham Council's underlying vision is to produce a housing legacy from the Olympics that overwhelmingly caters towards their economic growth aspirations for the borough;

---

[28]The Arc of Opportunity refers to land which lies in parts of Newham covering the Olympic Park, down the River Lea to the River Thames, then Eastwards throughout the Royal Docks to Gallions Reach and on into Barking. Newham Council view this land to have substantial development potential.

this contrasts with the stronger social need concerns that Newham Council articulated in relation to Stratford City (see section 4.2.1). As argued in this chapter, economic growth agendas can hold an uneasy tension with social need requirements. Indeed, concerns about this potential tension become clearer when looking at Newham Council's social and 'affordable' housing policy.

Table 4.6 provides a stark indication of the acute need for social housing within Newham. Annually, from 2005 (when London won the Olympic bid) to 2012 (when Newham Council's Core Strategy was published), there were between 24,000 and around 32,000 households on Newham Council's housing waiting list. From a social justice perspective, one would hope that Newham Council's *Core Strategy* would plan ambitiously and set an 'affordable' housing target that would make great strides towards meeting this need.

Newham Council's *Core Strategy* aims to ensure that 50 percent of all new homes built over the plan period are 'affordable'. 60 percent of this 'affordable' housing should be social-rented housing. This 'affordable' housing target is indeed more ambitious than the London-wide target pursued in the *2015 London Plan*. This target is actually a reflection of guidance offered in the *2008 London Plan* which 'adopted a strategic target that 50 per cent of all additional housing should be affordable' (Mayor of London 2008: 75). Yet, in practice, serious reservations exist about Newham Council's sincerity in trying to achieve this 'affordable' housing target.

Firstly, Newham Council's *Core Strategy* states that on 'all new developments or redevelopments on individual sites with capacity for 10 units or more' the aim is to 'provide between 35 – 50' percent 'affordable' housing (London Borough of Newham 2012: 130). Secondly, developers are only required to meet this 'affordable' housing target provided that meeting this target is 'viable'. So, the pursuit of needs-based considerations is subordinate to the importance of viability considerations; this approach to planning for social and 'affordable' housing reflects the broad approach mobilised within the *NPPF* and *The London Plan*. Thirdly, also working in tandem with this financial rationale, is Newham Council's 'primary concern' to 'secure quality mixed and balanced communities' (*ibid*: 129).

Table 4.6. Housing waiting lists for Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest, 2000 – 2015. Source: DCLG (2016a).

Local Authority	Number of households on housing waiting lists by year															
	2000	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
Hackney	7,011	8,307	8,930	10,529	11,016	7,744	8,815	8,565	10,683	11,461	11,956	13,423	14,171	15,090	7,926	10,715
Newham	9,901	11,426	13,942	16,228	19,503	25,317	29,574	24,159	28,579	28,649	31,851	32,045	30,975	24,179	15,582	16,755
Tower Hamlets	6,751	7,566	7,837	10,979	14,575	21,183	12,926	13,978	18,582	19,681	22,707	23,128	23,406	24,428	20,425	19,783
Waltham Forest	7,476	8,664	10,283	9,680	9,016	8,837	11,059	10,169	9,655	14,341	15,624	16,153	21,864	25,054	20,635	15,405

It is not immediately clear why Newham Council's pursuit of mixed and balanced communities may inhibit the provision of socially necessary levels of 'affordable' housing within Newham. To provide clarity, it is essential to consider the context within which Newham Council are pursuing this agenda. Newham Council's *Core Strategy* stresses that Newham has 'one of the highest proportions of social housing in London' (*ibid*: 130). In this context, the main route for achieving mixed and balanced communities is perceived to be inserting market tenure housing into places with high concentrations of social housing. This is a logic which perpetuates a problematic belief that areas with high concentrations of social housing cannot comprise mixed and balanced communities.[29] Simultaneously, it is also a logic supporting Newham Council's implicit desire to provide housing which increasingly accommodates workers in 'high value' commercial jobs, diverting attention away from Newham Council's need to address the plight of households on their housing waiting list (*ibid*).

Newham Council also marginalise social need considerations within their Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans. The *London Boroughs' Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment (GTANA) 2008* identified that Newham Council needed to provide between seven and fifteen Traveller pitches between 2007 and 2017 to cater for identified need (Fordham Research 2008). It is also critical to remember that the LDA's CPO on what we now know as the Olympic Park led to the displacement of fifteen English Romany Traveller families from the former Clays Lane site in 2007 (Bernstock 2014). These Romany Travellers were eventually relocated to a controversial site, Parkway Crescent (located 400m away in Newham),[30] 'with the possibility of a subsequent relocation on the Olympic Park following the games' (*ibid*: 53).

Given these two factors, a social justice perspective would expect Newham Council's *Core Strategy* to make comprehensive plans for accommodating Gypsies and Travellers in the Olympic Park. However, their *Core Strategy* only refers to holding off on allocating any provisional Traveller sites within the borough until the *Newham Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment* was completed (ORS 2016). This assessment was only

---

[29]My discussion of Greater Carpenters in section 7.2.2 highlights that areas with a high proportion of social housing can comprise a wonderful mix of residents.
[30]The site was controversial as it was already in use as a major community facility comprising a community centre, a children's play area and a multi-use games area.

completed in 2016 and has argued that there is no additional need for Traveller pitches in Newham. In section 5.5.3, reflections on emotive representations provided by Gypsies and Travellers in the LLDC's EiP will help in assessing this conclusion.

4.4.2   Hackney Council's pre-existing housing and regeneration plans

Hackney Council's perspective on the positive transformational capacity of London 2012 mirrors Newham Council's, the GLA's, and central government's boosterist perspectives on the regenerative capacity of the Olympics:

> [t]he 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games is expected to be a catalyst, for improving the borough as the global spotlight turns to Hackney and east London (London Borough of Hackney 2010: 17).

Hackney Council's interest in the development and regeneration accompanying the Olympics specifically relates to Hackney Wick. Hackney Wick has been undergoing a regeneration experience for decades, which has been shaped by the industrial decline experienced within the area. Pre-World War Two, Hackney Wick was home to a lot of industry including dye, chemical, blood manure, rubber works, confectionary and glass (Davis 2016), and housed significant numbers of industrial workers (Budish et al. 2010). During World War Two, both industry and housing were damaged due to severe bombing (*ibid*). During the 1960s and 1970s, deindustrialisation expedited Hackney Wick's industrial decline; many heavy industry firms within the area were lost (Davis 2016). However, from the 1980s, a lot of light industry moved into Hackney Wick. Much of this influx was from people within the creative sector who were allured by Hackney Wick's 'strong transportation connections, large vacant spaces and low rents'. (Budish et al. 2010: 2). Over the last 20 years, as a HWFICIG member—Michael[31]—stated, artists and other cultural and creative sector workers have continued to occupy 'forgotten, neglected industrial buildings' [36]. Michael emphasised that accompanying the influx of artists has been a proliferation of cafes and bars which has meant that Hackney Wick has 'become fashionable, and then prices [have gone] up' [36]. Consequently, another HWFICIG member—Dom—argued that this rent increase has hastened the pace at

---

[31]Section 3.4.1.3 noted that I am providing pseudonyms for interview responses from HWFICIG, GCNF and Just Space members.

which 'artists [are] moving out [and] industry [is] moving out' [22]. In their place, luxury apartments are increasingly popping up, housing a wealthier clientele, although council homes (e.g. Trowbridge Estate) housing a long-term working-class population are still prominent.

In light of these regeneration processes, Hackney Council have identified Hackney Wick as a neighbourhood that is critical in assisting the borough to achieve their broader economic strategy (London Borough of Hackney 2010). Hackney Council's economic strategy seeks to 'secure the economic competitiveness of the borough' (*ibid*: 88) by planning for:

> major office development...an adequate level of retail provision and other small and medium companies that provide a wide range of services needed to support business activity, such as creative and media, IT, market research and business management (*ibid*: 88).

Within Hackney Wick, Hackney Council will mobilise this borough-level strategy by: protecting some industrial capacity within this neighbourhood; and transitioning some industrial land to a broader mix of uses in order to attract new businesses into the area, in particular to ensure accessibility of employment for local creative and cultural industries (London Borough of Hackney 2012). Within their *Hackney Wick AAP,* Hackney Council highlight that '[s]trategies to provide affordable workspace for these sectors will be investigated with the LLDC as the lead partner' (*ibid*: 69). This is to be expected as the LLDC is the LPA for the majority of Hackney Wick. Consequently, within the *Hackney Wick AAP* we see no detailed discussion of affordable workspace provision. However, I was able to speak to a Hackney Council cabinet member about Hackney Council's approach to affordable workspace provision. It seems like Hackney Council have been subsuming affordable workspace considerations within a broader commercial and growth-based development strategy. According to the Hackney cabinet member I interviewed, Hackney Council have been trying to realise a policy approach to workspace in Hackney Wick that 'is commercial space led...[a]nd with it comes affordable workspace' [38]. Such an approach chimes with *The London Plan's* approach to

affordable workspace[32], which sees affordable workspace as a subsidiary to planning for workspace that will boost *The London Plan's* commercial and growth-based economic development strategy (see Mayor of London 2015: 149 – 180). Given that LPAs' policies need to conform with higher-level planning authorities' strategic policies, it can be expected that the LLDC will adopt a similar approach to affordable workspace within their *Local Plan*.

Hackney Council, in addition to pursuing their aforementioned economic strategy for Hackney Wick, are simultaneously and ostensibly hoping for an Olympic-related housing legacy that will 'meet the identified needs of different types of households within the Borough and create cohesive, tenure diverse communities' (London Borough of Hackney 2012: 35). So, as with Newham Council, there is an articulated social justice agenda working in conjunction with a 'mixed and balanced communities' agenda. Looking at Hackney Council's social and 'affordable' housing policies gives us good insights into which of these policy goals they give prominence to.

Table 4.6 shows that from 2005 to 2010 (when Hackney Council's *Core Strategy* was published) the number of households on Hackney Council's waiting list increased from just over 7500 households to just shy of 12,000 households. Hackney Council's *Core Strategy* has responded to this need by adopting an 'affordable' housing policy that directly reflects guidance provided in the *2008 London Plan*. Consequently, their 'affordable' housing planning policy also bears some conspicuous resemblances to Newham Council's *Core Strategy's* 'affordable' housing planning policy. Hackney Council also want new housing developments to meet a borough-wide target that 50 percent of housing should be 'affordable'. 60 percent of this 'affordable' housing should be social-rented housing and 40 percent should be intermediate housing. Hackney Council are also interested in providing 'tenure diverse communities' (London Borough of Hackney 2010: 106).

---

[32]Notably, the *NPPF* makes no reference to affordable workspace. It does state that LPAs 'should plan proactively to meet the development needs of business' (DCLG 2012: 6). However, this policy stipulation is intended to 'help achieve economic growth', indicating that it may be the needs of big business that national government is asking LPAs to prioritise.

However, Hackney Council's commitments to meaningfully planning for the socially necessary amount of 'affordable' housing in Hackney is also hindered by the Council's simultaneous requirement that the 'affordable' housing mix in a development must also be determined by viability assessments:

> The preferred affordable housing mix, in terms of unit size and type of dwellings, on individual schemes will be determined through negotiation, scheme viability assessments and driven by up to date assessments of local housing need (London Borough of Hackney 2010: 111).

Whilst Hackney Council's planning policy approach to 'affordable' housing strikes resemblances with that of Newham Council, their approach to planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation makes notable departures from Newham Council's. Hackney Council's approach takes place within a context where twenty Irish Traveller families have been displaced from the former Traveller site on Waterden Crescent, in Hackney Wick, as part of the CPO on land within the Olympic Park. As with the English Romany families who were displaced from the Clays Lane site, some of these Irish Traveller families strongly contested the CPO because they regarded the relocation sites proposed by the LDA as unsuitable. These Irish Travellers initially expressed a preference for relocating together to a new site. However, the LDA did not countenance this option as it could not find a site large enough to accommodate all of the families. Instead, these families 'had to separate into smaller groups causing them considerable anxiety' (Bernstock 2014: 63).

Although these Irish Traveller families were relocated, at times with great difficulty, the *London Boroughs' GTANA 2008* still identified that there was a need for between 13 and 34 Traveller pitches within Hackney between 2007 and 2017. Unlike Newham Council, Hackney Council acknowledge this need within their *Core Strategy*. Hackney Council have also actually developed a policy with supporting text about planning for the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers. They highlight that the Council 'will work with partners, Registered Social Landlords, developers and neighbouring authorities to try and identify mechanisms to meet this need' (*ibid*: 116); although, Hackney Council also state that the 'shortage and cost of land mean that opportunities for new Gypsy and Traveller accommodation in Hackney are finite' (*ibid*: 116).

Hackney's Council's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy creates an impression that the Council are motivated to try and address their need for new Traveller pitches. This approach appears to go against the grain of LPAs displaying a harmful reluctance to plan for the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers. Importantly, Hackney Council's approach illustrates the agency that LPAs have to adopt a more positive approach to planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, despite the negative higher-level planning policy climate surrounding Gypsy and Traveller accommodation (see sections 4.2.4 and 4.2.5). Despite Hackney Council's more positive approach, it is important to also point out that their *Hackney Wick AAP* makes no reference to planning for Traveller sites. So, some legitimate uncertainties arise about whether the social need for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation in Hackney will carry through into the LLDC's mind-set.

4.4.3 The LCS, 'affordable' housing and Gypsy and Traveller accommodation

Alongside the aforementioned LPA Local Plans, the *LCS* has also been at the forefront of the LLDC's thoughts. As the masterplan for London's Olympic Park, the *LCS* is the chief planning document which sets out plans for the development of new neighbourhoods across this site. The *LCS* was granted outline planning permission by the ODA's planning decision committee in September 2012.[33] But before being granted with planning permission, the *LCS* scheme had to be referred to, and approved by, both the GLA and the then Secretary of State Eric Pickles due to the scheme's strategic importance. This illustrates a more direct way that top-down multi-level governing can be seen to have operated within my research context.

As section 4.2.1 briefly discussed, the *LCS* proposes to deliver up to 6780 new homes, particularly across five new neighbourhoods: Chobham Manor, East Wick, Sweetwater, Stratford Waterfront and Pudding Mill (OPLC 2012a). Due to the *LCS* operating as a masterplan, the housing agendas pursued in it were required to be in line with agendas pursued within the strategic policies outlined in national-, metropolitan- and local-level planning documents. In this way, central, metropolitan and local government have

---

[33]The ODA was the planning decision-making authority for London's Olympic Park at this time (see section 4.2.2).

intersected to help shape what policy agendas have been pursued in the *LCS*. However, the *LCS* does not have any statutory power. So, the LLDC's *Local Plan* is under no obligation to conform to this masterplan. But, given that the *LCS* is the direct product of the LLDC's predecessor, the OPLC, we can expect that, at the local level, the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans will most directly reflect the visions and objectives articulated in the *LCS*. Thus, the *LCS* perhaps provides us with the clearest guide for the policy goals and rationales that we can expect the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans to privilege within the Olympic Park boundary (see figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5. *LCS* boundary. Source: LLDC (2016c: 9).
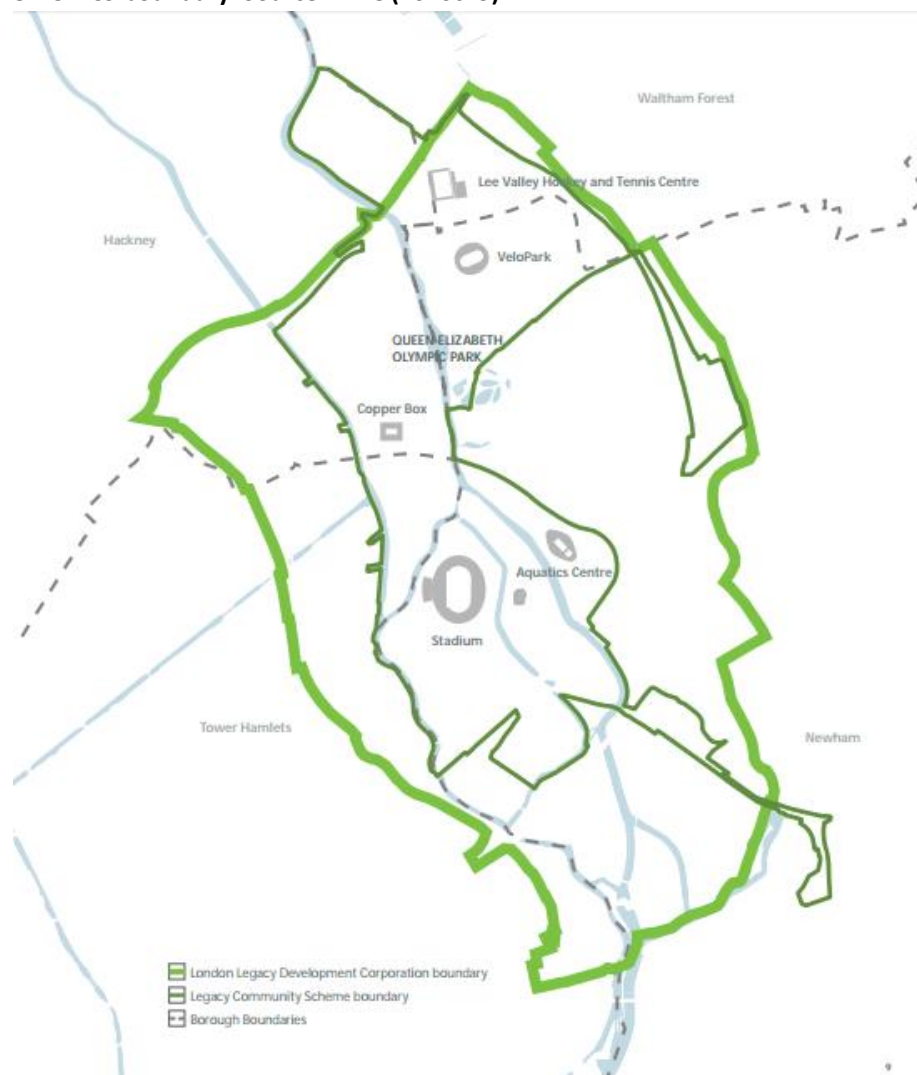
The *LCS* requires that 35 percent of all new housing to be provided on the Olympic Park should be 'affordable' housing. 30 percent of this 'affordable' housing should be social-rented housing, 30 percent 'affordable'-rented housing, and 40 percent intermediate housing (OPLC 2012a); for the two new Olympic neighbourhoods that I discuss within

146

my thesis, Chobham Manor and East Wick, provisional 'affordable' housing targets were 28.1% and 42.74% respectively (*ibid*). The *LCS* also states that, taking into consideration the viability of the *LCS* scheme, the absolute minimum site wide 'affordable' housing target that will be countenanced is a twenty percent target (*ibid*).

A few salient points are worth raising here. Firstly, it is clear that the 'affordable' housing target in the *LCS* is significantly lower than the overall 'affordable' housing targets stipulated within the surrounding LPAs' Local Plans. Concerns thus arise about social need considerations being residualised within the *LCS's* 'affordable' housing plans. Questions also arise about the extent to which host borough concerns have shaped the *LCS's* 'affordable' housing plans. Discussions across chapter five will provide greater clarity on this issue.

Secondly, given planning's rule that lower-level plans must conform with strategic policies laid out within higher-level plans, the 'affordable' housing plans in the *LCS* should have at least conformed with the 'affordable' housing plans in the *2011 London Plan* (this is the version of the *London Plan* that the *LCS* needed to be in conformity with). Intriguingly, though, the 'affordable' housing target proposed in the *LCS* is less than the London-wide target that around 40 percent of new homes provided annually should be 'affordable'. This reflects the power that planning's rule about discretion has in enabling lower-level housing plans to produce 'affordable' housing targets which do not precisely reflect the 'affordable' housing target laid out in the contextually relevant higher-level plan.

Thirdly, it is also seems that viability considerations are at the heart of the *LCS*'s approach to planning for 'affordable' housing. At this point, it is critical to highlight that operating in the shadows of planning for development and regeneration in the Olympic Park was a financial requirement for the OPLC, and now the LLDC, to pay back the £425m that Tony Blair's Labour government borrowed from the National Lottery's Big Lottery Fund to fill a shortfall in the Olympics' budget (Birkwood 2014). In light of this requirement, a development and projects officer at the LLDC highlighted that development and regeneration in the Olympic Park must enable the 'return of capital receipts from new development to the Mayor of London and National Lottery' (LLDC

2013a: 4). Indeed, they stated that the LLDC 'are reminded of that on a fairly regular basis' [41]. This requirement to pay back the National Lottery has meant that a central objective of the OPLC, and now the LLDC, is to 'grow the values, in terms of the financial values, from the residential and commercial development that [they've] got coming forward' [41]. So, profit-making considerations are heavily at the forefront of planning for development and regeneration within the Olympic Park. Given that the *LCS* was produced by the OPLC, and given the LLDC's aforementioned financial commitment, one can expect these considerations to have also powerfully structured the LLDC's 'affordable' housing planning policy.

Whilst the *LCS* extensively discusses 'affordable' housing, it contains no discernible plan for addressing local Gypsies' and Travellers' accommodation needs. To some extent this omission is comprehensible because the *LCS* was specifically drawn up to provide detailed plans for Chobham Manor, East Wick, Sweetwater, Stratford Waterfront and Pudding Mill. However, this omission is still lamentable, especially as the *LCS* makes some provision for planning for some forms of specialist accommodation, such as student accommodation, sheltered accommodation, and extra-care housing. Planning for these forms of specialist accommodation is to be greatly welcomed. But, planning for these forms of accommodation without simultaneously planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation does nothing to allay aforementioned concerns about the general reticence of LPAs to positively plan for Traveller pitches. As the *LCS* is likely to have powerfully impacted on the LLDC's housing plans, some concern exists that the LLDC may have adopted a similar approach to planning for Gypsy and Traveller and accommodation as the *LCS*. My discussions in section 5.3.2 will highlight whether or not this concern is valid.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented empirical research that has begun to discuss English planning's current operation as a system of governmentality. It has done so by presenting the policy goals and rationalities of governing mobilised within the planning policies and planning frameworks of key governance actors that are likely to have shaped the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. In particular the LLDC's social and 'affordable' housing plans,

Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans, and plans for Greater Carpenters, Hackney Wick, Chobham Manor and East Wick. Section 4.2 discussed policy goals located within key historical and evolving planning frameworks, prior to the LLDC's establishment, for parts of London's Olympic area (e.g. Stratford City and the Lower Lea Valley Plan). Sections 4.3 and 4.4 respectively discussed policy goals and rationalities of governing located within contemporary national government, GLA, Newham Council, Hackney Council and *LCS* plans that are likely to have impacted on aforementioned LLDC plans.

Of importance for **RQ1**, this chapter's discussion has revealed that social justice goals and principles and neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing have been present within each of the plans and planning frameworks that I have discussed. For example, sections 4.3.2, 4.3.3 and 4.4 highlighted that national government's, the GLA's, Hackney Council's, Newham Council's, and the *LCS's* approach to social and 'affordable' housing was influenced by social justice goals and principles—contributing to satisfying social need for these housing tenures. These sections also demonstrated that these governance actors' approach to social and 'affordable' housing was also significantly shaped by neoliberal goals and rationalities—valorising the importance of financial considerations and technocratic forms of governing (viability assessments), which support profit-making motives (Flynn 2016), in the determination of social and 'affordable' housing targets. Significantly, I demonstrated that that social justice concerns were subordinate to these financial considerations.

Furthermore, these sections illustrated that 'mixed and balanced communities' policies on one hand can be seen as contributing to positive social aims through facilitating tenure diverse communities. However, on another hand, these policies can be seen as an agenda that privileges the production of private housing over social housing. Additionally, my discussion of Gypsy and Traveller accommodation across this chapter also emphasised that policy goals and rationales which cannot be classified as neoliberal or social-justice-based are also present within these plans. In this regard, I particularly highlighted that national government's and the GLA's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans contain principles which serve to represent Gypsy and Traveller accommodation as being particularly harmful to urban environments.

These discussions have important implications for the core theoretical issue I am exploring in relation to **RQ1**. They suggest that Davies (2014b) is right to argue that governance under neoliberalism does make space for the pursuit of social justice. Additionally, this chapter provides support for another of Davies' (*ibid*: 193) arguments, which is that the incorporation of social justice goals is located 'within an economic contest'. Within the context of social and 'affordable' housing planning, this economic contest is one where the pursuit of social-need-based social and 'affordable' housing targets is contingent upon them being 'viable'. Thus, and of relevance for the first core conceptual tension I am exploring, this chapter's discussion also supports governance and planning scholars who argue that the pursuit of social justice within planning and urban governance is subordinate to the pursuit of more economic and financially charged goals (Allmendinger and Haughton 2009, 2010, 2013; Raco 2005). Importantly, my discussions of Gypsy and Traveller accommodation also illustrate the potential that other, problematic, policy agendas and rationalities of governing, not necessarily neoliberal or socially just, have in powerfully shape housing planning.

In relation to **RQ2**, this chapter's discussions have explored the relationships between national government, GLA, Hackney Council, Newham Council, and OPLC housing and regeneration plans. I demonstrated that there are similarities between these governance actors' broad policy approaches to social and 'affordable' housing—i.e. they privilege the importance of viability concerns (with social need considerations being subordinate to these concerns) and 'mixed and balanced communities' policies within the determination of their respective 'affordable' housing plans. However, between the GLA's, Hackney Council's and Newham Council's plans, and the *LCS,* varying 'affordable' housing targets have emerged. In relation to Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, I have also shown that the GLA's policy approach reflects national government's approach—i.e. they both articulate a need to ensure fairness between settled and Traveller communities within the arena of housing, whilst also particularly emphasising that Gypsy and Traveller accommodation must be economically, socially and environmentally sustainable (DCLG 2015c; Mayor of London 2015). Notably, Newham Council's and Hackney Council's policy approach to Gypsy and Traveller accommodation do not emphasise this latter criterion within their Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans, whilst the *LCS* makes no mention of Gypsy and Traveller accommodation.

These varying relationships between these set of governance actors' housing plans are significant for my conceptual concerns within **RQ2**. My discussions of broad policy approaches to social and 'affordable' housing provide support for the argument that English planning's multi-level governing technology and rule about conformity (between strategic plans across English planning's different tiers) cause a top-down relation of influence between governance actors and their plans. However, the differences between the GLA's 'affordable' housing target (40 percent), Newham Council's target (50 percent, but 35 to 50 percent on sites with 10 units or more), Hackney Council's target (50 percent) and the *LCS's* target (35 percent) demonstrate the important effect that planning's rule about discretion has on enabling planning actors to retain autonomy over determining concrete aspects of their housing plans. This latter argument is also supported by the differences in the concrete Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans within *The London Plan,* Newham Council's and Hackney Council's respective Local Plans, and the *LCS*.

These discussions have demonstrated that English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies do combine to enable lower-level planning actors to retain some autonomy over their housing plans. However, these discussions have stopped short of showing that lower-level governance actors have directly influenced the social and 'affordable' housing plans and Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans for higher-level planning actors. Consequently, relational perspectives that I discussed in section 2.3.2 are initially troubled (see Jessop 2004; Marks 1993); in the arena of housing planning, it does not initially seem that there are multi-directional relations of influence between the governance actors and plans that I have discussed. Rather, these relations of influence appear to be chiefly top-down.

Overall, my discussions in this chapter have helped me to begin addressing the overarching argument which this thesis interrogates (see section 1.2). These discussions have provided initial support for Haughton et al.'s (2013) argument that English planning can initially be regarded as a current system of neoliberal governmentality. This is because the housing and development planning policies within the *NPPF* (that I have discussed) have generally privileged the pursuit of economic growth agendas, financial considerations, technocratic forms of governing and 'mixed and balanced communities'

policies that are likely to support profit-making goals and privilege the production of private sector housing; although social justice goals are also present within these *NPPF* plans, as well as other harmful rationales within national government's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans. Furthermore, these discussions have demonstrated that English planning's structural technologies of governing have generally structured the lower-level planning actors and planning frameworks that I have discussed into also privileging the importance of these rationalities of governing and policy goals. Given this evident top-down relation of influence within English planning, there is a reasonable expectation that the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans will follow suit. This is an issue which I explore in the next chapter as I examine the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process.

Chapter five: A bit of push and pull: Exploring levels of influence between governance actors participating in the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process

English 'spatial planning' has become both hegemonic and problematic in that it mobilises and reproduces acquiescence for policies and strategies that favour certain groups or interests (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012: 93).

5.1   Introduction

Chapter four began my empirical engagement with English planning's operation as a system of governmentality, in the arena of housing and regeneration planning. This discussion highlighted key governance actors' policy goals and rationalities of governing that are likely to shape LLDC housing and regeneration plans that I examine in this chapter. I demonstrated that the combination of English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies structures lower-level planning actors into producing local expressions of higher-level policy goals. In the arena of housing and regeneration planning, I argued that these technologies of governing structure lower-level planning actors into replicating the *NPPF's* privileging of the pursuit of economic growth, financial and 'mixed and balanced communities' policy goals, with social justice goals being subordinate to these goals. This chapter develops this argument by examining whether English planning has structured the LLDC into following a similar path within their *Local Plan* production process.

The particular aspects of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process (which I will outline in section 5.2) that I will discuss are four statutory consultations comprising the chief elements of this process. These are consultations where abroad range of public, private and civil society governance actors have formally come together to try and shape the LLDC's plans. This chapter's discussions will also be based on investigations of LLDC Board and PDC meetings which enabled key figures within the LLDC's institutional framework to also input into the production of the LLDC's plans. My discussions draw from ethnographic research and planning document analysis I conducted on these

consultations and meetings, as well as interview material with participants in these consultations and meetings.

I use this material to firstly progress my engagement with the core conceptual concern of **RQ1**. In sections 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5, I examine the influences that interactions between internal aspects of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process and the broader English planning context have had on the policy goals and rationalities of governing that the LLDC have privileged. I demonstrate that these interactions have led the LLDC to produce social and 'affordable' housing plans and housing and regeneration plans for LLDC area neighbourhoods that privilege the pursuit of similar policy goals and rationalities of governing that have been privileged within the *NPPF, The London Plan,* Hackney Council's and Newham Council's respective local plans, and the *LCS*. Additionally, I argue that in relation to Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, the LLDC privileges a similar policy approach to that articulated within *Planning Policy for Traveller Sites* and *The London Plan*.

This chapter secondly develops my engagement with the conceptual concern at the heart of **RQ2**. It explores whether and how the LLDC's statutory consultations and Board and PDC meetings have empowered national government, the GLA, LPAs, LLDC staff and representatives, developer and landowner interests, and local communities to push and pull the LLDC's plans in certain policy directions. A critical part of this investigation is exploring ways in which English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies have manifested to shape the levels of influence that these governance actors have been able to exhibit within the LLDC's statutory consultations and Board and PDC meetings. I argue that these technologies of governing, in conjunction with key features of the statutory consultations, have particularly empowered national government and the GLA to shape 'from a distance' the policy goals and rationales that have been given prominence within the LLDC's *Local Plan*. I additionally demonstrate that the LLDC's statutory consultations and Board and PDC meetings have also enabled a broader constellation of public, private and civil society governance actors to have varying degrees of influence over the production of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

A vital part of this latter exploration is examining whether the statutory consultations comprising part of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process have empowered local communities to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. Thus, this chapter also begins my empirical engagement with my core concern of **RQ3**. Section 2.4.2 of my literature review presented Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced critiques of forms of participation in planning such as consultations. These critiques argue that consultations operate as tools which 'conduct the conduct' of participants in a manner which generates their acquiescence for the preferred plans of the governance actors who run these consultations (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012; Rosol 2015). I use my discussions in sections 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 to interrogate this argument. I demonstrate that in actuality communities have not readily acquiesced to the LLDC's preferred plans. Instead, they have attempted to use their participation within these consultations to produce changes to the LLDC's plans, with some minimal success. Within these discussions, I will also discuss elements of what social justice has come to mean within the context of LLDC planning.

I conclude this chapter (in section 5.6) by discussing the implications of my empirical material for the core tensions and theoretical debates that I am exploring in relation to each of my research questions. I therefore reflect on what my discussions can tell us about: critical approaches to the policy goals pursued and privileged within neoliberal governance; the operation of multi-level and rules-based governing within local-level planning; and the limitations and possibilities associated with community participation in planning. Consequently, I also discuss how this chapter has progressed my overall argument in relation to the effects of English planning's operation as a system of governmentality on the LLDC's local planning process (see section 1.2 for discussion of this argument).

5.2 The LLDC's *Local Plan* production process

The near three-year process that led to the publication of the LLDC's *Adopted Local Plan* (figure 5.1) began when the LLDC was designated as a planning authority in October 2012. Prior to publishing the *Adopted Local Plan* (on 21 July 2015), the LLDC published two draft *Plans*—the *Draft Local Plan* (on 2 December 2013) and the *Publication Local*

Plan (LLDC 2014a) (on 18 August 2014). The LLDC's PPDT have been responsible for drawing up these three versions of the LLDC's *Local Plan*. But, before publishing each version of the *Local Plan*, the PPDT formally sought the council of the LLDC's PDC and Board. Consequently, the LLDC's PDC and Board have also shaped the LLDC's *Local Plan*.

Based on the composition of the LLDC's Board and PDC (see table 4.2 in section 4.2.2), we can discern that representatives from the GLA, the Olympic host boroughs, and individuals who have a background working within public and/or private urban development institutions, have also had direct power to shape the LLDC's *Local Plan*. This governance dynamic differs from a typical LPA Local Plan production process in that, although the duty to cooperate within planning requires LPAs to cooperate with each other on strategic planning issues (DCLG 2014d), it is not the norm for several LPAs to work together through a single institution to collectively produce a Local Plan.

The LLDC (2013b: 32) assert that this governance dynamic has meant that their *Local Plan* 'is not being developed from a "clean sheet".' Rather, a senior LLDC planning officer stated that:

> the starting point for us [the LLDC] was to bring together all of that work [existing planning frameworks for London's Olympic area] and not reinvent the wheel. But, actually look at where things need to be reviewed and updated if necessary and essentially pull together all of those disparate pieces of work into one structure, one plan that deals with the LLDC area as a whole [8].

This statement suggests that aforementioned local-level planning frameworks for London's Olympic area (see sections 4.2 and 4.4), and hence local-level governance actors developing these frameworks have had a strong bearing on the LLDC's plans. This is a perspective which I explore within this chapter.

Figure 5.1. Formal process for producing the LLDC's *Local Plan*. Source: LLDC (2014b, 2016d).

1 October 2012
LLDC designated as a planning authority

↓

15 November 2012 – 31 December 2012
Initial consultation for *Local Plan*, Call for sites and evidence gathering

↓

January 2013 – November 2013
LLDC work on *Draft Local Plan*

↓

2 December 2013
LLDC publish *Draft Local Plan*

↓

2 December 2013 – 7 February 2014
Consultation on *Draft Local Plan*

↓

February 2014 – August 2014
LLDC work further on *Draft Local Plan*

↓

18 August 2014
LLDC publish *Publication Local Plan*

↓

18 August 2014 – 6 October 2014
Publication Local Plan consultation

↓

21 November 2014
LLDC submit *Publication Local Plan* to Secretary of State for Examination

↓

3 March 2015 – 13 March 2015
EiP of *Local Plan*

↓

1 April 2015 – 13 May 2015
Post-EiP consultation on main modifications to the *Local Plan*

↓

9 July 2015
Inspector publishes EiP report

↓

21 July 2015
LLDC's *Local Plan* is adopted

Additionally, I explore the LLDC's (2015a: 5) claim that their *Local Plan* 'has been produced following extensive periods of consultation and engagement' with an array of other governance actors that are operational within the LLDC's boundary. A senior LLDC planning officer highlighted to me that on a more 'informal' level the LLDC have held developer and landowner workshops and seminars, regular meetings with the surrounding LPAs, and community meetings 'so that we're actually getting their input throughout the plan process, not just at the sort of formal consultation points' [8]. Chapter six addresses whether these more 'informal' engagements have empowered local government, private developers, and local communities to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. However, in this chapter, I now focus on the power these governance actors have had to shape the LLDC's plans through more 'formal' consultation points.

5.3 Getting from the *Draft Local Plan* to the *Publication Local Plan*

5.3.1 Early engagement consultation

For six-and-a-half-weeks between November 2012 and January 2013, the LLDC's PPDT ran consultations to help them develop the *Draft Local Plan*. The consultations comprised the LLDC sending Early Engagement Consultation Questionnaires (including a Call for Sites) to relevant statutory bodies and all registered addresses *within* the LLDC's planning boundary (LLDC 2014b); in 2011 this boundary housed at least 10,000 people (LLDC 2014c). So, residents and workers lying just outside of the LLDC's planning boundary, who potentially would be directly impacted by the LLDC's plans, were not approached to participate within the consultation; although, these residents and workers may have heard about this consultation, and subsequently participated within it, through seeing leaflets that were posted up in 'key locations' within London's Olympic area (LLDC 2014b: 9).

The LLDC (*ibid*: 9) argue that this questionnaire, and consultation workshops that they ran, enabled relevant statutory bodies and existing local residents and businesses to 'give their views on issues relating to the future Local Plan'. During this consultation, the LLDC received 75 response forms and 118 written representations. 108 of these 118

representations were from Carpenters Estate residents (and their supporters) (*ibid*). Carpenters Estate residents (and their supporters) were particularly active in this consultation because of Newham Council's aspirations to comprehensively redevelop the Carpenters Estate.

Newham Council aspire to replace the existing, largely social, homes on the estate with up to 2000 homes.[34] There is certainly an urgent need for new homes in Newham. However, the particular need is for social homes (see table 4.3). But, if this redevelopment was to go ahead according to Newham Council's desires, the redevelopment would not necessarily primarily address this need-based agenda.[35] Newham Council, who are the majority landowner for the Carpenters Estate, wish for existing social homes on the Estate to be replaced with a mixture of social-rented housing, 'affordable'-rented housing and intermediate housing. This is all in addition to providing 1000 plus market homes in a redeveloped Carpenters Estate (London Borough of Newham 2011). Thus, these redevelopment aspirations would consolidate Newham Council's 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda for Greater Carpenters (London Borough of Newham 2012; London Borough of Newham 2015a). Additionally, if these redevelopment plans were to go ahead, there would be an increased number and proportion of housing within the area charging higher rents. This would enable Newham Council to extract greater value from the land on which the Carpenters Estate sits. Consequently, the redevelopment would stand to improve Newham Council's financial standing, in a context where their financial resources have been depleted as part of central government austerity measures (London Borough of Newham 2016).

In their representations to the LLDC, Carpenters Estate residents mobilised a social justice agenda which requested that the LLDC adopt a different approach to Newham council's aspirations. These residents requested that the LLDC: recognise the dire need for social housing within Newham (see table 4.6); and ensure the retention, rather than

---

[34]As of 2011, 94 homes on the Estate were freehold houses, 67 were leasehold flats, leaving 542 homes as council homes (London Borough of Newham 2011).
[35]In fact, any redevelopment of the Carpenters Estate would exacerbate this need through displacing existing residents from the Estate.

the demolition and redevelopment, of existing housing on the Carpenters Estate so that this Estate can contribute to housing people on Newham Council's housing waiting list.

More broadly, the set of responses the LLDC received from local residents also expressed a preference for the LLDC to positively plan for social-rented and low-rise family housing within their broader planning boundary. This was set against the interests of private developers who requested that the LLDC plan for greater flexibility with regards to housing tenures, typologies and building heights (LLDC 2014b). Notably, with regards to Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, the LLDC also received responses from the LGTU which identified three sites within the LLDC's boundary as potential Traveller sites (two within the Hackney section of the LLDC's planning boundary and one within the Newham section) (*ibid*).

Most written responses that the LLDC received expressed a strong desire for the LLDC to develop a planning policy framework that supported existing local businesses 'and prevent[s] the domination of monopolies' (*ibid*: 16). But, the LLDC also received responses from local state actors that expressed a desire for the LLDC to support 'the growth of businesses that attract middle and high-income earners' (*ibid*: 16). So, there were growth-based agendas and more social concerns being articulated within these representations. Additionally, the LLDC received responses from local, metropolitan and national state actors that expressed a strong desire for the LLDC to have a positive regard for existing local, metropolitan and national statutory planning policies (*ibid*). These state actors were effectively reminding the LLDC to adhere to a combination of a top-down manifestation of multi-level governing and English planning's rules about conformity between statutory plans across interconnected tiers.

5.3.2   Policy agendas pursued in the LLDC's draft housing plans

After receiving responses from the Early Engagement Consultation Questionnaire, the LLDC's PPDT set about developing the *Draft Local Plan,* which they produced by October 2013. Congruent with both GLA and surrounding LPA housing aspirations for the area, the *Draft Local Plan's* broad housing vision was to:

maximise the opportunities for delivering high-quality, accessible and sustainable homes that provide a genuine housing choice for Londoners, meeting both the housing requirements of local people and London-wide housing need, including the need for new affordable family housing (LLDC 2013c: 57).

Figure 5.2. Neighbourhoods that will deliver housing within the LLDC's boundary. Source: LLDC (2015a: 43).

The LLDC's provisional housing vision was ostensibly aiming to help the LLDC area positively contribute to the convergence agenda which LPAs are attempting to make the driving force behind the LLDC's plans for London's Olympic area (see section 4.2.1). A

critical aspect of this convergence agenda is planning for 50,000 Olympic-related homes within Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest (London Borough of Greenwich et al. 2009). The LLDC averred that housing delivered in their boundary will contribute to meeting these boroughs' housing aspirations. The LLDC's planning boundary would do so by delivering around 24,000 new homes within the neighbourhoods outlined in figure 5.2. Annually, this would work out in excess of the 1474 per annum that the *Revised Early Minor Alterations to the London Plan (REMA)* had required the LLDC area to provide (LLDC 2013c; Mayor of London 2013).[36]

Within these broad and provisional housing plans that the LLDC developed, they set an 'affordable' housing target for their area. The LLDC's *Draft Local Plan* proposed a 'minimum benchmark target of 35 percent…affordable homes across the Legacy Corporation area' (LLDC 2013c: 64). Congruent with general planning guidance laid out within the *NPPF,* the *NPPG* and *REMA*, this target was determined by an 'affordable' housing viability assessment. In 2013, the LLDC commissioned Opinion Research Services (ORS) to assess housing need within their boundary. This report largely drew from the *Greater London SHMA 2008* (ORS 2009), the *East London SHMA 2009 – 2010* (ORS 2010a) and each of the host borough's SHMAs (DCA 2009; Fordham Research 2009; ORS 2010b; ORS 2010c). Referencing these SHMAs, this report emphasised that 'there is a lack of housing for lower paid workers vital to the local economy who cannot access social housing and who cannot afford decent market housing' (ORS 2013: 33). Moreover, the report stressed that the LLDC area has an 'extremely high total affordable housing requirement of amounting to more than 100 percent of planned dwelling delivery in the study area' (*ibid*: 33). Consequently, ORS (*ibid*: 34) provided 'clear support for a position seeking to maximise the amount of 'affordable' housing on qualifying sites.' However, other agendas and rationalities pervading ORS's (2013) housing needs assessment for the LLDC's boundary quelled hopes that such a need-based target would be adopted by the LLDC.

ORS, in their LLDC area housing needs assessment, noted that 'housing need requirements must also be considered alongside…the viability of delivering affordable

---

[36]The *REMA* was the version of *The London Plan* that was adopted at the time the LLDC were developing their *Draft Local Plan*.

housing' (*ibid*: 34). In this regard, the LLDC commissioned BNP Paribas (2013) to run an appraisal of the ability of a range of types of sites to provide varying levels of 'affordable' housing. There were eight site typologies tested. The marker for considering whether a residential development was viable was determining whether it would generate competitive returns (LLDC 2014c). Within this study, testing was inexplicably restricted to considering the financial viability of delivering housing schemes containing 0 − 50 percent 'affordable' housing. The LLDC stated that the results of the study provided a 'strong base for an affordable housing target based upon 35 per cent affordable housing delivery' (*ibid*: 31) (see figure 5.3 for the breakdown of these targets); notably, the methodology for deriving these results remained concealed. Accordingly, the LLDC adopted an area-wide 35 percent 'affordable' housing target, which encompassed a social housing target of ten-and-a-half percent. This provisional 'affordable' housing target was congruent with the 'affordable' housing target pursued in the *LCS* but drastically departed from the 50 percent target pursued by surrounding LPAs, and most importantly was a far cry from the socially necessary target for the LLDC boundary (see ORS 2013).

Figure 5.3. Breakdown of the LLDC's housing tenure provision. Source: LLDC (2014c: 32).
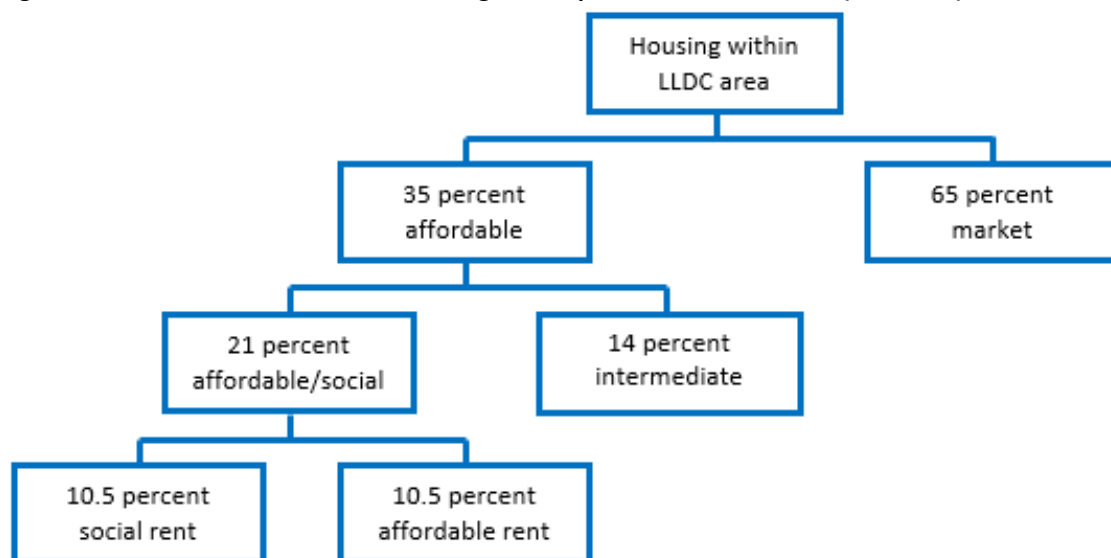
From figure 5.4, it is also evident that viability considerations would be central to considering how much 'affordable' housing would be provided on a site-by-site basis within the LLDC's boundary (LLDC 2013c). Additionally, figure 5.4 shows that 'affordable' housing provision also needed to be mindful of the LLDC's aspirations to create mixed and balanced communities. This agenda saw the LLDC aspire to:

ensure mixed and balanced communities are achieved [in their area] by
providing a range of accommodation that allows [for] a choice of housing
tenures and types of accommodation (*ibid*: 56).

Figure 5.4. *Draft Local Plan* **'affordable' housing policy. Source: LLDC (2013c: 65).**

Policy H3: Affordable housing

The Legacy Corporation will seek to maximise the provision of affordable housing, with a target of at least 441 affordable homes per annum between 2013/14 and 2023/24, from all sources of supply. A mix of intermediate (40%) and affordable rent (60%) accommodation will be sought. Provision of social rented accommodation will be acceptable where it can be demonstrated that affordable housing provision from any one development scheme will not reduce its total potential provision of affordable housing.
The Legacy Corporation will seek:

- the maximum reasonable amount of affordable housing on individual sites, including mixed use schemes, with the capacity for ten or more units (gross), having regard to:
    - I.   identified local and strategic housing needs,
    - II.   the affordable housing target,
    - III.   the need to encourage rather than constrain development
    - IV.   the promotion of mixed and balanced communities,
    - V.   the size and type of affordable housing needed in particular locations,
    - VI.   individual circumstances of sites including development viability, the availability of public subsidy, the implications of phased development including provisions for re-appraising viability of schemes prior to implementation, and other scheme requirements

- the maximum provision of affordable housing on-site. In exceptional circumstances provision of an equivalent amount of affordable housing on an alternative site will be considered; and where it is not possible to identify a deliverable alternative site, a financial contribution towards the delivery of an equivalent amount of affordable housing may be acceptable. In each case the amount of affordable housing, the mix of unit sizes and off-site provision of a financial contribution will be secured through a S106 Legal Agreement.

- Any proposed off- site provision of affordable housing will need to demonstrate that:
    - I.   It does not prejudice the delivery of the affordable housing target;
    - II.   That it would be delivered at no financial advantage to the applicant; and
    - III.   The off-site affordable housing delivery is linked to the completion of the on-site market housing.

The mobilisation of this 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda demonstrated the LLDC's initial commitment to conforming with similar policies laid out within the *NPPF*, the *REMA*, and within Newham Council's and Hackney Council's respective local plans. Section 4.3.2 argued that these governance actors' approaches to planning for mixed and balanced communities could hinder the provision of social-rented and 'affordable'-rented housing as their approaches can be read as privileging the production of market housing. However, it was not yet clear whether the LLDC's policy

approach to mixed and balanced communities would follow a similar path. But, what was clear was that the LLDC's initial policy stances on 'affordable' housing departed from the strong need-based approach that was promoted by local residents during the LLDC's Early Engagement consultation.

With regards to another chief housing planning policy concern of mine, the LLDC's draft Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans, the LLDC's *Draft Local Plan* wished to address 'the long-term needs of Gypsies and Travellers…in the context of the four boroughs as a whole' (LLDC 2013c: 79). So, the LLDC started with an articulation of a social justice agenda. However, the LLDC also stated that satisfying this need was 'challenging' in light of policy requirements that future Traveller sites are expected to meet (*ibid*: 78). Some requirements were important. For instance, considering 'the need for safe access to the road network' (*ibid*: 79). However, there was also a policy requirement to consider 'the impact [of Traveller sites] on the local environment and the character of the area, safety and amenity' (*ibid*: 79).

Notably, with other specialist forms of accommodation that were discussed within *the Draft Local Plan*, the LLDC did not explicitly apply this policy stipulation. Consequently, the LLDC's draft approach to planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation appeared to replicate a problematic rationale that permeates English planning's approach to planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation (see sections 4.3.4 and 4.3.5); namely, the rationale that Gypsy and Traveller accommodation has the potential to be particularly damaging for urban environments. This is an issue that would be picked up on strongly within subsequent consultations into the LLDC's *Local Plan* (see in particular section 5.5.3).

5.3.3   Agendas pursued within the LLDC's Sub Area plans

The LLDC's *Draft Local Plan* also contained housing and regeneration plans specific to many neighbourhoods within the four Sub Areas comprising the LLDC's planning boundary (see figure 5.5). Section 3.2 of my methodology highlighted that I am specifically interested in discussing housing plans for East Wick, Hackney Wick, Chobham

Manor and Greater Carpenters. These neighbourhoods lie within Sub Areas 1, 2 and 3 (figure 5.5), meaning that my particular interest lay with these Sub Areas.

Figure 5.5. LLDC Sub Areas. Source: LLDC (2013c: 123), with additions by author.
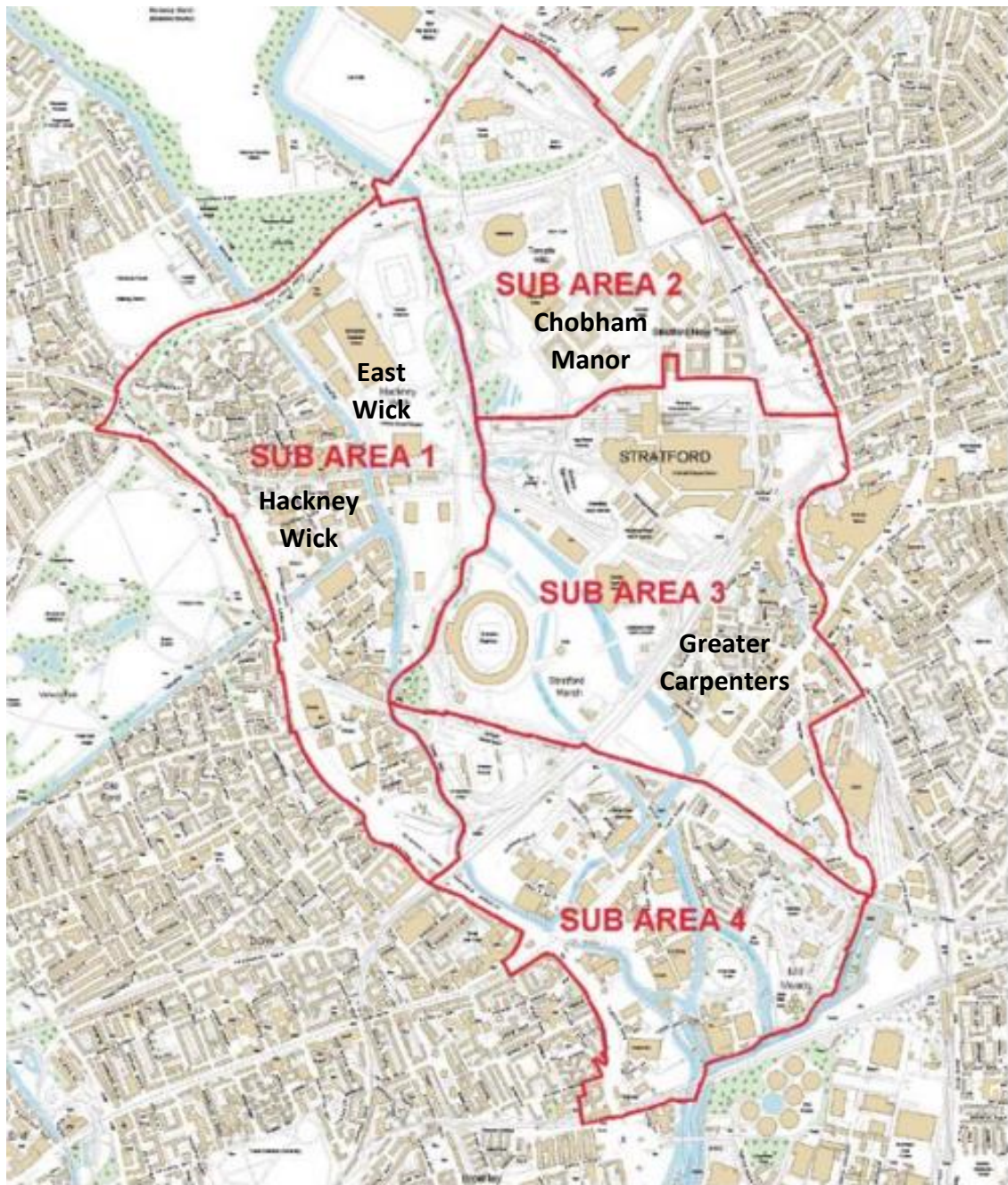
For Sub Area 1, the PPDT's nascent economic development strategy particularly aspired for Hackney Wick to become 'a regionally important focus for tech-focused business' by planning for a greater amount of commercial workspace (*ibid*: 146). This aspiration responded to local state actors' desire for the Olympic Park to draw in middle- and high-income workers. Responding to local communities' concerns about supporting existing

business and cultural and creative sector workers, the LLDC also wanted new development in the area to contribute to the maintenance of existing, and provision of new, affordable workspace (*ibid*). The *Draft Local Plan* did not state what the LLDC regarded as affordable workspace. But, the LLDC did assert that 'affordable'-rent levels within each scheme should be 'assessed in the light of the overall scheme viability'. Thus, provision of affordable workspace was contingent on both social need concerns and financial considerations. But, the balance between these two agendas was not yet discernible.

For Sub Area 1, the LLDC also planned to cultivate a 'mix of new and established residential communities' through four site allocations (*ibid*: 128); site allocations operate as strategic planning policies which are supported by development management principles. Pertinent for me were the East Wick and iCITY and Chapman Road site allocations. However, the detail in these site allocations was minimal. For East Wick and iCITY, the housing plans reflected the broad housing plans developed in the *LCS* (see section 4.4.3). For Chapman Road, it was noted that this site was already occupied by Travellers and that the LLDC wanted to formally allocate it as a Traveller site (*ibid*). This site was not one of the sites that the LGTU had proposed for designation. However, the LLDC's plans to designate the Chapman Road site as an official Traveller site was an important positive step for existing Gypsies and Travellers on this site.

For Sub Area 2, the LLDC envisioned the development of 'three vibrant new residential communities' which would chiefly be realised through three initial site allocations for this area (*ibid*: 143). My interest lies with the Chobham Manor site allocation. As with East Wick, the housing visions for Chobham Manor generally reflected plans expressed in the *LCS* (see section 4.4.3). For Sub Area 3, the LLDC envisioned delivering new and regenerated housing areas. Seven site allocations were developed to help meet this objective. The major site to realise this aim was Greater Carpenters. Greater Carpenters was envisioned as having 'the potential for extensive mixed-use redevelopment or significant regeneration and renewal' (*ibid*: 167). This strong sign of intent from the LLDC was close to mirroring Newham Council's aspirations to extensively redevelop Greater Carpenters, and paid little heed to local residents' aspirations for Greater Carpenters (see section 5.3.1).

5.3.4   The impact of the LLDC's PDC and Board on the LLDC's draft housing plans

Once the PPDT had drawn up the first iteration of the *Draft Local Plan*, they sought their PDC's and Board's perspectives on this *Plan*. In the PDC's October 2013 meeting, PDC members initially commended the PPDT for bringing together the visions and policies expressed in the surrounding LPAs' Local Plans to develop one *Local Plan* (LLDC 2013d).[37] Despite this praise, PDC members did express numerous issues with the document, particularly with the *Plan's* broad visions. Of note were Members' views that subsequent iterations of the *Local Plan* should: 'fully reflect the Mayor's vision of London as a global city'; 'reflect the LLDC's vision to improve the quality of life of existing and future residents'; and ensure that 'each of the policies should be assessed to determine whether they were deliverable' (*ibid*: 4). Thus, the LLDC's PDC were simultaneously promoting a Mayoral growth agenda and a social justice agenda. In relation to housing, the only view expressed was a comment from one PDC member in relation to student accommodation.

Upon receiving these critiques from PDC Members, the PPDT subsequently presented the *Draft Local Plan* and PDC Member comments to the LLDC's Board (in November 2013). In the meeting minutes, the only documented concern was expressed by Newham's Mayor, Robin Wales. He wished for further discussions to take place with Newham Council prior to the *Draft Local Plan* consultation (LLDC 2013e). He hoped that these discussions would focus on the implications of the *Draft Local Plan's* proposals for the Carpenters Estate and Stratford Town Centre. Robin Wales was not ready to acquiesce to the LLDC's nascent wishes for the Carpenters Estate and Stratford Town Centre. Rather, he attempted to use his position on the LLDC Board as a vehicle to more strongly pursue his council's desires for the Carpenters Estate (and Stratford Town centre) (see section 4.4.1), which depart from the aspirations promoted by Carpenters Estate residents and their supporters (see section 5.3.1, 5.5.5 and 7.2.2). The Board subsequently resolved to allow the PPDT to put the *Draft Local Plan* out to consultation 'subject to further discussions with…Newham within a two-week period' (*ibid*: 5).

---

[37] I was not able to attend any of these meetings as they took place prior to me conducting my data collection. So, I have drawn insights from published meeting minutes.

The PPDT subsequently produced a second iteration of the *Draft Local Plan* (LLDC 2013b). No discernible changes were made to the LLDC's draft housing policies or site allocations. However, the second iteration (of the *Draft Local Plan*) did amend the *Plan's* broad visions. Paying heed to PDC Members' comments about the *Draft Local Plan* needing to more strongly refer to London's place as a 'global city', the Vision and Objectives section of this *Plan* had a strengthened use of the lexicon associated with economic growth agendas. For example, the LLDC area would act as a 'driving force for growth' and 'a magnet for further investment' (*ibid*: 35). This change also reflects the importance that the LLDC places on adhering to the combination of planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies. The PPDT also acted on PDC members' comments that the *Draft Local Plan* should more clearly aspire to improve the lives of existing and future residents in the area. The Vision and Objectives section of the *Draft Local Plan* now stated that the LLDC's plans would 'enable local communities to develop, grow and integrate' (*ibid*: 36). Thus, some PDC members' interventions had also bolstered social justice concerns need within the LLDC's *Draft Local Plan*. This demonstrates that like with previous planning framework for London's Olympic area (see section 4.2), the LLDC's provisional plans were being shaped by economic growth agendas and social justice concerns.

5.3.5 The influence of local government, local communities and private sector interests on the LLDC's draft housing plans

On 2 December 2013, the PPDT put the *Draft Local Plan* out to a ten-week consultation. The LLDC sent around a questionnaire to residents, workers and businesses (on the LLDC's consultation database) within the LLDC's planning boundary that asked for feedback on the LLDC's draft planning policies. The LLDC also held consultation events where relevant stakeholders verbally presented their concerns about the LLDC's draft policies. This consultation period apparently enabled:

> boroughs, key stakeholders and local communities to influence the direction
> of the plan and the final form of its policy content before it reached its formal
> "Publication" stage (LLDC 2013d: 3).

The LLDC received 237 written representations from a breadth of national, metropolitan and local governance actors (see LLDC 2014b). This number was marginally up from those who participated within the Early Engagement Consultation Questionnaire. But, it was still a relatively small number considering that the LLDC's boundary at the time was home to at least 10,000 people (LLDC 2014c). Within these representations, there was some general support for the *Draft Local Plan*. However, the LLDC also received strident critiques of their plans from local communities, local government representatives and private developers.

Numerous concerns were raised about the LLDC's strategic housing vision. Most of these concerns were expressed in 92 representations provided by Carpenters Estate residents and workers, and organisations supporting them. These 92 representations were 'very unclear how existing and less well-off communities will genuinely benefit' from the LLDC's draft plans (LLDC 2014b: 29). They strongly felt that Olympic-related development and regeneration was not for them (Watt 2013). Echoing aspirations they articulated during the Early Engagement Consultation, these respondents desired for the LLDC's housing vision to protect a wide range of existing housing types and tenures (LLDC 2014b). The other notable concern raised about the LLDC's strategic housing vision was provided by a representative from Austin Mackie Associated Ltd, on behalf of construction and development companies CJ O'Shea Group Ltd and Galliard Group. This representative urged the LLDC to encourage housing-led mixed-use development within Hackney Wick and Fish Island.

Responding to the Carpenters community's concerns, the PPDT side-stepped addressing how the LLDC's visions would directly benefit existing ethnically diverse working-class communities. Instead, the PPDT affirmed their belief that the LLDC's housing visions were centred towards achieving convergence. Addressing Carpenters residents' other wish to see existing homes in the LLDC area protected, the LLDC noted that the *Draft Publication Local Plan* took up this issue in strategic housing policy SP.2. Indeed, a central component of SP.2 was '[s]afeguarding existing residential units and land' (*ibid*: 31). The LLDC even stated that '[p]rotecting [the] existing residential stock is also a key component of mixed and balanced communities' (*ibid*: 32). This statement appears to complicate the argument that 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agendas chiefly

facilitate the break-up of areas with high levels of social housing. However, the true test of the weight that the LLDC attribute to this statement will be determined by their decisions on future planning applications that may wish to redevelop existing social-rented housing in their boundary.

The LLDC responded to Austin Mackie Associated Ltd.'s concerns by stating that they would not change the strategic vision, instead emphasising that the form of development expected in Hackney Wick and Fish Island was taken up within discussions of the Sub Area policies (*ibid*). The LLDC temporarily resolved this contestation by transferring discussion of this issue to another aspect of the consultation. Despite this technique, this contestation would be brought back to the fore again at a future point in the plan production process.

The PPDT also received numerous concerns from local government representatives and local communities about their 35 percent 'affordable' housing target. For example, a Hackney Council representative highlighted the target's inconsistency with Hackney Council's 50 percent target (LLDC 2014b). Additionally, a Newham Council representative asserted that there was 'no justification' for lowering the 'affordable' housing target from the Council's overall 50 percent target (*ibid*: 106). Furthermore, 94 representations from local residents (mostly from the Carpenters community and their supporters) stated that the LLDC should adopt an 'affordable' housing target that more closely reflects the social need target provided in the LLDC area housing needs assessment (ORS 2013: 33). These 94 representations also argued that the LLDC needed to develop specific policies to protect and plan for much more social housing within the LLDC's boundary.

From a social justice perspective, these strong critiques veritably warranted the LLDC to raise their 'affordable' housing target. But, as chapter four discussed, the LLDC operates in a planning system that privileges financial viability considerations. So, the LLDC 'must' centre the logic of financial viability within their planning framework. Accordingly, the PPDT bullishly stated that the proposed 'affordable' housing target is 'based on need *and viability evidence* and will be the target' (LLDC 2014b: 96, emphasis added). Additionally, a senior LLDC planning officer justified the LLDC's 'affordable' housing

target as the 'slightly older Core Strategies' did not reflect the new 'affordable' housing approach adopted in the *REMA* [8]. This officer invoked planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies to close off debates about a highly contestable 'affordable' housing target. Consequently, the LLDC 'justifiably' pursued a 35 percent target.

The LLDC also received numerous comments about their draft Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy. Grievances were expressed by several local Travellers, and a representative from the LGTU. Their comments suggested that the LLDC should: work with the surrounding LPAs to set a pitch target for their boundary; amend the draft policy that suggests that Traveller sites would have a negative impact on the local environment and character of the area; address the promise that former Parkway Crescent tenants would be relocated back onto the Olympic Park (see section 4.4.1); and allocate Bartrip Street South as a Traveller site (*ibid*). The PPDT positively responded to some of these comments. Consistent with the results of the *LLDC GTANA*—the LLDC area accommodation needs assessment for Gypsies and Travellers that was conducted by ORS (2014)—the *Draft Publication Local Plan* acknowledged a need to provide between ten and nineteen Traveller pitches (LLDC 2014b; LLDC 2014d; ORS 2014). To assist in meeting this need, Chapman Road would supply five pitches (LLDC 2014d). Additionally, Bartrip Street South (in Hackney Wick) was allocated as a Traveller site and was expected to provide 'approximately nine pitches' (*ibid*: 41).[38]

However, the PPDT remained conspicuously silent about providing sites for Parkway Crescent residents. Neither did the PPDT address concerns expressed about the problematic rationale permeating their draft Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy. This is concerning on two grounds. Firstly, this rationale may prevent otherwise suitable sites from being designated as Traveller sites; although, assessing whether this concern is valid will require analysing the reasons why potential Traveller sites are subsequently not officially designated as Traveller sites. Secondly, the PPDT's silence calls into question whether political issues, raised by marginalised community actors, are up for meaningful debate within consultation spaces (see Cornwall 2008; Eversole

---

[38]Although, to actually address all of the identified need within their *GTANA* the LLDC would need to plan for another five pitches.

2012; London Tenants Federation et al. 2014). Contrary to Allmendinger and Haughton's (2012) argument, grievances can be strongly aired within statutory planning spaces. But, it did not seem like, at this stage, this ability had a significant bearing on the LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans.

5.3.6   *The influence of local government, local communities, and private developers on the LLDC's Sub Area plans*

Within the comments that the LLDC received for Sub Area 1, many comments focused on employment issues. Notably, several comments from local community representatives stated that the LLDC should positively plan 'for affordable workspace…to support artistic creative practices' (LLDC 2014b: 73). Additionally, developer and landowner interests wanted greater clarity on what the LLDC thought affordable workspace rent levels should be. These latter comments stemmed from concerns over the provision of affordable workspaces' '[i]mpacts on viability' for their clients (LLDC 2014b: 85).

The LLDC also received many comments focusing on housing issues. The main bone of contention was with the LLDC's tall buildings policy for Sub Area 1 (policy SA1.1) which stated that:

> Building heights should reflect the existing massing of the area and generally be of four to six storeys…taller buildings (above six storeys) will only be permitted in exceptional circumstances, either where they are close to the Neighbourhood Centre or where they relate well to the surrounding form of development and street environment (LLDC 2013c: 156).

This policy was a source of great dismay for some landowners and developers. For example, a representative from Bluecroft Property, argued that:

> in an area identified for mixed use regeneration and intensification, it is inappropriate for the height and scale of development to be guided by the low rise and low grade existing buildings that will mostly be replaced (LLDC 2014b: 206).

Superficially, these comments thought that the LLDC's existing approach to tall buildings would stifle burgeoning regeneration opportunities within Hackney Wick and Fish Island. However, the property development industry has a pre-eminent concern with maximising value extraction from land (McAllister et al. 2016). Consequently, these developer and landowner concerns are also likely to be fuelled by these aspirations. Unfortunately, I was unable to interview relevant property developers to assess my perspectives on this issue. But, a local resident and architect—Dom[39]—based in Hackney Wick, who has worked for a local developer, did state that, 'most house builders, yeah, they're just trying to get their 20 percent [profit] at least' [22].

The PPDT did not acquiesce to the concerns expressed by aforementioned developer and landowner interests. Instead, the PPDT clarified their position on building heights in the new policy BN.10 (figure 5.6). This policy outlined criteria that planning applications must meet when proposing to build at heights that are higher than the prevailing height of buildings in the Sub Area in question (LLDC 2014a). Notably, policy BN.10 still aimed to restrict the location of tall buildings to neighbourhood centres. Thus, the PPDT had responded to concerns about their draft building policy by developing a policy which provided extra wording to justify their original approach. This response produced an effect that the PPDT had acted upon the concerns of developer and landowner interests without actually altering the LLDC's approach to planning for tall buildings. Notably, this aspect of the consultation process slightly disrupts the idea that within planning individual 'developers' needs will [always] be raised over and above those of other interests' (Raco and Henderson 2006: 506). Although, it was hardly the case that policy BN.10 would severely restrict these developer and landowner interests' ability to use future housing development to extract sizeable value from the land within the LLDC area.

In contrast with Sub Area 1, there were no notable issues raised for my site of concern in Sub Area 2, Chobham Manor. However, for my area of concern in Sub Area 3, Greater Carpenters, numerous housing-related comments were provided. For example, a Newham Council representative stressed that the LLDC should align their draft plans for Greater Carpenters with the Council's aspirations. The PPDT, however, stated that the

---

[39]Section 3.4.1.3 highlighted that the names given to community representatives are pseudonyms.

LLDC's site allocation for Greater Carpenters is already closely aligned with Newham Council's desires, which was indeed the case (see London Borough of Newham 2012).

Figure 5.6. *Draft Publication Local Plan* tall buildings policy. Source (LLDC 2014d: 63 - 64).

Policy BN.10: Proposals for Tall Buildings

Proposals for tall buildings will be considered acceptable where they:

1. Reflect the scale and grain of their context
2. Exhibit outstanding architecture and incorporate high-quality materials, finishes and details
3. Preserve or enhance identified heritage assets and the views to/from these
4. Relate well to street widths and make a positive contribution to the streetscape
5. Create new or enhance existing views, vistas and sightlines
6. Contribute to defining public routes and spaces
7. Provide accessible public space within their curtilage
8. Incorporate sufficient communal space
9. Generate an active street frontage
10. Promote legibility
11. Contribute positively to the setting of identified heritage assets, including conservation areas

Proposals for tall buildings that are likely to have a significant adverse impact on one or more of the following will be refused:

12. Micro-climatic conditions (specifically down-draughts and lateral winds over public spaces)

13. Amenity: impacts to the surrounding area (including open spaces and other buildings) that relate to:

    - Overlooking
    - Daylight
    - Overshadowing
    - Light spill/reflection

14. Existing views of venues, parkland, heritage assets, waterways, and views along street corridors (in accordance with the policy on Protecting Key Views)

The most frequent representation received in relation to Greater Carpenters was, unsurprisingly, provided by the Carpenters community and supporting organisations. Together, they submitted nearly 100 representations. These comments demanded that the LLDC should: support retention and refurbishment, rather than redevelopment of homes on the Estate; and ensure that the Carpenters Estate remains a genuinely affordable estate (LLDC 2014b). These concerns were a locally specific expression of concerns they articulated in relation to the LLDC's strategic housing vision and 'affordable' housing plans. The Carpenters community understood the interconnectivity between challenging the LLDC's strategic housing plans and challenging the LLDC's plans for their neighbourhood.

However, the PPDT's responses suggested that no changes to plans for Greater Carpenters would occur.[40] Tellingly, the *Draft Publication Local Plan* still regarded Greater Carpenters as an area 'with potential for extensive mixed-use redevelopment' (LLDC 2014d: 151). Additionally, the PPDT bluntly dismissed the Carpenters community's desires for the LLDC to plan for the refurbishment of empty homes in the area; the PPDT curtly stated that '[n]o change' has resulted from this comment (LLDC 2014b: 266). It

---

[40]This was even though in the PPDT's response to residents' concerns about ensuring the protection of social housing in Greater Carpenters, they stated that strategic housing policy SP.2 'protects residential, including social rented [homes] from net loss' (LLDC 201b: 249).

seemed that meaningfully debating, and making fundamental transformations to, the LLDC's plans, and Newham Council's wishes, for Greater Carpenters was not on the agenda within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. This consultation enabled the Carpenters community to question the LLDC's plans. However, it seemed like this consultation (and others) were designed to get Carpenters residents to acquiesce to the LLDC's wishes, as suggested by this exchange with Carpenters Estate resident, Felicia:

> [Author]: Is it the LLDC who kind of set the agenda, or do you have the opportunity to set the agenda [for consultations]?
>
> [Felicia]: No, they set the agenda. They set the agenda. And then you go into the consultation and try to talk...they're very much in charge of it. And, when sometimes you ask them questions that, they say "oh, really?"...And then they say things like "okay we'll have to look into that and get back to you."
>
> [Author]: And do they get back to you?
>
> [Felicia]: [Shakes their head]
>
> [Author]: No
>
> [Laughter]
>
> [Felicia]: That's like a shut-up tactic.

This exchange importantly challenges a senior LLDC planning officer's claim that the LLDC's consultations are attempting to seriously:

> understand people's views and where they're coming from and what they're looking for, so that we're not just sitting in our sort of an ivory tower doing a sort of nice academic plan [8].

Despite these concerns about the LLDC's *Draft Local Plan,* and despite the PPDT's side-stepping, deflection and even dismissal of significant community concerns raised about the LLDC's draft plans, the contestations over the LLDC's draft plans did not die. Instead, they would re-emerge during the *Publication Local Plan* consultation.

5.4   The *Publication Local Plan*

5.4.1   Views of the LLDC's PDC and Board on the Draft Publication Local Plan

In June 2014, prior to putting the *Publication Local Plan* out to consultation, the PPDT presented the *Draft Publication Local Plan* to their PDC. PDC members only raised a few linguistic and technical issues about the *Draft Publication Local Plan's* housing plans (LLDC 2014e). This is despite one PDC Member that I interviewed latterly expressing some more substantial concerns about how strongly social justice considerations were driving the LLDC's housing plans:

> [Y]ou should also ask them [the LLDC's PPDT] if they think that they are genuinely responding to the needs of local communities. (Long pause). I think you should ask them that question [39].

Higher levels within the English planning system also residualise social justice considerations in the face of economic growth goals, financial goals and market criteria (see chapter four). So, perhaps this PDC member did not feel that they could develop a sufficient planning argument for privileging social justice considerations within the LLDC's housing plans.

PDC members did, however, make comments about the site allocation for Greater Carpenters (policy SA3.4). For instance, a Newham Councillor raised concerns about the visions for Greater Carpenters. They 'did not believe the wording, as currently drafted, reflected the ambitions of the London Borough of Newham' (LLDC 2014e: 6). Although policy SA3.4 closely resembled Newham Council's aspirations, there were some subtle differences between Newham Council's aspirations and this iteration of policy SA3.4. The most significant difference was that whilst Newham Council's *Core Strategy* is adamant that there will be extensive redevelopment within Greater Carpenters (London Borough of Newham 2012), the draft policy SA3.4 envisioned Greater Carpenters as having the 'potential for extensive mixed-use redevelopment' (LLDC 2014d: 151). Importantly, the meeting minutes illustrated that the PPDT were 'willing to revise the wording' for policy SA3.4 in light of ongoing discussions with Newham planning officers (LLDC 2014e: 6). This

exchange showed the close working relationship the PPDT held with Newham Council planning officers.

After hearing PDC members' comments, the PPDT presented the *Draft Publication Local Plan* to their Board in July 2014. Meeting minutes indicated that the Board merely thanked the PPDT officers 'for the quality of the Plan and the work involved in its preparation' (LLDC 2014f: 5). I could not interview Board Members to discuss their thoughts on the *Draft Publication Local Plan*. Obtaining such interviews would have given me clearer insights into the various aspirations these Board Members held for London's Olympic area, and the extent to which the *Draft Publication Local Plan* was successfully articulating these aspirations. However, Board Members' lack of criticism of the *Draft Publication Local Plan* speaks volumes about their collective satisfaction with the policy goals pursued within the *Draft Publication Local Plan.*

5.4.2   *Views of local communities, local government and private developers on the Publication Local Plan*

Following the Board's approval, the PPDT put the *Publication Local Plan* out to consultation from 18 August 2014 to 6 October 2014. This consultation only invited written representations on the *Publication Local Plan's* legal compliance, adherence to the duty to cooperate, and soundness (see figure 5.7). Consequently, this consultation only sought written comments about whether the *Publication Local Plan*, and the process of developing it, had met planning's legal and procedural requirements. Notably, figure 5.3 shows that the test of soundness operated as a vital method for ensuring that the LLDC's *Local Plan* was consistent with national- and London-level planning policy, critically without necessitating the participation of central government and the GLA. This reveals another dimension to the combined operation of English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies. The test of soundness would help national government and the GLA ensure 'from a distance' that the agendas promoted in their respective planning documents were pursued to a similar degree within the LLDC's *Local Plan*.

Figure 5.7. Legal and procedural requirements for the LLDC's *Local Plan* to be found 'sound'. Source: LLDC (2016e).

Legal Compliance	The *Local Plan*: • accords with the Local Development Scheme. • accords with the Statement of Community Involvement. • is made available at principal offices and on the Legacy Corporation's website. • is supported by a Sustainability Appraisal report.
Duty to Cooperate	• The LLDC must demonstrate how it has cooperated with adjoining LPAs and other public bodies to maximise the effectiveness of strategic planning policies within the Plan.
Soundness	The plan's strategy should: • meet objectively assessed development and infrastructure requirements, including unmet requirements from neighbouring authorities where it is reasonable to do so and consistent with achieving sustainable development. • be the most appropriate strategy, when considered against the reasonable alternatives, based on proportionate evidence. • be deliverable over its period and based on effective joint working on cross-boundary strategic priorities. • enable the delivery of sustainable development in accordance with the policies in the *NPPF*.

Only inviting representations pertaining to legal compliance, duty to cooperate, and soundness could be perceived as a technique aimed at 'conducting the conduct' of participants in in this consultation (Rosol 2015: 256). It could have severely reduced the scope of contestations that participants could lodge in relation to the LLDC's *Publication Local Plan*; although, matters relating to legal compliance, duty to cooperate and soundness are still significant. Despite this potential function of this stage in the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process, dissenters did not simply acquiesce within this consultation to the LLDC's plans. They would still demonstrate their own power to subvert state desires, and continue to use consultations to articulate more radical alternatives to the LLDC's draft plans.

Many political issues were yet again raised about various aspects of the LLDC's strategic housing policy. Strong discontent was still expressed about the LLDC's 'affordable'

housing plans from a broad range of residential communities within the LLDC's planning boundary, community groups that were supporting these communities, and LPAs. Intriguingly, though, within these comments there was next to no discontent expressed about the 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda permeating the LLDC's proposed 'affordable' housing policy. This perhaps was a reflection of the LLDC's amended policy stance which recognised that the provision of 'affordable' housing could 'be beneficial to achieve and maintain mixed and balanced communities' (LLDC 2014a: 49). Rather, discontent was expressed about the LLDC's 'affordable' housing target. Representatives from Tower Hamlets Council and Hackney Council (but this time not Newham Council) questioned the soundness of the LLDC's 35 percent 'affordable' housing target. This target did not align with each borough's overall 50 percent target; although, Tower Hamlets Council's Core Strategy, like Newham Council's, simultaneously seeks between 35 and 50 percent 'affordable' housing 'on sites providing 10 new residential units or more (subject to viability)' (London Borough of Tower Hamlets 2010: 46; London Borough of Newham 2012). From Hackney Council's perspective, it was asserted that without adopting a 50 percent target the LLDC would fail to meet the housing requirements of 'those communities in the greatest need' (LLDC 2014g: 467 – 468). Similar sentiments were expressed by many local residents and community organisations.

With regards to the LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy (policy H.5), contestations were made by the LGTU and local Gypsies and Travellers. Although they welcomed the LLDC's allocation of Bartrip Street South as a Traveller site, they also argued that policy H.5 was unsound:

> because it doesn't identify enough sites to meet the needs for Gypsies and Travellers. It says there is a need for 19 pitches but the need…is much more (*ibid*: 188).

The particular unaccounted need was identified as that of the current Parkway Crescent Travellers. Additionally, strong questions were raised about policy H.5's legal compliance, and its adherence to the duty to cooperate. One LGTU representative argued that the *Publication Local Plan*:

hasn't been prepared in accordance with the Statement of Community Involvement…which states that the LLDC will make special arrangements to ensure that hard to reach groups [such as Gypsies and Travellers] have the opportunity to be involved in the planning process…We are not aware of any efforts made by the LLDC to approach members of the Gypsy and Traveller community (*ibid*: 192).

In relation to the duty to cooperate, the LGTU recognised the PPDT's work with Hackney Council to assess the needs of Travellers residing in the LLDC's boundary. But, the LGTU questioned whether the duty to cooperate had been met with other boroughs. They thought that the PPDT had:

not worked effectively with the other neighbouring boroughs, particularly Newham, to understand the needs of Gypsies and Travellers living in very close proximity to the LLDC area (*ibid*: 193).

The LLDC also received objections over policy BN.10. For example, HWFICIG members argued that a sound policy would be one which emphasises that proposals for tall buildings in town centres need to be specific and justified, rather than being de facto accepted in all town centres (*ibid*). Additionally, developer and landowner interests argued that policy BN.10's restriction of tall buildings to town centres was unsound as this policy stipulation would unwittingly impede the provision of tall buildings in suitable locations outside of town centres (*ibid*). Private developer and landowner interests also expressed concerns about the LLDC's plans for Hackney Wick. For example, Austin Mackie Associate Ltd.'s representation on behalf of British Telecom took issue with the employment focused nature of plans for Hackney Wick, particularly arguing against the LLDC's wishes to retain existing employment floorspaces in Hackney Wick; although this was seen as a strength of the LLDC's plans by some local residents. This representation particularly wanted the LLDC to acknowledge 'the fact that the introduction of a significant quantum of new residential use into the area will be the most significant land use change' for Hackney Wick (*ibid*: 587). This is despite the LLDC already planning for 4500 new homes in Sub Area 1 (LLDC 2014a).

With regards to employment issues, the LLDC still received two key challenges from local community representatives about the LLDC's approach to planning for affordable workspace within Hackney Wick, and within London's Olympic area more broadly. Firstly,

there were concerns about the LLDC's position that workspace can be regarded as affordable if '[r]ents are up to 75 per cent of historic market rent for the previous year for the equivalent floorspace in the same area for an equivalent...[u]se' (LLDC 2014a: 35). Notably, representatives from the HWFICIG thought that this was 'too high a ceiling, and should be lowered' (LLDC 2014g: 73). Secondly, these responses were also concerned that the LLDC's *Local Plan* stated that 'managed and low-cost workspace shall be retained where viable' (LLDC 2014a: 35). The HWFICIG's comments wanted the LLDC to depart from this hegemonic approach to planning for affordable spaces, so that the provision of affordable workspace was not chiefly contingent on viability considerations.

The LLDC also received varied responses about Greater Carpenters. A Newham Council representative indicated that the Council were now satisfied with policy SA3.4, despite policy SA3.4: (1) regarding Greater Carpenters as having the 'potential for extensive mixed-use redevelopment' (LLDC 2014a: 200); and (2) referring to draft policy SP.2 which promoted '[s]afeguarding existing residential units and land' (*ibid*: 42). Despite this, and perhaps mindful of the overarching thrust of policy SA3.4, residents and workers within Greater Carpenters, and supporting community organisations like Just Space, continued to strongly challenge the soundness of policy SA3.4. They also ambitiously sought the removal of policy SA3.4 as they did not believe that it accorded with the social justice aims of policy 2.4 of *The London Plan*. Policy 2.4 asserts that development and regeneration in the LLDC area should 'sustain existing stable communities' (Mayor of London 2015: 45). As highlighted in section 2.4, the redevelopment of council estates—which inevitably leads to the demolition of existing council housing (Hodkinson 2011)—has the capacity to fracture, rather than sustain, existing communities (Watt 2013; Bernstock 2014). So, it is clear why these community representations viewed policy SA3.4 to be inconsistent with policy 2.4 of *The London Plan*. These community actors also found policy SA3.4 to be unsound as the policy did not countenance the option of refurbishing and retrofitting the built environment. Thus, these representations questioned whether policy SA3.4 reflected the most appropriate regeneration strategy for Greater Carpenters. Notably, in a *Community Plan* produced by Carpenters Estate residents and businesses they outline why they believe refurbishment and retrofitting, rather than redevelopment, is the most appropriate planning strategy for Greater Carpenters (see Carpenters Community 2013).

Despite the strong contestations that the LLDC received during the *Publication Local Plan* consultation, the PPDT remained steadfast. They pressed ahead with submitting the *Publication Local Plan* to the Secretary of State in November 2014, with some minor modifications. These minor modifications 'provide[d] clarification to the policy and supporting text as drafted' (LLDC 2014h: 1), rather than providing comprehensive changes to the *Publication Local Plan's* policy positions. Consequently, questions arise again about just how much was seriously up for debate within this consultation. However, there would be further opportunities for interested parties to seek radical alterations to these plans; in particular, during the EiP into the *Publication Local Plan*.

5.5 From the *Publication Local Plan* to the *Adopted Local Plan:* Assessing the impacts of the EiP Crucible

5.5.1 The EiP and the independent planning inspector

From 3 March 2015 to 13 March 2015 the LLDC's public meeting room (figure 5.8), played host to the LLDC's *Local Plan* EiP. An array of governance actors engaging with the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process came together to debate and seek alterations to the LLDC's *Local Plan*. Proceedings were adjudicated by an independent planning inspector who would assess whether the LLDC's *Local Plan* had met its legal and procedural requirements. The inspector had significant experience adjudicating EiPs having chaired over twenty examinations (Intelligent Plans and Examinations 2016).

At this EiP's inception, the inspector made clear that they would determine what modifications were necessary to ensure that the LLDC's *Local Plan* was sound. The inspector represented a key figure and the EiP represented a key tool within the *Local Plan* production process that would together mobilise English planning's top-down multi-level and rules-based forms of governing. Thus, the EiP represented another vital stage in the *Local Plan* production process that would assist central government and the GLA in ensuring 'from a distance' that the LLDC is pursuing the policy goals promoted and privileged in their respective planning documents. Importantly, modifications to the LLDC's *Local Plan* could be proposed by any participant in the EiP. The inspector also stated that if the modifications that were necessary were 'so dramatic that…they would

change the strategy of the Local Plan', or if they believed that the LLDC had not met its procedural and legal duties, then they would have 'no choice but to recommend non-adoption of the Local Plan'. Thus, the inspector also represented a key player who determined whether the LLDC could adopt their *Local Plan*.

Figure 5.8. EiP hearing room. Photo taken by author, March 2015.

The EiP agenda (Appendix 8) was determined by the issues raised during the *Publication Local Plan* consultation. So, although the issues raised during this consultation did not immediately impact on the LLDC's plans, they did shape future discussions that may subsequently alter the LLDC's plans. Figure 5.9 demonstrates that attendance levels at some EiP sessions were woefully low. However, there were also sessions where numerous people participated in the discussion. It was in these discussions where the biggest debates over the LLDC's plans took place. It is these discussions which are the main subject of my analysis.

Figure 5.9. Hearing session on delivery and implementation issues surrounding the LLDC's *Local Plan*.[41] **Photo by author, March 2015.**
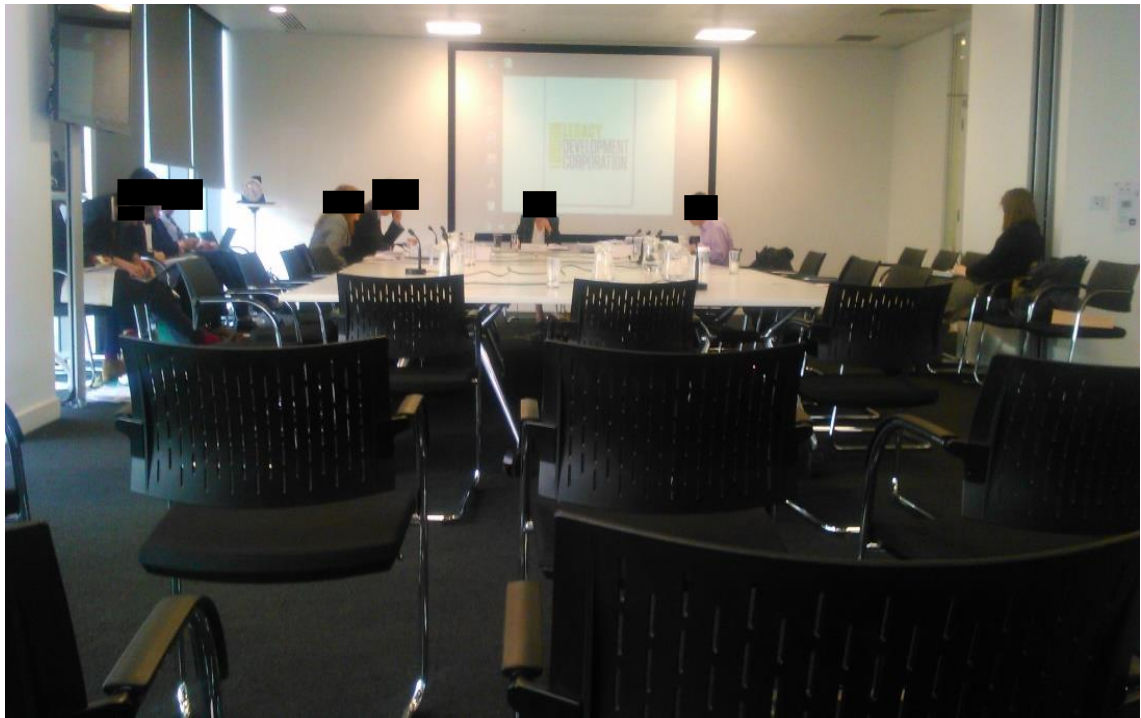
To gather the necessary data to conduct this analysis, I made dictaphone recordings of EiP hearing sessions. My research ethics (see section 3.3.4) compelled me, at the EiP's inception, to announce my research intent and gain permission from the inspector to record hearing sessions. I highlighted that these recordings would support my PhD research and help the GCNF and Just Space to document EiP discussions. The inspector subsequently asked if anyone around the table (which included GCNF members, Just Space members, private developer and landowner interests, and representatives from the LLDC, Hackney Council, and Newham Council) objected to my request. No one did. So, I pressed ahead with recording the opening hearing session. In subsequent sessions that I attended, the inspector announced that I wanted to record the sessions, and fortunately nobody objected. I was worried that recording these sessions, and my research interests, would cause EiP participants to be more cautious about the perspectives they presented. However, as I was soon to find out, the salience of this EiP was too great for participants to let my presence inhibit discussion and debate about the LLDC's plans for London's Olympic area.

---

[41]Participating in the discussion were two LLDC planning officers, the inspector, and a community representative.

5.5.2 Finalising the LLDC's 'affordable' housing plans

One of the most heated debates that took place within the EiP was around the LLDC's 'affordable' housing plans. Sitting around the table for this discussion were two LLDC PPDT officers, representatives from Newham Council and Tower Hamlets Council, private developers, local residents and representatives from community organisations. Participants sat in their various 'factions'. Local community representatives sat on the right-hand side of the table, private developers sat at the back of the table, and LLDC representatives and LPA representatives sat on the left-hand side of the table.[42] This layout gave the aesthetic of an 'us' vs 'them' scenario. The inspector invited participants to raise the issues that they had with the LLDC's 35 percent 'affordable' housing target. The LLDC received strong challenges from those arguing from a needs-based approach:

> We consider that policy H.2's target for affordable homes is inadequate… You see Newham has set a target of 50 percent, while Hackney has the same target. Why should the LLDC be setting their own target, you know, at 35 percent, which is under what the SHMA which they rely upon for the boroughs indicate (Community representative 1).

> We've had the 50 percent target for, for quite some time I…We're really not happy to see 35 percent…expressed as a minimum target (Tower Hamlets council representative).

People also sternly argued that LLDC should be placing specific emphasis on planning for social housing:

> [T]here's a need to specify social-rented homes particularly because…they're the only kind of homes that actually meet the needs of most of the people in the four boroughs…We're talking about parts of four boroughs, four boroughs where there's a very severe lack of social-rented housing, and where it's being eaten into all the time. Where there's overcrowding for people who live there, and where people are being forced out of the boroughs because there's nowhere that they can afford to live in…[T]he Legacy Development Corporation…should be trying to meet those needs (Community representative 2).

---

[42]This 'factional' seating set up was adopted throughout the EiP.

The inspector subsequently invited LLDC representatives to respond. It was evident that the LLDC representatives were not interested in modifying their approach:

> There were also some, some comments made that we should be referencing social-rented throughout the policies. Indeed, we do mention social-rented in…paragraph 5.14 the second to last sentence where we say "subject to the availability of appropriate funding, delivery of social-rented accommodation within the area will be supported" (LLDC representative 1).

> [T]he affordable housing 35 percent [target] has been based on the requirements of Policy 3.11 of the London Plan which specifically mentions viability. And so, the Local Plan affordable housing viability testing has looked at different scenarios and concluded that 35 percent is the most…appropriate target to be set (LLDC representative 1).

The LLDC representative's first comment importantly highlights how the severe lack of central government funding for social housing inhibits LPAs from positively planning for social housing. However, the second comment leads us to question how earnestly the LLDC are planning for 'affordable' housing within this constraint. It is revealing that in justifying their 35 percent 'affordable' housing target, LLDC representatives readily invoked *The London Plan's* 'affordable' housing policy's emphasis on the importance of viability considerations. Notably, this also demonstrates the continuous role that planning's top-down multi-level and rules-based governing technologies played within the EiP.

Despite the LLDC's invocation of London planning policy, the inspector sought more justification from the LLDC about their 35 percent 'affordable' housing target; this illustrated the inspector's capacity to challenge and potentially disrupt this localised manifestation of English planning's current subservience to financial 'logics'. The inspector particularly wanted greater clarity about the methodology behind choosing the 35 percent 'affordable' housing target. They also questioned the psychology of choosing a 35 percent target:

> You said that the 35 percent should be a minimum and also that should be the starting point for discussion with developers. Now, I just wonder about the, I suppose it's really the psychology of this…If you start off by saying "well we're looking for 35 percent", aren't you going to invite somebody to cut

back and say "we can't, we can't manage 35 but how about 30?" And I think, I can't remember which borough it is now, but one of the boroughs that has, has a 50 percent target—it might be Tower Hamlets—your achievements I saw were 41 percent, 43 percent in recent years. So, the outcome is typically below what is the, what is the expectation. And, I'm not quite sure, this is assuming that 35 percent is fully justified as viable…but if that's the starting point of negotiation aren't you most likely to get less than that?

The inspector's comments and questions were met with massive nods of approval by local community representatives.

In response to the inspector's first question, LLDC representatives pointed out where the inspector could find information about the inputs into the LLDC's 'affordable' housing viability study (BNP Paribas 2014a). Congruent with standard practice, these factors included: expected scheme value; cost of land; Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL) and Section 106 contributions; developer fees; build costs; and, critically, developer's profits, which was set by BNP Paribas at a level of 20 percent profit on GDV (*ibid*). Intriguingly, BNP Paribas (*ibid*: 27) argued that the 2008 financial crash and the ensuing conservative attitude of banks towards development proposals 'meant that banks may not allow profit levels to decrease much lower than their level of 20% of scheme value'. This illustrates how global political-economic dynamics have fed and entrenched a planning policy climate that legitimises developers chasing gross profits at the expense of social need (Flynn 2016).

Although the LLDC addressed the inspector's first question, their response to their second question was evasive:

> I think in reference to that it's really going back to the maximisation points. On every scheme, we'll be expecting specific viability appraisal[s], and indeed we do get developers to, to fund our own specific viability appraisal as well to ensure the findings are complementary. So, we don't consider it, it would limit the ability to deliver (LLDC representative 1).

Although the inspector's latter question was not addressed by the LLDC, they brought proceedings to a close. We would find out what modifications the inspector thought were necessary to the LLDC's 'affordable' housing plans in their post-EiP report. The inspector's verdict was disappointing. They did acknowledge that the LLDC's 35 percent

target is lower than *The London Plan's* 40 percent target and is lower than the host boroughs' overall and respective 'affordable' housing targets (Kingaby 2015). But, with some post-hoc rationalisation, the inspector also noted that 'viability can differ significantly between sites and local housing market areas' (*ibid*: 11). Thus, upon reading the LLDC's *Affordable Housing Viability Testing* document (BNP Paribas 2013), *CIL: Viability Study* (BNP Paribas 2014a), and *Combined Policy Viability Study* (BNP Paribas 2014b), they thought the LLDC's 35 percent target was justified. Moreover, in a notable turnaround, the inspector now asserted that the LLDC's 'affordable' housing policy provided 'a good starting-point for securing maximum provision of 'affordable' housing' in London's Olympic area (*ibid*: 11). They also ruled that the LLDC's proposed provision of social housing (see figure 5.3) conformed with policy 3.11 of *The London Plan*.

Figure 5.10. The LLDC's 'affordable' housing policy. Source LLDC (2015a: 49).

I contacted the inspector to ask why they were no longer concerned about the LLDC's affordable housing plans. Unfortunately, after approaching the inspector, I was told in

an email by their colleague that the inspector's 'conclusions on housing matters, as set out in their final report, reflected the legal requirements and soundness criteria'. This limited response revealed that post-EiP, the inspector was performing their duty as an 'agent of the state'. In their adjudication of the LLDC's 'affordable' housing plans, and congruent with central government and GLA policy aspirations, the inspector had given official approval to the LLDC's privileging of viability logics. Tellingly, then, this meant that throughout the protracted and highly contested battle to wrest LLDC's 'affordable' housing plans from financial logics that benefit profit-making, the LLDC's plans (figure 5.10) were never altered. Not once.

5.5.3   Finalising the LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy

Within the EiP, strong debates took place over the LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans. The set of issues raised covered two EiP sessions. Firstly, the hearing session discussing legal and procedural issues relating to the production of the LLDC's *Local Plan*. Secondly, the section of the housing session specifically dedicated to debating the LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy (policy H.5). In the former session, the LGTU expressed why they thought the LLDC had failed in meeting their duty to cooperate, with regards to planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation:

> [T]here hasn't been an equal approach in the work that has been undertaken with all of the neighbouring authorities. So, while we appreciate all the work that has been done with Hackney and the inclusion of Hackney Travellers and Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment…We are concerned in particular about what happened with Newham, where the Traveller site is sitting right on the border with the LLDC (LGTU representative).

In the face of these strong concerns, LLDC representatives defended their approach:

> [T]he methodology of the Gypsies and Travellers…needs assessment…sets out…that the consultants interviewed stakeholders within all four boroughs, and [that] interviews took place with…the occupants of the Gypsies and Travellers site [in the LLDC boundary] which is actually in the London Borough of Hackney's boundary. So, that's why there's more engagement with communities in the Hackney area (LLDC representative 1).

Two issues are worth raising off the back of this comment. Firstly, the LLDC's *GTANA* in fact reveals that the LLDC did not interview a Councillor from Tower Hamlets. Rather, the ORS approached Tower Hamlets Council, but they declined an interview because they believed they had satisfied all their needs for Traveller sites (ORS 2014). The DCLG (2014d) states that to satisfy the duty to cooperate, LPAs:

> should make every effort to secure the necessary cooperation on strategic cross boundary matters before they submit their Local Plans for examination.

What is meant by 'every effort' is subject to wide interpretation. For the LLDC, approaching Tower Hamlets Council just once on this important cross-boundary issue was deemed sufficient. This situation was also apparently acceptable to Tower Hamlets Council. The inspector would of course decide whether this approach was satisfactory.

Secondly, the LLDC representative's comment highlights a failing the LLDC have displayed in meeting their remit. The LLDC's *Statement of Community Involvement* states that the LLDC should engage with the 'population residing in the host boroughs' (LLDC 2013f: 8). Thus, there was a duty—albeit a challenging duty—for the LLDC to try and engage with east London residents located outside of their boundary. At the very least, the LLDC should have engaged with residents on the peripheries of their boundary, such as the Travellers residing on Parkway Crescent in Newham (figure 5.11).

Figure 5.11. Parkway Crescent location. Source: LLDC (2015c), additions and amendments made by author.
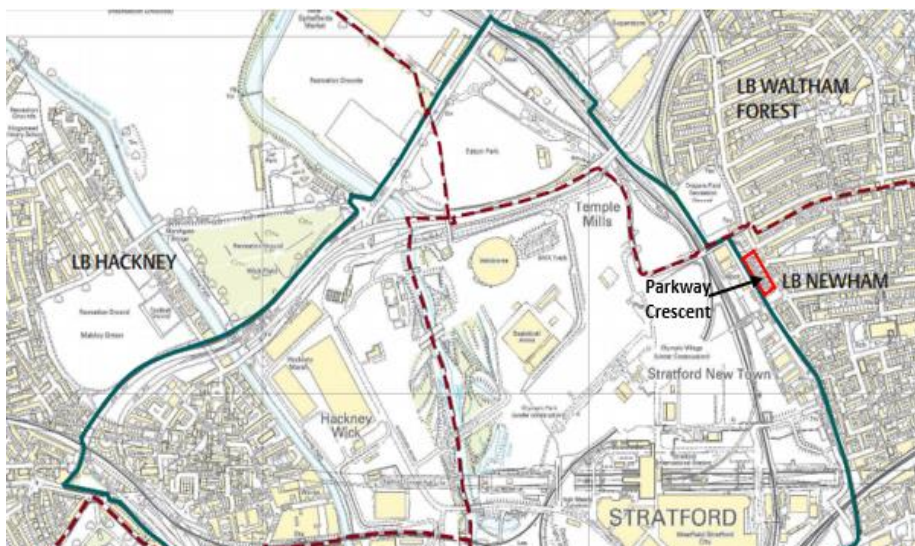
Failing to engage with this community should have raised serious questions about the soundness of the LLDC's approach to planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation. Indeed, in the second major discussion of the LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller plans, local Travellers provided emotionally charged views that challenged the soundness of the LLDC's approach to planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation:

> We were given a commitment by the previous Mayor [Ken Livingstone] that we would be moved back into the Olympic Park after the Olympic Games. The now Mayor [Boris Johnson] inherited that promise and took it on, and so did the LLDC…I've got so much to say here I can't get it all out. But, basically, we feel strongly that in Newham that our needs haven't been recognised within the LLDC planning policy because you know we were inside that park for 37 years before our land became desirable for the Olympic Games (Local Traveller 1).

> We've got 26 families at this very moment waiting for plots that need them now! (Local Traveller 2).

Additionally, there was a palpable sentiment that policy H.5 (figure 5.12) was discriminatory:

> We don't understand why it's felt necessary to have this criteria number four which is all 'other planning policy constraints' can be used in order for a site not to be able to proceed. It seems discriminatory to us that no other policy in this plan—we can look for example at the housing policies—no other policy has this criteria that, that to be acceptable it has to meet all these other planning policy constraints…We don't see that it's in any of the planning policy guidance that it is required, and we would like that criteria four to be deleted (Community representative 3).

Concerns were also expressed about the LLDC's planning statement that '[i]t is not anticipated that the identified needs [for Traveller sites] over the whole of the Plan period can be met' (LLDC 2014a: 56). Even the inspector expressed their concern that the comment 'jump[s] out at you as though, as though it is in denial…you know we won't, we can't, and we won't'.

Figure 5.12. *Publication Local Plan* **Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy. Source: LLDC (2014a: 56).**

> ## Policy H.5: Location of gypsy and traveller accommodation   `POLICY`
>
> The Legacy Corporation will seek to provide for the needs of gypsies and travellers generated within its area through working strategically with adjoining authorities and allocation of suitable sites.
>
> Existing sites will be safeguarded and new sites for the needs of gypsies and travellers will be acceptable where:
>
> 1. Location is suitable for conventional residential development;
>
> 2. Access can be gained to amenities, social and community facilities, the road network and other transport modes;
>
> 3. Residential amenity for both existing and potential residents is not adversely affected, including potential for noise, light, smells and over-looking; and
>
> 4. No other planning policy constraints identified within this Local Plan.
>
> ---
>
> Cross-reference to policy: H.1
> Sub Area Policy: SA1.9
> London Plan policies: 3.8; 3.9

Concerns expressed about policy H.5 had effectively questioned whether local Gypsies and Travellers were being treated equitably by the LLDC. The LLDC representatives were visibly taken aback but were reluctant to amend their approach. Instead, they staunchly defended the *GTANA's* methodology, critically emphasising the 'industry expertise' of those commissioned to conduct this assessment:

> [W]hile we understand that there is some concern around the methodology, the methodology as we said has been carried out by a consultancy who are well practiced in doing this sort of work (LLDC representative 2).

The LLDC were also resistant to more positively plan for the needs identified in their *GTANA*, by amending the aforementioned text (see *ibid*: 56):

> [W]e would want to resist that if we can simply because we would consider that actually changing that may actually raise expectations too high (LLDC representative 2).

The LLDC also tried to justify the soundness of policy H.5, even after the inspector thought that the inclusion of policy H.5's fourth criteria was 'a bit unusual':

That was in there, really in relation to the, as I said the environmental side of the policies to, to ensure that those can be met on any proposal (LLDC representative 1).

However, after some pushing by the inspector, the LLDC did make a small concession:

We did have one suggestion that might help clarify that in the policy by adding to point four 'relating to local amenity and environment', so it becomes clearer as to what the intention of that point four [is] (LLDC representative 2).

Troublingly, this clarified intent only bolsters concerns raised in this hearing session about the LLDC incorporating discriminatory rationales within their approach to planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation.

Within this discussion, the LGTU also demanded that the LLDC review their evidence base for the need for Traveller sites in their boundary. The LGTU representative highlighted that this review should be based on 'a collaborative approach and look at the need across the four boroughs because it's not a localised issue'. Essentially, this comment was reminding the LLDC that they should be adopting a broader conception of 'the local'. In line with the ostensible remit of the convergence agenda (London Borough of Greenwich et al. 2009), the LGTU representative believed that the LLDC's plans should distil benefits to communities residing in London's Olympic area and more widely to communities within the Olympic host boroughs.

At the end of the session, it seemed like the LLDC would have to make some drastic amendments to their Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans, especially as the inspector had been moved by many arguments made during this EiP session. In their post-EiP report, in relation to duty to cooperate issues, the inspector noted that this had been a 'complex matter', before concluding that the LLDC did explore joint working with the four surrounding LPAs (Kingaby 2015: 5). They also highlighted that LLDC staff were committed to assessing the future need for Traveller pitches in their boundary when each LPA's *Local Plan* was up for review. Thus, for the inspector, the duty to co-operate had been met (*ibid*).

In their adjudication of policy H.5, the inspector pointed out that the following amendments, which were put forward by the LLDC, were necessary to make the policy sound:

- the LLDC should ensure future co-operation with Gypsy and Traveller communities over their accommodation needs;
- the LLDC should annually identify and update the available sites that could meet the five-year and six- to ten-year need for Traveller pitches;
- the LLDC should co-operate with each surrounding borough to address each borough's need for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation;
- the LLDC should monitor and review policy H.5, if policy aims are not being met by 2018/2019; and
- the LLDC should clarify that criterion four in policy H.5 is referring to local amenity and environment (*ibid*).

Some of these changes represented an important movement towards the LLDC more positively planning for Gypsies and Travellers' needs. Importantly, a community representative—Simon—who participated in this session argued that the LLDC were pressured into making these changes by 'direct voice[s] from the grassroots…allied with…technical expertise' [40]. Indeed, through sustained, collective, emotive, vociferous, and technical engagement with the EiP, and critically by offering solutions, Travellers and supporting community organisations engendered changes to the LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans. This perspective provides a challenge to the argument that currently consultations at best lead to communities acquiescing to top-down plans for their area of concern (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012).

Despite the changes that this collective engagement brought about, the LGTU representative is still concerned that these changes won't 'really make much of a difference' [59], raising doubts about whether local Travellers' participation within this state planning space was productive for them. For instance, concerns still remain about whether policy H.5's renewed wording creates a policy framework that forces the LLDC to actively engage with local Gypsy and Traveller communities in ways that are empowering for these communities. As a LGTU representative asserted in the post-EiP

consultation, policy H.5 should also commit to ensuring that this engagement is 'direct' and 'effective' (LLDC 2015d: 19). Additionally, for the LGTU representative, criterion four of policy H.5 remained discriminatory as 'no other policy contains [such] a requirement' (*ibid*: 19). But, the inspector thought that the LLDC's suggested modifications were satisfactory. The LLDC could press ahead with their amended Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy (figure 5.13).

Figure 5.13. The LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy. Source: LLDC (2015a: 56).

Policy H.5: Location of gypsy and traveller accommodation   POLICY

The Legacy Corporation will seek to provide for the needs of gypsies and travellers generated within its area through working strategically with neighbouring boroughs and co-operating with gypsy and traveller communities to allocate suitable sites.

Existing sites will be safeguarded and new sites for the needs of gypsies and travellers will be acceptable where:

1. Location is suitable for residential development;

2. Access can be gained to amenities, social and community facilities, the road network and other transport modes;

3. Residential amenity for both existing and potential residents is not adversely affected, including potential for noise, light, smells and over-looking; and

4. There are no other planning policy constraints identified within this Local Plan with reference to local amenity and environment.

Cross-reference to policy: H.1
Sub Area Policy: SA1.9
London Plan policies: 3.8; 3.9

5.5.4   Finalising the LLDC's visions for Hackney Wick

Debates about the LLDC's plans for Hackney Wick were subsumed within the broader Sub Area 1 hearing session. A broad range of public, private and civil society actors participated in the session. But, there was a particularly strong presence from developer and landowner interests. This session provided the starkest example of planning's technocratic face. There were numerous references to alphabetical and numerical land-use classes which made discussions hard to follow. But, two debates caught my eye; debates where visible frustration was being expressed by landowner and developer interests sitting around the table. Firstly, a debate about the LLDC's building heights

policy for Hackney Wick and Fish Island, policy 1.6 (figure 5.14). Secondly, a debate about the LLDC's intention to safeguard existing employment floorspace in Hackney Wick and Fish Island.

Figure 5.14. *Publication Local Plan* **Hackney Wick and Fish Island building heights policy. Source: LLDC (2014a: 160).**
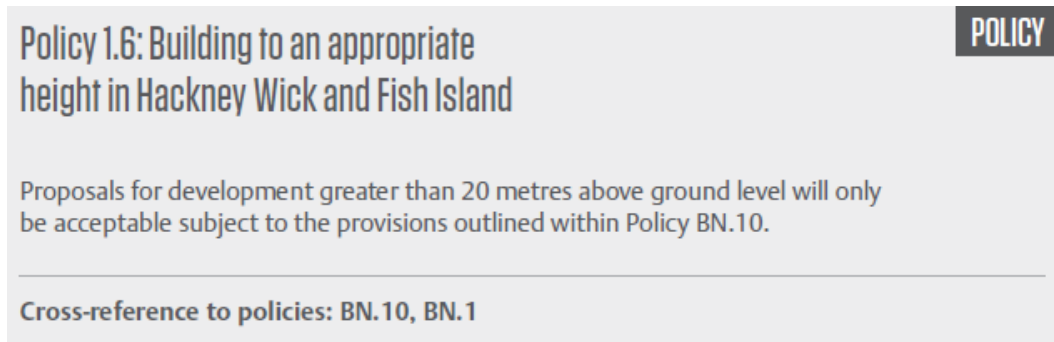
Discussion of policy 1.6 was intimately linked to discussions that took place in a previous session about the LLDC's tall buildings policy (policy BN.10). In this earlier session, developer and landowner interests expressed collective grievances about how tall buildings were defined by the LLDC. The *Publication Local Plan* defined tall buildings 'as those that are higher than the Sub Area's prevailing height' (LLDC 2014a: 89). These developer and landowner interests were also united in expressing displeasure that policy BN.10 appeared to take exception to tall buildings being developed outside of town centres (*ibid*).[43]

After this session, several developer and landowner interests suggested small amendments to policy BN.10 that built on concerns they had outlined during the *Draft Local Plan* consultation (see section 5.3.6). These developer and landowner interests included representatives from Bilfinger GVA (on behalf Workspace), CMA Planning, Austin Mackie Associates Ltd (on behalf of British Telecom), and Barton Willmore (on behalf of Gallagher Holdings Ltd). They wanted tall buildings to be redefined as buildings 'that are *substantially higher than a Sub Area's prevailing or generally expected* height' (LLDC 2015e: 2, emphasis added). They also wanted the LLDC's *Local Plan* to state that '[t]all buildings *will normally be supported within the defined centres* outlined within this

---

[43]These town centres are Stratford Town Centre Extension; Bromley-by-Bow District Centre; Hackney Wick Neighbourhood Centre; Pudding Mill Local Centre; and East Village Local Centre.

Local Plan' (*ibid*: 2, emphasis added), rather than that '[t]all buildings should be located within the Centre boundaries' (LLDC 2014a: 89). Although representing small changes to wording, these suggestions had the potential to fundamentally alter what could be classified as a tall building and where tall buildings could be located within the LLDC's boundary.

These developer and landowner aspirations were transposed to discussion of policy 1.6. They collectively challenged the LLDC's decision to regard tall buildings in Hackney Wick as buildings above 20 metres. They also expressed concerns over the LLDC's preference to see tall buildings in Hackney Wick be confined to its neighbourhood centre. Upon hearing these comments, community representatives around the table expressed an alternative approach. Conscious of the normative practice of commercial developers de facto 'go[ing] for' the permitted maximum building height and then 'push[ing]…above that where possible' (Community representative 4), these representatives wanted the LLDC to explicitly encourage the development of low-rise buildings as well. For these community representatives, this would facilitate a 'more organic development of the area' (Community representative 5), rather than encouraging 'an exercise in maximising floor area' (Community representative 4).

In response to these varying perspectives, the LLDC representatives defended their existing approach. However, the LLDC's visions were not too dissimilar to the amendments that were being proposed. For example, their *Publication Local Plan* did state that policy BN.10 was intended to 'result in a mixture of intermittent building heights' (LLDC 2014a: 91). Additionally, policy 1.6 did not prohibit tall buildings from being built in Hackney Wick, although policy BN.10 did limit tall buildings to the Hackney Wick Neighbourhood Centre. Despite this, there was still palpable consternation from the developer and landowner interests present, and I was keen to see how the inspector would resolve this issue in their post-EiP report.

The other problematic issue for the developer and landowner interests was policy 1.1's approach to managing existing employment floorspace (figure 5.15).[44] Repeating

---

[44]In this discussion, I was expecting to hear a lot of debate about issues to do with affordable workspace. However, this issue was only mentioned once by one local community member who simply stated that

concerns raised during previous consultations, there was a concern that policy 1.1 'doesn't really adequately represent' that 'one of the biggest changes' in Hackney Wick and Fish Island will be the 'significant introduction of residential accommodation' (Developer and landowner representative 1). In the ensuing discussions, these developer and landowner interests were pressing the LLDC to delete policy 1.1, or at least relax the protection that it afforded to the employment floorspaces located outside of identified employment clusters; although, saliently, the *Publication Local Plan* only required development proposals to maintain existing employment floorspace if this was viable (LLDC 2014a).

Figure 5.15. *Publication Local Plan* **Policy 1.1: Managing change in Hackney Wick and Fish Island. Source: LLDC (2014a: 151).**

Policy 1.1: Managing change in Hackney Wick and Fish Island   POLICY

Proposals for development within Sub Area 1 will be considered acceptable where they:

1. Maintain the overall amount of existing employment floorspace (B Use Class), including that used by creative and cultural industries and operating as low-cost and managed workspace (in accordance with the provisions outlined under Policies B.1 and B.4)

2. Propose employment floorspace falling within B1 (a), B1 (b), B1 (c) and B2 Use Classes inside the Hackney Wick Station Area allocation boundary, and B1 (b), B1 (c), B2 and B8 Use Classes outside it

3. Restore and reuse buildings of heritage value for employment uses.

Cross-reference to policies: B.1; B.4

Still, these developer and landowner interests collectively regarded policy 1.1 as 'unduly restrictive' (Developer and landowner representative 2). They wanted the LLDC to develop a framework which would make it easier for new housing to be delivered on the land owned by their clients. As residential land tends to yield more returns to landowners than employment land (Curran 2007; Ferm and Jones 2015; Renaisi Limited and ANCER SPA 2003), it is unsurprising that the developer and landowner interests were pursuing

affordable workspace was needed in the area. More extensive discussion of affordable workspace took place within a hearing session which I was not able to attend, and for which I do not have a recording. But, the inspector's post-EiP report stated that the major issues with the LLDC's affordable workspace policy that were debated in this session were: (1) the LLDC defining affordable workspace as workspace that is up to 75 percent of historic market rent for the previous year; and (2) the provision of affordable workspace being contingent on viability assessments (Kingaby 2015). The inspector had no qualms with the LLDC's approach to these issues within their *Publication Local Plan* (see LLDC 2014a: 34). Consequently, the LLDC's affordable workspace policy remained unchanged post-EiP.

this policy aspiration. Additionally, I was cognisant of the charge that the English planning system systematically privileges developer and landowner interests (Allmendinger and Gunder 2005; Healey et al. 1988; Gunder 2003; London Tenants Federation et al. 2014). So, I was cynically expecting the LLDC representatives to wilt and accede to these developer and landowner interests' wishes. However, the LLDC representatives only clarified the position articulated in policy 1.1:

> the starting point for policy 1.1 is that if there are any existing heritage assets in employment use then the restoration of them would have been for employment use not for residential (LLDC representative 3).

However, after a mid-session lunch-break, the LLDC representatives did suggest a textual amendment to policy 1.1. I wondered what private discussions led LLDC staff to concede some ground. I hoped to gain this information from subsequent interviews with LLDC PPDT staff. But, they were unwilling to be interviewed by me after I had previously interviewed one planning officer, notably pre-EiP. My inability to secure further interviews with LLDC planning officers reflected Imrie and Thomas' (1995) identification that academic researchers often face severe challenges trying to access and gain detailed insights on private governance spaces within urban policy research. For me, this research issue meant that the content of LLDC staff's policy discussions, which led to their proposed policy amendment, would remain private.

The LLDC's suggestion more explicitly stated that proposals for development on pre-existing employment floorspace would be 'assessed on the basis of the overall viability of those proposals and any other overriding factors' (LLDC representative 2). However, the developer and landowner interests present did not think the LLDC's proposed amendment changed anything. Moreover, these developer and landowner interests wanted policy 1.1 to at least explicitly encourage proposals for new housing development. It was clear that this issue was going to have to be resolved post-EiP in the inspector's report.

In the inspector's post-EiP report, when addressing the issue of tall buildings, they noted that encouraging a high concentration of tall buildings into the LLDC's area would significantly impact on the area's historic environment. However, they also emphatically

stated that 'this does not justify a policy to "resist" any new tall buildings in this highly accessible part of London' (Kingaby 2015: 15). Following the inspector's comments, the LLDC subsequently noted that 'proposals for tall buildings that are likely to have a significant adverse impact on one or more of' the policy criteria in BN.10 'will be considered unacceptable' (LLDC 2015a: 89) (figure 5.16), rather than being refused outright (LLDC 2014a). Although a small change, the proposed wording conveys a less hostile attitude towards proposals for tall buildings.

Figure 5.16. The LLDC's tall buildings policy. Source: LLDC (2015a: 89).

Policy BN.10: Proposals for tall buildings   POLICY

Proposals for tall buildings will be considered acceptable where they:

1. Exhibit outstanding architecture and incorporate high-quality materials, finishes and details
2. Respect the scale and grain of their context
3. Relate well to street widths and make a positive contribution to the streetscape
4. Generate an active street frontage
5. Provide accessible public space within their curtilage
6. Incorporate sufficient communal space
7. Contribute to defining public routes and spaces
8. Promote legibility
9. Create new or enhance existing views, vistas and sightlines
10. Preserve or enhance heritage assets and the views to/from these, and contribute positively to the setting of heritage assets, including conservation areas.

Proposals for tall buildings that are likely to have a significant adverse impact on one or more of the following will be considered unacceptable:

11. Micro-climatic conditions (specifically down-draughts and lateral winds over public spaces)
12. Impacts to the surrounding area (including open spaces and other buildings and waterways) that relate to:
    - Overlooking
    - Daylight
    - Overshadowing
    - Light spill/reflection
    - Wider amenity
13. Existing views of landmarks, parkland, heritage assets, waterways, and views along street corridors (in accordance with the policy on Protecting Key Views).

Tall buildings should be located within the Centre boundaries outlined within this Local Plan. In order of hierarchy, these are:

- Stratford Metropolitan Centre (parts within the Legacy Corporation Area)
- Bromley-by-Bow District Centre
- Hackney Wick Neighbourhood Centre
- Pudding Mill Local Centre
- East Village Local Centre.

Tall buildings are defined by the Legacy Corporation as those that are higher than a Sub Area's prevailing or generally expected height as set out in this plan. Proposals for tall buildings outside the Centre boundaries will be assessed against Criteria 1–13 of Policy BN.10.

In their report, the inspector also noted that questions were raised about the necessity of restricting tall buildings to the LLDC's town centres, but they believed that the LLDC provided adequate justification for this approach. Thus, it was surprising to see that the LLDC had now included a stipulation within their *Local Plan* that '[p]roposals for tall buildings outside the Centre boundaries will be assessed against Criteria 1 – 13 of Policy BN.10' (LLDC 2015a: 89). I could not conduct interviews with PPDT staff to ascertain why they made this amendment. But, it does seem like developers' desires influenced the LLDC's final approach to tall buildings (figure 5.16), suggesting that the LLDC were more developer friendly than they had let on throughout the *Local Plan* production process.

In the inspector's comments on the discussions specific to Hackney Wick, they gave their backing to the LLDC. Despite developers' and landowners' wishes, the inspector saw no evidence to suggest that the LLDC needed to increase their designated tall buildings height for Hackney Wick above 20 metres. Additionally, the inspector was generally satisfied with policy 1.1. So, developers and landowners contesting the LLDC's tall buildings policy and policy 1.1 did not completely get their own way. However, the changes that were made to policy BN.10 are partially attributable to the interventions made by these private actors. So, perhaps to a smaller degree than would be postulated through the lens of the regulatory capitalism discourse, private sector actors have shaped the LLDC's plans for Hackney Wick. Importantly, though, this marginal influence may have subtly bolstered developers' and landowners' own development agendas for Hackney Wick.

5.5.5   Finalising the LLDC's policy for Greater Carpenters

Discussion of Greater Carpenters sporadically took place in several EiP sessions. However, deep debate of the Greater Carpenters site allocation (policy SA3.4) (figure 5.17) only began on the penultimate day of the EiP. In this session, one Carpenters Estate resident provided a near fifteen-minute emotive case for why they thought policy SA3.4 was unsound.[45] This resident expressed their concern with the increasing movement of policy SA3.4 towards the visions for the area presented in Newham Council's *Core*

---

[45]This resident was no longer able to attend the designated session for discussing policy SA3.4 as this session had been belatedly moved to the last day of the EiP due to some earlier EiP sessions overrunning.

Strategy. Notably, Newham Council's vision was opposite to 'what the Estate and people from that area are hoping for, and what their visions are' (Carpenters representative 1).

Figure 5.17. *Publication Local Plan* **Greater Carpenters policy. Source: LLDC (2014a: 200).**

204
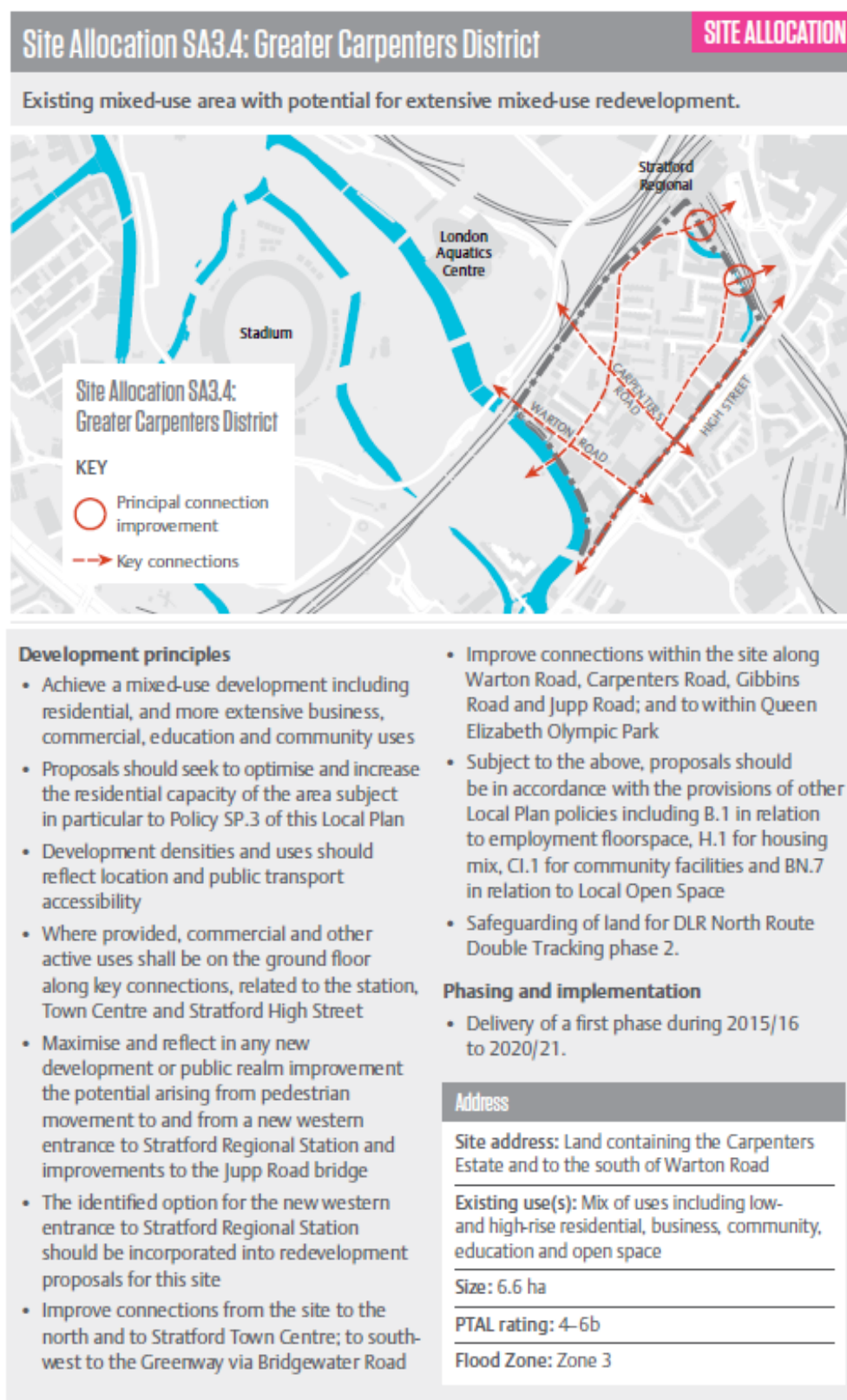
Additionally, this representative argued that policy SA3.4's likely effect would be to break up the existing community, which would go against the convergence aims that the LLDC ostensibly aspire to meet (see section 4.2.1). The resident even implored the inspector to visit the Carpenters Estate so that they could see for themselves what could be potentially lost as a result of policy SA3.4:

> We really want you to come and have a look at our estate and see what it is that we're talking about, because unless you can see it and meet the people and understand the connections that we have, how we rely on people, how we rely on each other…being displaced from what we hold dear, is just gonna…we're not gonna be happy about that.

After this resident's impassioned presentation, the inspector invited the LLDC representatives to respond. But, they preferred 'to leave responding until the debate tomorrow' (LLDC representative 2).

The next day, extensive discussion of policy SA3.4 took place as part of broader Sub Area 3 discussions. For the discussion of policy SA3.4, sitting around the table were: two LLDC representatives; a Newham Council representative; several Carpenters residents; representatives from businesses located in Greater Carpenters; and representatives from supporting community groups such as Just Space and London Tenants Federation (figure 5.18). The Newham Council representative began the discussion by providing disparaging comments about the Carpenters Estate. This representative stated Newham Council's desire to replace 'unattractive' housing with up to 2000 homes in the area that 'could provide substantial improvement to the appearance and character of the area'; about one-third of these homes would be 'affordable'. This Newham Council representative also stated that any redevelopment would be done 'in a sympathetic way, dealing with the needs of the community and wider needs of residents of Newham'. However, after speaking with Carpenters Estate residents, and conducting background reading on the Estate, it is questionable how sympathetic Newham Council's approach has been in their pursuit of redeveloping the Carpenters Estate.

Figure 5.18. EiP session discussing the LLDC Sub Areas. Photo taken by author, March 2015.

It is clear that with the goal of redeveloping the Carpenters Estate, Newham Council have decanted numerous people and families from the Estate since 2005, leaving nearly 400 Carpenters Estate homes lying empty (LLDC 2016f; London Borough of Newham 2015b; Watt 2013). Additionally, with the goal of redeveloping the Carpenters Estate, Newham Council want to demolish inhabited housing on the Estate and have denounced the multi-faceted efforts of Carpenters residents and businesses to maintain their existence within the estate (Sagoe 2016).[46] It is thus understandable why the LLDC's site allocation for Greater Carpenters was not happily received by Carpenters residents, businesses and other community groups present. In emotive, and at times vociferous, denouncements of policy SA3.4 these representatives asserted that:

> there's been no published evidence that the tower blocks need to be demolished rather than refurbished…This is an important point, we have not seen any evidence that these tower blocks need to be demolished (Carpenters representative 2).

> families have been torn apart…I mean you have a great opportunity…You have old and new working together…you have communities, doctors that pride themselves on their Estate, hanging baskets. Why do you want to destroy that? Why do you want to bring it all down? To replace it with not affordable housing, it won't be affordable (Carpenters representative 3).

---

[46]These multi-faceted activities will be discussed in section 7.2.2.

Ultimately, Carpenters residents, businesses, and community organisations sought the 'removal of Carpenters district as a site allocation' as their 'first option' (Carpenters representative 4). As a second option, they could countenance a site allocation which holds refurbishment as its guiding principle.

This latter option gained the inspector's ear. They subsequently asked the LLDC if refurbishment 'could…be mentioned perhaps in the development principles?' The LLDC representatives seemed like they may acquiesce. But, prior to responding, the LLDC representatives conferred with the Newham Council representative who was sitting at the table. After this brief conferral, a LLDC representative stated that:

> [G]iven past discussion with London Borough of Newham around these sorts of issues, from our point of view…it would be too controversial to include something along those lines within the site allocation (LLDC representative 2).

Wry smiles filled sections of the room. The open sway that the Newham Council representative had over the LLDC's decision-making made it abundantly clear whose interests this site allocation was catering for. It demonstrated the power that Newham Council had, relative to the Carpenters community, to use the EiP to shape LLDC staff's views on the ideal policy direction of policy SA3.4. Carpenters residents and businesses, and their supporters, continued to strongly oppose policy SA3.4. But, after a short period, the inspector brought the discussion to a close. The inspector would provide their recommendations about policy SA3.4 in their post-EiP report.

In this report, the inspector acknowledged the Carpenters community's significant opposition to policy SA3.4. Interestingly, the inspector also noted that the LLDC's strategic housing policy had principles which seek to safeguard existing residential units. For this latter reason, and recognising that housing redevelopment schemes necessitates the demolition of existing homes, the inspector found policy SA3.4 to be unsound. But rather than suggesting policy SA3.4's removal, the inspector recommended the inclusion of the following principles:

- 'Consider retention of existing low-rise family housing where this does not prevent the achievement of wider regeneration objectives';

- 'Ensure early community consultation where specific development proposals or regeneration plans are brought forward';

- 'Support the preparation of a Neighbourhood Plan where this conforms to the requirements of this site allocation and involves cooperation with the Council in its roles as landowner and housing authority' (LLDC 2015f: 20).

These recommendations were not insignificant, even if unsatisfactory. They entertained the possibility of the LLDC accepting planning applications that aimed to retain some existing homes on the Estate, although with notable limits. Additionally, these recommendations recognised that residents and workers within Greater Carpenters were developing a Neighbourhood Plan. The inspector's recommendations, although important, were only included as development principles. Tellingly, this policy's overriding policy direction was still 'potential for extensive mixed-use redevelopment' (LLDC 2015a: 205) figure 5.19).

Figure 5.19. The LLDC's Greater Carpenters policy. Source: LLDC (2015a: 205 – 206).
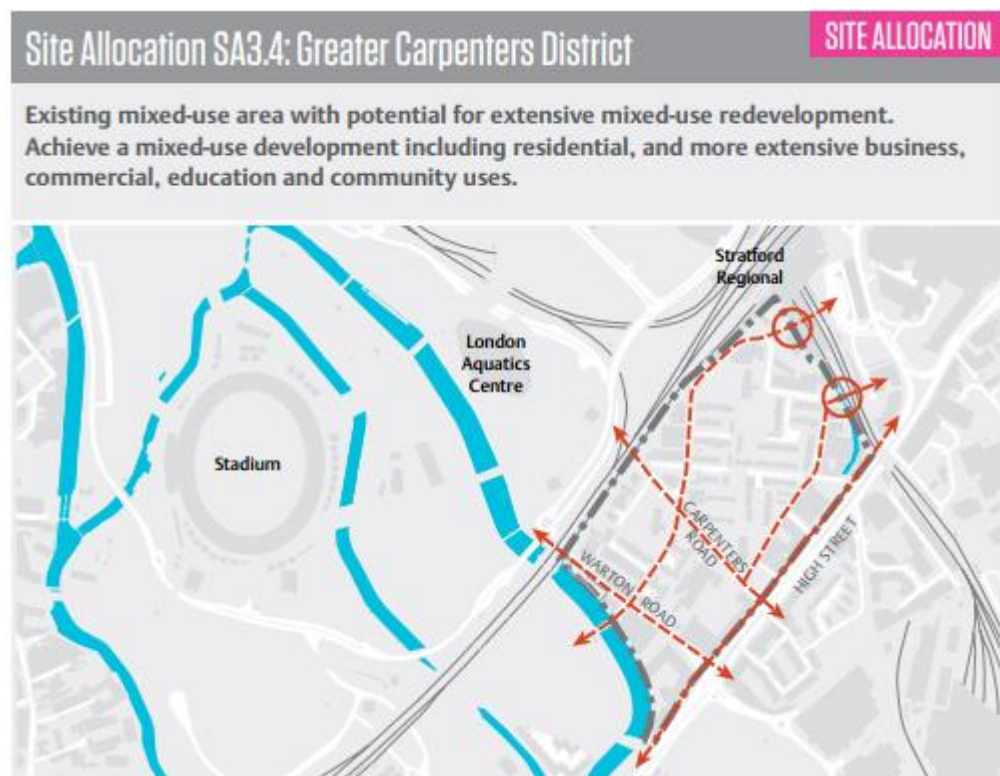
Supporting development principles

- Proposals should seek to optimise and increase the residential capacity of the area subject in particular to Policy SP.2 of this Local Plan
- Development densities and uses should reflect location and public transport accessibility
- Where provided, commercial and other active uses shall be on the ground floor along key connections, related to the station, Metropolitan Centre and Stratford High Street
- Maximise and reflect in any new development or public realm improvement the potential arising from pedestrian movement to and from a new western

entrance to Stratford Regional Station and improvements to the Jupp Road bridge

- The identified option for the new western entrance to Stratford Regional Station should be incorporated into redevelopment proposals for this site
- Improve connections from the site to the north and to Stratford Metropolitan Centre; to south-west to the Greenway via Bridgewater Road
- Improve connections within the site along Warton Road, Carpenters Road, Gibbins Road and Jupp Road; and to within Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park
- Subject to the above, proposals should be in accordance with the provisions of other Local

---

Plan policies including B.1 in relation to employment floorspace, H.1 for housing mix, CI.1 for community facilities and BN.7 in relation to Local Open Space

- Safeguarding of land for DLR North Route Double Tracking phase 2.
- Consider retention of existing low-rise family housing where this does not prevent the achievement of wider regeneration objectives
- Ensure early community consultation where specific development proposals or regeneration plans are brought forward
- Support the preparation of a Neighbourhood Plan where this conforms to the requirements of this site allocation and involves cooperation with the Council in its roles as landowner and housing authority.

Phasing and implementation
Delivery of a first phase during 2015/16 to 2020/21.

Address	
Site address: Land containing the Carpenters Estate and to the south of Warton Road	
Existing use(s): Mix of uses including low- and high-rise residential, business, community, education and open space	
Size: 6.6 ha	
PTAL rating: 4–6b	
Flood Zone: Zone 3	

This guiding policy direction remained intact as the inspector believed that 'it would be inappropriate for the Corporation's Local Plan to ignore the area's potential to accommodate some additional homes and jobs' (Kingaby 2015: 25). Notably, as emphasised by Jordan, members of the Greater Carpenters community were gravely disappointed that post-EiP 'there's still…the danger of wholesale redevelopment' [46] and that Newham Council's redevelopment ambitions had remained paramount.

5.5.6   A note on Chobham Manor and East Wick

Within the EiP, there was limited discussion of Chobham Manor and East Wick. Discussion of Chobham Manor was reduced to LLDC representatives being asked how

the 'affordable' housing target for Chobham Manor had been derived. An LLDC representative responded by merely stating that as noted in the *LCS,* the target 'has been fixed at 28 percent'. For East Wick, there was no discussion about the LLDC's housing plans for this site. In two senses, the lack debate about these two neighbourhoods is probably a reflection of just how little was up for debate in these neighbourhoods. Firstly, there were no communities (at the time) who would be displaced by these two housing developments. Secondly, apart from minor technical issues, and subject to viability considerations (see LLDC 2015a), housing plans for these two neighbourhoods were fixed.

5.6   Conclusion

At the end of the inspector's report, they concluded that the *Publication Local Plan* contained 'a number of deficiencies in relation to soundness' (Kingaby 2015: 31). However, they also outlined the main modifications that would make the *Publication Local Plan* sound and adoptable (*ibid*). Accordingly, the PPDT made the necessary modifications, and on 21 July 2015 the LLDC's Board adopted the *Local Plan*. With this seal of approval, the LLDC's *Local Plan* became the local planning document which planning applications for development in London's Olympic area now needed to adhere to.

Discussion of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process has been important for furthering my engagement with **RQ1**. My discussion has traced the evolution of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans—particularly in relation to social and 'affordable' housing, Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, Hackney Wick, Greater Carpenters, East Wick and Chobham Manor. I have attempted to demonstrate what policy goals and rationalities of governing have shaped these LLDC plans. For their social and 'affordable' housing plans, the LLDC followed in the footsteps of the *NPPF* and *The London Plan* in subordinating the pursuit of social need considerations to the financial considerations informing viability assessments. This has resulted in the LLDC pursuing an 'affordable' housing target (35 percent) which was much reduced from the overall affordable housing targets set within Newham Council's and Hackney Council's Local Plans (50 percent each); this departure can perhaps be explained by the LLDC's own motives to

use development within the Olympic Park to help them gain enough capital receipts to pay back the National Lottery £425m (see section 4.4.3). Interestingly, though, the LLDC did depart from the *NPPF* and *The London Plan* by explicitly noting that the provision of 'affordable' housing can positively contribute to the development of mixed and balanced communities.

For Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, the LLDC again replicated the *NPPF* and *The London Plan.* They mobilised social need considerations alongside a rationale which can be read as viewing Traveller sites as being a particular hindrance to urban environments. For Hackney Wick, the LLDC developed a policy which placed importance on protecting and promoting existing new employment floorspace, despite pressure from developer and landowner interests to place more emphasis on housing development. This policy stance reflected the policy aspiration articulated within Hackney Council's *Core Strategy* which aspired to achieve economic growth in the area through job growth (see section 4.4.2; London Borough of Hackney 2010). For Greater Carpenters, the LLDC developed a policy which privileged Newham Council's financially informed redevelopment aspirations for the area (see section 5.3.1); although, the LLDC's policy did also make room for some of the social concerns of local residents. With regards to Chobham Manor and East Wick, the plans simply reflected those presented in the *LCS*.

Highlighting these policy goals has helped develop my argument in relation to the core tension that I am exploring within **RQ1**; I have shown the broad policy goals that English planning has shaped the LLDC into privileging. As with plans and planning frameworks discussed in chapter four, the LLDC have pursued economic-growth-based development agendas, financial agendas and rationales, and technocratic forms of governing, which have contributed to the LLDC for instance planning for more private housing than social or 'affordable' housing. Need-based considerations have been present within the LLDC's housing plans, but have occupied a less powerful space than growth-based agendas and financial agendas and rationales. As discussed in section 2.2.2, Davies (2014b) and Allmendinger and Haughton (2009, 2010, 2013) regard this dynamic between growth-based agendas/financial agendas and social justice agendas to be a key feature of contemporary neoliberal governance/neoliberal planning. From this lens, English

planning can be viewed to have structured the LLDC into pursuing neoliberal policy goals within their plans.

A key aspect of this chapter has been exploring how the LLDC has come to settle on these policy stances. Of pertinence for **RQ2**, this examination has involved discussing how multi-level and rules-based governing, the LLDC's statutory consultations into their *Local Plan,* and the LLDC's PDC and Board meetings, have combined to shape which governance actors' plans and interests have had power to influence the LLDC's plans. This has been a complex issue to explore. It has been evident that English planning's hierarchical structure and rule about conformity (between strategic plans across different tiers of planning) have caused the LLDC to adopt broad policy agendas mobilised by national government (within the *NPPF*) and the GLA (within *The London Plan*). For instance, when justifying their 'affordable' housing plans in the EiP, LLDC representatives emphasised that their planning policies were statutorily required to pursue national government's and the GLA's strategic planning aspirations. At the same time, the LLDC's statutory consultations, as well as the LLDC's PDC and Board meetings, have also enabled a broader set of local public governance actors and private governance actors to exert influence over the LLDC's plans (see sections 5.5.3 and 5.5.5). Intriguingly, though, I also demonstrated that these statutory consultations—in particular the EIP—enabled national government and the GLA to ensure that their strategic policy goals were reflected in the LLDC's plans; critically, without necessitating the participation of representatives from these two tiers of the state.

These discussions have been significant for advancing my engagement with the core tension I am exploring in relation to **RQ2**. Firstly, this chapter has demonstrated that English planning's hierarchical structure does indeed chiefly create top-down relations of influence between governance actors in the arena of local-level planning; this chapter has shown that national government and the GLA have been able to 'govern from a distance' the policy goals that the LLDC has mobilised within their strategic plans. This governance dynamic has been enabled by governance tools like the EiP and governance actors like the planning inspector. Together, their effective functions were to ensure that the LLDC's *Local Plan*, and its production, conformed with nationally defined legal and procedural requirements. This included ensuring that the LLDC's planning policies

were in general conformity with the *NPPF* and *The London Plan*. Thus, the EiP can be regarded as an essential tool of the state, and the inspector a vital agent of the state, in ensuring top-down relations of influence within the sphere of local-level planning.

However, this chapter has also provided support for the argument that hierarchical systems of multi-level governing also have the capacity to encompass multi-directional relations of influence. I have shown that English planning's multi-level system also enables horizontal relations of influence—local-level governance actors can also shape a LPA's plans (e.g. Newham Council having a notable influence on the LLDC's plans for Greater Carpenters). Although, these horizontal relations of influence did vary within my research context (e.g. Newham Council and Hackney Council did struggle to influence the LLDC's 'affordable' housing plans). I have also importantly demonstrated that neighbourhood communities have also had some marginal bearing on the LLDC's plans. Thus, this chapter provides some small support for relational perspectives which argue that within systems of multi-level governing lower-level governance actors can shape the governing activities of higher-level governance actors (Jessop 2004; Marks 1993).

This research finding also has implications for investigations within **RQ3** which explores what power communities—particularly those privileging the pursuit of social justice goals—have had within statutory spaces to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. In relation to this issue, I have particularly focused on how much influence community representatives and groups have been able to exert on the LLDC's plans for social and 'affordable' housing, Gypsy and Traveller accommodation and Greater Carpenters. The participation of different community representatives and groups within various aspects of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process has yielded mixed results. Participation in the consultations prior to the EiP did not enable community representatives to alter the aforementioned LLDC plans. But, participation in the EiP did for instance enable community representatives, with the assistance of a partially amenable inspector, to cause some social justice oriented alterations to the LLDC's preferred plans for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation and Greater Carpenters. Although, the final versions of these plans were still disappointing for community representatives who participated in the EiP. Additionally, despite the strong

involvement of communities in the EiP 'affordable' housing session, their participation did not engender any alterations to the LLDC's plans.

The mixed levels of success that communities have had in shaping the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans offer vital empirical insights into the core conceptual issue at the heart of **RQ3**. From a more critical lens, my observations can be read as providing support for Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced critiques of consultations (see Rosol 2015; Allmendinger and Haughton 2012). For instance, the *Publication Local Plan* consultation did limit options about what sort of issues and comments could be raised about the LLDC's *Local Plan*. Critically, these limited options were centred around whether the LLDC's plans generally conformed with, and thus would assist in realising, broader national government and GLA development and regeneration ambitions for England and London. However, communities' actual engagement with these consultation spaces did provide important challenges to Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced critiques. In the spirt of Unger's (2007: 55) optimistic belief that tools and practices of governing 'are incapable of containing us', communities—particularly local Gypsies and Travellers and Greater Carpenters representatives—did not passively accept the LLDC's preferred plans. Instead, through a multi-faceted and long-term engagement with the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process they were able to engender marginal changes to aspects of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. This would suggest that communities do retain some capacity to use consultations to engender changes to top-down plans; although this is through a great amount effort which yields limited success. An important research enquiry within subsequent chapters is exploring whether the utility of this participation can be seen to be enhanced when viewed in the context of broader ways that these communities have been trying to impact on key LLDC housing and regeneration plans.

My discussions in this chapter have helped develop my overarching exploration of whether English planning can be regarded as a current system of neoliberal governmentality. This chapter has demonstrated that English planning, through the mobilisation of multi-level governing and rules-based governing and statutory consultations throughout the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process, has generally caused the LLDC: (1) for the strategic housing plans that I discussed, to produce a local

expression of policy goals and rationalities of governing that are privileged within the *NPPF* and *The London Plan*; (2) for the neighbourhood-based plans that I discussed, to privilege the policy goals and rationalities of governing privileged within surrounding LPAs' plans for these neighbourhoods; and (3) in some cases, to partially incorporate the social-justice-based concerns of participants in consultations who were challenging their draft plans.

Chapter four concluded that the national-, metropolitan- and local-level planning frameworks that I presented can be regarded as neoliberal as they generally subordinate social justice goals to the pursuit of economic growth, financial and market-oriented goals. From this lens, English planning can be seen to have structured the LLDC into generally privileging the pursuit of neoliberal policy goals within the housing and regeneration plans that I have discussed. Although, it is worth re-emphasising that in relation to Gypsy and Traveller accommodation these plans have also been shaped by what some community representatives have regarded as a discriminatory approach to planning for this form of accommodation (see section 5.5.3).

Notably, these conclusions are based off *my observations* of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. However, my analysis would benefit from *providing participants' (in the LLDC's Local Plan production process) perspectives* about: (1) the set of policy goals and rationalities of governing shaping the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans; and (2) the power that English planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing have bestowed them with to shape these plans. Providing this discussion will equip me with a more complete and participant-based set of perspectives on the overarching argument that I am exploring in my thesis. Consequently, I move on to providing this discussion in the next chapter.

Chapter six: Research participants' reflections on the policy goals and governance actors shaping housing and regeneration planning within the LLDC

The democratic process becomes 'best served' by a subservience to private sector demands and rationalities (Raco 2012: 457).

6.1   Introduction

The last chapter examined the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. This examination illustrated how English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies, and key statutory spaces within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process, combined to shape the policy goals, rationalities of governing and governance actors that have exerted influence over the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. I concluded by arguing that: (1) neoliberal policy goals have had a particularly powerful influence on the LLDC's plans; (2) the statutory consultations into the *Local Plan*, particularly the EiP, enabled national government and the GLA to structure 'from a distance' the LLDC's strategic housing plans, with local LPAs and the *LCS* having a particular bearing on the LLDC's neighbourhood plans; and (3) the local communities that participated in the statutory consultations into the *Local Plan,* with the assistance of the planning inspector, engendered marginal alterations to some LLDC plans. This chapter builds on these arguments by using interview material to provide my research participants' perspectives on the policy goals and governance actors shaping the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

This chapter engages with interview material from: LLDC staff; representatives from Newham Council and Hackney Council; GLA staff; developers/housing associations involved with the development of Chobham Manor and East Wick; and local community representatives from Hackney Wick and Greater Carpenters. I also draw from field observations and some planning document analysis which helps in substantiating on key issues raised by the interview material that I discuss. The empirical material that I present not only focuses on the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process, it also reflects on broader aspects of their planning framework. Thus, this chapter aims to provide me with

a more complete understanding of the policy goals, technologies and rationalities of governing and governance actors that are influencing the LLDC's plans.

Of relevance for my core concern within **RQ1**, section 6.2 begins by providing LLDC staff's perspectives on the policy goals that they believe the LLDC are privileging within their plans. This discussion will reveal influences that past experiences of the LDDC (in London Docklands) have had on the policy and development goals that the LLDC have ostensibly aspired to pursue within their development and regeneration plans. Within this chapter, a consideration that I return to is whether the policy and development goals that the LLDC have pursued have marked a departure from ones that the LDDC pursued. I will argue that whilst the LDDC and LLDC have both pursued neoliberal policy goals within their development plans, the LLDC's pursuit of these goals have been particularly pronounced within the sphere of housing. This argument builds on understandings of neoliberal governance offered in the previous chapters by briefly discussing similarities and distinctions in the arenas that neoliberal policy agendas have been particularly pronounced within planning under the time of the LDDC and LLDC.

Sections 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 build on the argument developed in my previous empirical chapters in relation to **RQ2**. These sections discuss my research participants' perspectives on the various governance relations they have held/hold with the LLDC. Critical to my discussions is reflecting on my participants' views about how these relations have shaped the level of influence that they have had over the LLDC's plans. These reflections largely support my previous chapters' arguments: that the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans take significant direction from the GLA's planning policy goals, whose plans take direction from national government's planning policy goals; and that the Olympic host boroughs have also had important influences on the LLDC's plans. However, these sections also progress my argument in relation to **RQ2** in two important ways. Firstly, they highlight that the GLA have influenced the policy goals pursued within the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans not only 'from a distance' but also directly through Boris Johnson's previous position as the Chair of the LLDC Board. Secondly, these sections present perspectives which suggest that the Olympic host boroughs have influenced the policy goals that Boris Johnson believed the LLDC should be pursuing. Additionally, section 6.5 sheds light on an important power dynamic between the LLDC

and private developers and housing associations that are involved in the development of broad plans for new Olympic neighbourhoods.

Section 6.6 then presents reflections on the relations that the LLDC has held with local communities. This discussion assists in addressing the core concern of **RQ3**. It presents both positive and more critical accounts of the LLDC's relationship with local communities. This discussion shows that whilst the LLDC's planning framework has been regarded as being participatory there have been some strong reservations about how empowering this participatory framework has been for local communities. Thus, perspectives presented in this section develop the argument that I mobilised in chapter five by suggesting that an even more critical stance should be taken on the difficulties that communities have faced in powerfully shaping the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

This chapter's conclusion (section 6.7) then considers the implications of my empirical material for the core tensions and theoretical debates that I am exploring in relation to my research concerns. For **RQ1**, I consider this chapter's implications for critical conceptualisations of contemporary planning under neoliberalism. For **RQ2**, I discuss what this chapter can tell us about relational perspectives to multi-level governing. For **RQ3**, I highlight the implications of this chapter's discussions for understanding the limitations and possibilities associated within community participation in planning.

6.2   LLDC staff's perspectives on the LLDC, the LDDC and their respective governance agendas

My initial attempts to gather reflections on the policy goals, technologies and rationalities of governing, and governance actors shaping housing and regeneration planning within the LLDC involved me interviewing LLDC staff. I was worried that my position as a researcher who was attempting to support Carpenters residents in their efforts to challenge and transform the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans would affect my chances of securing interviews with LLDC staff. Indeed, I experienced difficulties trying to secure interviews with various LLDC Board members and PDC members. However, I was still able to speak to several individuals occupying senior-level

positions within different LLDC departments (see Appendix 6). Notably, I was informed that my position as a researcher from UCL helped me to secure these interviews—UCL are now planning to develop a campus in the south (Newham section) of the Olympic Park, and I was told that because of this UCL researchers have more privileged (if still limited) access to the LLDC.

My interviews with these representatives initially provided me with interesting insights into how LLDC staff would like the LLDC to be seen. These initial responses were interesting insofar as they conveyed the LLDC's ostensible intention to develop governance relations which would contribute to the realisation of local communities' planning aspirations for London's Olympic area. From the last two chapters, we saw that within the context of my thesis these community aspirations broadly and chiefly comprise the LLDC: (1) planning for identified housing needs, and backlog of housing needs, in particular the social-rented and 'affordable'-rented housing and accommodation needs, of communities within the LLDC area and east London more widely; (2) planning for affordable workspace; and (3) ensuring that marginalised communities within London's Olympic area, and east London more broadly, can be powerfully involved in co-producing future plans for London's Olympic area. Intriguingly, LLDC staff keenly communicated their belief that such policy agendas had not been given prominence by a significant development corporation of the past, the LDDC:

> the coming of the London Docklands Development Corporation, the beginnings of Canary Wharf were quite bruising for local communities [14]

> the Canary Wharf example…it's the terrible example isn't it of just that kind of island development with no integration around it [41].

In section 2.3.3, I discussed that the LDDC has been critiqued for its facilitation of the market and the bolstering economic growth agendas, private sector actors and private sector rationalities within the governance of urban development in London Docklands (Lawless 1988). In this regard, Sue Brownill (1990) has argued the LDDC, and more broadly the redevelopment of London Docklands, represented an acute embodiment of tensions that were becoming increasingly pronounced under Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government—with these tensions being 'between local democracy or

central control, public or private investment, intervention in or facilitation of the market' (*ibid*: 1). In negotiating these tensions during the early- and mid-1980s, the LDDC was seen to have marginalised LPAs, local communities, and their development and regeneration aspirations for London Docklands (Brownill 1990; Brownill 1999; Lawless 1988). Notably, this marginalisation comprised the LDDC: (1) marginalising the housing and employment needs of local working-class and frequently black populations, whilst simultaneously planning for luxury *pied-à-terres* and planning for growth in the financial service sector to cater for incoming high-income residents—this reflected Thatcher's government's broader aspirations for London to be a world-leading financial service sector economy (Brownill 1990); and (2) running planning consultations with local communities which these communities did not feel empowered them to co-produce visions and plans for London Docklands (Lawless 1988).

Although the LDDC held tempestuous and uncooperative governance relations with LPAs and some local communities during the 1980s, the LDDC did subsequently begin to forge more conciliatory relations with some LPAs and communities, as suggested by these comments from a former senior Newham Council planning officer (during the late 1980s/early 1990s), and a former senior planning officer at the LDDC:

> I think to begin with they [the LDDC] saw themselves as you know replacing the kind of fuddy-duddies who'd been in charge for all these years, never been able to get things done. And, you know, eventually they realised that they, they could achieve their objectives better if they were working with the local community and the local authority rather than against it [29].

> So, we [the LDDC] had a chat with their officers and said, and they said, "well you know, it's stupid fighting you, maybe we do a deal." So, we said to them "what do your members want? What's their price? You know…stop being difficult"…It was much better to work with the council than against them [60].

The LDDC even engaged in formal joint working partnerships with some of the surrounding LPAs, which gave these LPAs greater power to shape development plans for London Docklands. Importantly, the LDDC signed Memorandum of Agreements with Newham Council (in 1987) and Tower Hamlets Council (in 1989) which signed respective parties up to pursue 'some shared objectives' (see LDDC 1998). Some LPAs however,

such as Southwark Council, did retain fractious relations with the LDDC and 'carried on sulking' according to one former LDDC planning officer I interviewed [60].

Despite these more collaborative governance relations, LLDC staff I spoke to were still keen to distinguish themselves from the LDDC. It was emphasised that unlike with London Docklands, surrounding LPAs and communities played important long-term roles in shaping the LLDC's plans:

> The London Docklands Development Corporation I think, you know, had borough representatives, but it was felt I think to people a bit remote…So we thought…how do we work more productively with business? How do we, you know, how do we [the LLDC, LPAs, and the private sector] all come together behind a joint programme with local people, and rather than fight each other? And so, how do you really get local benefit? [14].

> it was almost in the forefront of what we were doing in terms of like let's not be a Canary Wharf [41].

My analysis in chapter five provides a strong challenge to this sentiment I heard coming from LLDC staff. Additionally, whilst conducting my action research with the GCNF I frequently witnessed conversations amongst GCNF members that expressed concerns about the extent to which local communities' development and regeneration needs and aspirations were the driving force behind the LLDC's plans for Greater Carpenters, and London's Olympic area more broadly. Consequently, in my interviews, I wanted to explore the actual extent to which local communities' development and regeneration needs and aspirations played a part in shaping housing and regeneration planning within the LLDC. If the LLDC had indeed been committed to meeting local communities' needs and aspirations, I was also keen to explore how it had come to be that these needs and aspirations were a rather minor force in shaping the LLDC's final housing and regeneration plans.

6.3   Reflections on the LLDC's relations with the Olympic host boroughs

6.3.1   LLDC perspectives on their relations with the Olympic host boroughs

The first set of governance relations that I explored were the relations that the LLDC holds with the Olympic host boroughs. Discussions in chapter five have shown that on a more structural level the Olympic host boroughs have been empowered to regularly assist in producing plans for the LLDC's boundary. A senior LLDC planning officer also emphasised that these LPAs have had the power to co-produce the LLDC's plans on a more day-to-day level:

> we've made sure that we have very well-defined co-operation arrangements in place. So, we have a memorandum of understanding with the boroughs in terms of how we as a planning authority co-operate with them. And we have regular sort of high-level and officer-level meetings with them [8].

However, there was an admission by a senior LLDC development projects officer that the LLDC held more collaborative relations with certain Olympic host boroughs over others:

> So, Newham and Hackney we work with incredibly closely...And, we work with Tower Hamlets and also with Waltham Forest. But I think it's fair to say that those relationships are not as involved, if you like, as, as the other two. Probably should be improved, I think particularly with Tower Hamlets. We could probably work a bit closer with Tower Hamlets [41].

But, for Hackney Council and Newham Council at least, LLDC staff that I spoke to have claimed that the close working relations they hold with these boroughs has enabled borough representatives to 'bang the drum really loudly' for their respective borough's interests [41]. Sections 5.2.3 and 5.4.5 would certainly suggest as much.

6.3.2   Newham Council's relations with the LLDC

But, to what extent were representatives from the Olympic host boroughs actually empowered to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans in a more day-to-day capacity? I wanted to speak to representatives from Newham Council and Hackney

Council to address these two questions. Unfortunately, I was not able to speak to anybody within Newham Council, not for lack of trying. I got in touch with Newham Mayor Robin Wales and various officers within Newham Council's housing, planning and regeneration departments. But, I received no response from anyone I contacted. Over the duration of my research, it became clear that Newham Council were reluctant to speak to people seeking to critically reflect on the Council's aspirations for London's Olympic area; especially those who were simultaneously attempting to support Carpenters Estate residents. I spoke to a few researchers who noted that they had also been given the 'silent treatment' when they approached Newham councillors and officers for interviews about the development and regeneration taking place in London's Olympic area.

Despite this 'silent treatment', I was still able to use ethnographic research to get some small insights into the relations that the LLDC holds with Newham Council. Ethnographic research on the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process in chapter five gave a strong indication of the close and collaborative relations that Newham Council holds with the LLDC (see section 5.5.5). However, ethnographic research on the LLDC's PDC meetings enabled me to witness stronger elements of dissatisfaction and antagonism coming from Newham Council representatives. Most notable were the antagonisms on display within the LLDC's PDC meeting on 23 June 2015. Within this meeting, LLDC planning officers were seeking comments from their PDC about the GCNF's application to be officially designated as a neighbourhood forum, before taking the application to the LLDC's Board. LLDC planning officers seemed generally content with the planning application, as did many members of the PDC. Some PDC members were even actively positive about the prospect of there being a neighbourhood forum within the LLDC's framework. However, Newham Council representatives on the LLDC's PDC were visibly perturbed by the application. It is worth reminding ourselves that Newham Council want to see the Carpenters Estate redeveloped (see section 5.4.5). Given this ambition, it is clear to understand why Newham Council representatives would express dismay at something that may equip the Greater Carpenters community with some tools to resist Newham Council's aspirations.

Perhaps the most memorable denouncement of the prospect of the GCNF being officially designated was made by a Newham Councillor who decried neighbourhood forums and the *Localism Act* as an 'attack on local democracy'. Notably, a GCNF member had also anecdotally told me that in a subsequent LLDC Board meeting in July 2015 Robin Wales had fiercely denounced the GCNF, and their 'communist' agenda.[47] This represented another effort on Robin Wales' behalf (see section 5.3.4) to try and delegitimise GCNF members' aspirations for the Carpenters Estate specifically, and Greater Carpenters more broadly. Despite these contestations being made about the GCNF, the GCNF was still eventually designated as a neighbourhood forum by the LLDC's Board in a meeting in July 2015. This decision indicates that the varied composition of governance actors comprising the LLDC's PDC had the power to mitigate against any single governance actor's capacity to influence. Thus, this decision suggests that the LLDC's wishes as an overall institution trump the wishes of any single host borough. Additionally, in keeping with LLDC perspectives outlined in section 6.3.1, the LLDC's wishes on this occasion were informed by social justice motivations—in this case, permitting a community group to begin pursuing a process that may enable them to play a more powerful role in planning for their neighbourhood (see section 7.2.2 for further discussion).

6.3.3   Hackney Council representatives' perspectives on their relations with the LLDC

Unlike with Newham Council, representatives I approached within Hackney Council were actually responsive. Hackney Council's greater responsiveness meant that I could secure interviews with key figures who would give me a greater understanding of the set of, and more everyday, relations that the LLDC held with LPAs; although, as I was not able to secure interviews with Newham Council representatives I was only able to provide a limited comparison of the relations that the LLDC held with different Olympic host boroughs.

I secured interviews with several people who were closely involved in trying to ensure that Hackney Council's aspirations for London's Olympic area are actively pursued by the LLDC. This included: a former regeneration officer for Hackney Council [33]; a Hackney

---

[47]Robin Wales had most likely conflated the GCNF with another community group that were a thorn in his side, Focus E15. I will discuss Focus E15 and their activities in section 7.3.1.

Councillor [34]; and a senior regeneration officer for Hackney Council [38]. When interviewing these representatives, I initially heard varying attitudes about the LLDC's establishment:

> Well, [the] OPLC was essentially a Park Management organisation starting to facilitate the development. And there was still other agencies around the edges like LTGDC…Part of it was to…bring it all under one umbrella. And part of it was you know to make sure those relationships with neighbouring areas were actually developed properly, because otherwise it would've been a really isolated piece of infrastructure without necessarily having any kind of relationship with Hackney Wick and Bow and wherever else. So, yeah, I think it made a lot of sense [33].

> I think it is an imposition. And I think it is a, it's a vision of replacement like the LDDC's. It, this is not about building new things. This is about imposing a new thing. But, more interestingly because the boroughs are a part of it there is more of a compromise [34].

Although this latter comment views the LLDC as an imposition, this comment, along with the first comment, also suggests that the LLDC has developed relationships with the Olympic host boroughs that enables these LPAs to occupy powerful spaces within the LLDC. This power is clearly demonstrated by the important positions that LPA figures occupy within the LLDC's Board and PDC. Furthermore, according to interviewees, Hackney councillors and officers have also had a more everyday-level power to shape the housing and regeneration plans for LLDC neighbourhoods lying within Hackney. In some cases, this influence has been exerted through developing a 'good relationship at a senior level and at [an] operating level in regeneration, design, planning, [and] real estate…departments' [33]. Developing these collaborative and consensual relations was seen to be important because:

> to actually influence stuff, you need to be involved in those conversations and have those relationships…But, you know, we could sit back and basically let it happen to us, which is potentially what the model is set up to do—it's a corporation to come in and deliver lots of stuff and then go—or you can really get involved and get engaged [33].

> we will be able to achieve the outcomes for a wider community if we work with these partners and we work with them at a very intimate level. That's vital. It's about teamwork [38].

Indeed, some Hackney Council representatives perceived these collaborative relationships to have enabled them in some cases to play important roles in 'really influencing the legacy masterplan' [33]. For example, in ensuring the preservation of strong artistic, cultural and creative sectors:

> Well I'd like to think, certainly from a, a Hackney perspective they [artistic, cultural and creative sectors] had Hackney as their champion—so, that when the conversations were being had, when the policies were being formed, when bids were being submitted, yeah, that actually the mantra about the creative sector and its role within Hackney and Hackney's economy and London's economy, yep, and the community itself, yep, was at the front of everybody's mind, because we were there to make sure it was. And that was one of our roles...And that is to ensure that as Hackney Wick changes, and as the new neighbourhood in Hackney Wick emerges...that actually what is going on is the, and we're back to where we started, which is about not excluding, not pushing aside, but actually embracing all of those assets, those people and those activities, and being able to provide yet more space for that to grow and flourish [38].

Perhaps, then, it was Hackney Council's interventions that have led the LLDC's *Adopted Local Plan* to plan to '[p]rotect...creative and cultural industrial uses that support the continuation of Hackney Wick and Fish Island's entrepreneurial and enterprising work culture' (LLDC 2015a: 151). This example provides support for the argument that planning within England has allowed for horizontal relations of influence between the surrounding Olympic host boroughs and the LLDC.

In some cases, however, Hackney Council representatives have had to resort to antagonistic exchanges to try and exert influence on the LLDC's plans. On a housing front, these antagonisms have been largely borne out of frustration with the LLDC's reticence to positively plan for 'affordable' housing. These antagonisms were made clear to me in a conversation I had with a Hackney Councillor where I was telling them that I had been to a Hackney Council PDC meeting in September 2015. In this meeting, an LLDC representative bluntly stated that only ten percent of new housing to be delivered in Hackney Wick's Neighbourhood Centre would be 'affordable'. However, before I could finish my story, the Councillor I interviewed stated:

I've been to that planning committee and they've come in with, saying they don't want to do any affordable housing. And we've argued and argued and eventually they've kind of conceded 10 percent. 10 percent is now good. You know it's absolutely. We have been just tied up [34].

This frustration is connected to the recognition that actually the LLDC's 'affordable' housing plans 'reflect the London Plan situation, not whatever the boroughs have presented' [33]. The frustration within Hackney Council's ranks about the LLDC's 'affordable' housing plans (also demonstrated in sections 5.3.5 and 5.4.2), point to important limitations in Hackney Council's capacity to influence these LLDC plans. Importantly, this example challenges the rhetoric espoused by LLDC staff in section 6.2. It would not seem that LLDC staff, within their housing and regeneration planning framework, have been chiefly planning for LPAs' and local communities' housing and regeneration needs (see table 4.3 in section 4.3.3), at least in relation to 'affordable' housing. Discussion of the LLDC's relations with the GLA would help to explain why this is the case.

6.4   Reflections on the LLDC's relations with the GLA

6.4.1   LLDC perspectives on their relations with the GLA

In chapters four and five, I argued that a top-down manifestation of multi-level and rules-based governing have interacted to empower the GLA (and national government) to be chief architects shaping the policy goals and rationalities of governing that the LLDC have privileged within their *Local Plan*. But, I wanted to develop this analysis by getting an understanding of the ways in which the GLA (and by extension central government) has exerted this power through Boris Johnson's direct oversight over the LLDC in his position as the LLDC Chair from September 2012 until May 2015. Importantly, Boris Johnson's position as the former LLDC Chair illustrates that in my research context a top-down manifestation of multi-level governing has also operated through an intimate imbrication of the metropolitan and the local.

When initially approaching LLDC staff about this imbrication, and their relationship with the GLA, I was told that it was important to contextualise this relationship by considering

the governance arrangements surrounding the OPLC [14]. Section 4.2.2 discussed that the OPLC was established in 2009 by three bodies: the GLA, the DCMS and the DCLG. A senior LLDC regeneration officer conceptualised this governance arrangement as being 'very complicated' [14]. The OPLC 'had these different masters and mistresses who wanted different things' [14]. This governance arrangement was somewhat simplified when the LLDC was established as they had become 'a Mayoral body, a part of the GLA family' [14]. This meant that the LLDC's development programmes were now 'city driven and not centrally driven' [14], although 'of course for government it's still interesting' as they still put money into the LLDC through the GLA [14].

As the LLDC is a prominent member of the GLA family, Boris Johnson took it upon himself to Chair the LLDC and appoint the LLDC's independent Board members. Additionally, as a senior strategy officer at the LLDC emphasised (as has table 4.1 in section 4.2) the GLA has borne direct responsibility for providing the LLDC with their 'budget and ongoing finance' [35]. A senior LLDC development projects officer noted that the substantial, although diminishing, financial investment that the GLA are making in the LLDC (see table 4.1) has meant that the GLA has overseen the LLDC's land and development deals, operating as the LLDC's boss 'from a distance' (see section 5.3.2):

> Yeah, so I think if we start with the GLA, they have a *huge* amount of oversight and involvement and some might actually say responsibility as well, as our kind of…our parent body if you like. So, so everything we, everything significant that we do goes via the GLA. So, all of our finances obviously get signed off by the GLA, and any major disposal that we do of land. So, any, any leasehold interest, any sale of land that we do, any purchase of land, anything goes to the GLA [41] (emphasis added).

However, Boris Johnson's previous position as the LLDC Chair has meant that the GLA have also simultaneously had intimate and direct oversight and influence over whose and what ideological and policy goals the LLDC are pursuing. According to a senior LLDC regeneration officer, sometimes this level of oversight and influence has resulted in the LLDC pursuing the aspirations of the Olympic host boroughs and local communities:

> When Boris was elected he very quickly got what the boroughs were saying…He kind of gone "oh ok, so these boroughs are not telling me they want loads and loads and loads of homes. They're telling me the opposite.

They want the homes, but actually they desperately need the business location, they need the universities to come in, they need the cultural institutions to come in"…So, hallelujah. That's what we've been saying all along. So, it's really this long way of saying it's very interesting that what the LLDC, the Mayor's authority over the LLDC, with the government taking a back seat, has meant that the Mayor was able to drive, this Mayor drove a vision for the future of this Park that was…actually aligned with the local authorities [14].

Intriguingly, this comment does much to support Marks' (1993) relational perspective on multi-level governance. It would seem that local state actors have been able to shape the development and regeneration agendas that metropolitan state actors (that directly intervene in the local sphere) wish to pursue for London's Olympic area.

However, it remains important to stress that some host borough representatives contest the idea that the LLDC's plans for the Park are being driven by their Council's agendas (see chapter five and section 6.3). Indeed, a senior LLDC planning officer admitted that on a housing front, the GLA's oversight and influence has led the LLDC to pursue objectives that depart from the aspirations of the Olympic host boroughs:

Of course, politically, the boroughs aren't necessarily particularly aligned all the time with the Mayor's position on things, there will be some differences in the positions on here around things…like say affordable housing [8].

Intriguingly, it would also seem like Mayoral influences have shaped the LLDC's decision to prioritise the production of private housing, which would benefit the LLDC financially:

The Mayor has really backed private rented housing along with the government. Not just to do more low grade private rent units. But, to make it as a decent offer that people are actually, are happy to live in…And also a financial return. So, that's a big part of it. You know we, we needed to make sure that the LLDC shared in the receipts from…development [41].

These latter LLDC perspectives demonstrate that Boris Johnson has displayed power in ensuring that the LLDC centres key neoliberal and capitalist principles—privileging the role of the private sector in service delivery and seeking substantial financial returns from development—within their framework. Importantly, these perspectives support arguments I made in preceding chapters about the substantial power that state actors

'above' the LLDC in the planning system have had on ensuring the LLDC privileges financial considerations and the role that the private sector plays within their housing and regeneration planning framework. However, it is important to remember that some LLDC staff have suggested that there is a more reciprocal power relation between the GLA and the Olympic host boroughs that comprise the LLDC's governance framework. Given this perspective, I was also keen to hear GLA staff's thoughts about this power dynamic.

6.4.2   GLA staff's perspectives on their relations with the LLDC

When approaching the GLA, I was keen to speak to Boris Johnson. However, he was unavailable for interview. Subsequently, I also approached individuals within his former Mayoral team, but again they were unavailable for interview. Instead, I spoke with a Green Party London Assembly member and London Assembly officers within the Labour Party and the Green Party. In some ways, speaking to these people is not likely to have been as fruitful as speaking to Boris Johnson and his former Mayoral team. They did not have an intimate engagement with the LLDC. However, speaking to these interviewees was still valuable as their relatively distant engagement with the LLDC meant that they were not necessarily invested in putting a positive spin on the GLA's relations with a vital GLA family member. Although, equally, these interviewees' respective positions as the opposition to Boris Johnson and his Mayoral team also meant that they were more likely to have a stronger critical position on the GLA's policy-level activities and its relations with the LLDC.

When speaking to the London Assembly member about the LLDC's establishment, and the relationship the GLA holds with the LLDC, I heard about the important role that the London Assembly played in trying to ensure that the LLDC was accountable to local communities:

> So, we did push for some assurances on, on community involvement, on the local community groups being able to speak at planning committees, present objections…And they were, they were, they were actually taken, they were actually taken on board. And so, so the Assembly there ended up voting

unanimously in favour of the, the Olympic Development Corporation going ahead [37].

These assurances should perhaps have made the LLDC beholden to the communities residing and working within their planning boundary. However, the London Assembly member did tellingly comment that the LLDC was still a 'clearer expression of the Mayor's will. But, obviously, combined with loads of the local authorities' [37].

London Assembly officers that I spoke to gave a mixed assessment about whether the LLDC was just an expression of the former Mayor's will:

> The relationship is much closer than with a local authority. The, I mean the LLDC is funded in part by the GLA and their, you know, their business plan is signed off by the Mayor. The Mayor sits on the Board...And it's much, it's much more clearly kind of following the strategic priorities of the GLA. To some extent it's set up its own vision...You know it's got its own planning authority and so on. It's not, not just the GLA...But it's a lot closer [31].

> I'm not sure that I would view [it] as the GLA pushes direction through the LLDC through to the boroughs...A lot of Boris' stuff had been about kind of 'you [the Olympic host boroughs] lead the way. Tell us what you want. We'll fund what you want. We'll partly fund you'...I think kind of [the] boroughs, more than people admit or realise, are leading this [32].

These initial mixed assessments again suggest that Marks' (1993) relational approach to multi-level governance may be applicable to my research context; there is an assertion that local-level state actors have displayed power to shape the development and regeneration plans that Boris Johnson thinks the LLDC should be pursuing. But, further discussions with these interviewees did suggest that with regards to housing, the GLA's aspirations remained paramount. For example, a London Assembly Green Party Officer stated that the LLDC's housing plans reflected Boris Johnson's 'overriding priority...to build as many houses as possible' [31], without seriously considering what housing tenures' delivery needed to be prioritised. Furthermore, there was common recognition that the LLDC were also pursuing both central government's and the GLA's wishes for housing development on the Park to contribute to paying back the £425m central government borrowed from the National Lottery:

It's a very big driver across the timing in particular. There are agreements with DCMS about when it will be paid back…So, for example, they brought forward—I think it was Sweetwater—they brought forward one neighbourhood at a lower affordable housing level [32].

Within these mixed assessments about where the LLDC gets its direction from, we can discern that the GLA is pushing a profit-making agenda on the LLDC, and the LLDC are having to pursue this agenda. Given these set of interview responses, and contrary to the rhetoric of LLDC staff given in section 6.2, the LLDC does bear important similarities to the LDDC and its governance ambitions. Whilst the LLDC and the LDDC have 'not [been] immune to local influence' from LPAs (Brownill 1999: 58), these institutions have both 'operate[d] as localist political bodies under the direct control of' state actors that sit/sat above them in the planning system (Raco 2005: 143). Critically, the state actors which the LLDC and the LDDC are/have been beholden to have used their respective influence over these two development corporations to help structure these institutions into mobilising neoliberal and wider capitalist planning policy agendas; in particular enhancing the role that the private sector plays in driving urban development and regeneration, and planning for urban development and regeneration according to market-based criteria and financial considerations.

For the LDDC, the mobilisation of these agendas materialised strongly within both the housing sphere and the workspace sphere. For example, the LDDC privileged the production of private, high-value housing—which was also a reflection of broader state policy at the time (Hodkinson et al. 2013); although, the LDDC did also have important social housing plans, especially after signing Memorandum of Agreements with Newham Council and Tower Hamlets Council in the late 1980s (LDDC 1998). Additionally, employment-related development in London Docklands, particularly at Canary Wharf (which has been characterised as not an inevitable development—see Brownill & O'Hara 2015), assisted London in becoming a world-leading centre for the financial service sector. This was at a time when the financial service sector was becoming a powerhouse globally (Brownill 1990).

However, as a point of distinction, within the LLDC's context housing is arguably currently the leading sphere through which neoliberal planning policy agendas are currently being

realised. The increased and intensified marketisation, financialisation and privatisation of housing that has taken place nationally and internationally since the 1980s (Edwards 2016) has done much to contribute to this situation—although Hodkinson et al. (2013) have noted that the privatisation of public housing in Britain has been taking place (albeit to a smaller degree) since the nineteenth century. Additionally, the acute demand for housing from both domestic and international would-be-tenants and investors (see Mayor of London 2014c for discussion) has seen housing and housing land in London, reflecting trends in global cities, increasingly become a site of highly profitable investment. So, arguably, housing (in London) is now the most productive sphere for privatising space in ways geared towards enhancing possibilities for value extraction. Indeed, my conversations with a senior development projects officer at the LLDC indicated that housing deals with private developers and housing associations will be the key way through which the LLDC will gain financial returns on land that they currently own within London's Olympic area [41]. Importantly, these subtle differences between the LDDC and LLDC contexts reflects the increasing salience of housing (at least in a London context) for neoliberal urban development and regeneration agendas.

Within the context of my thesis and more broadly within a governance sphere, these arguments outlined in the last three paragraphs are significant for two key reasons. Firstly, they highlight the multiple scales of government at which ideological and policy-based interventions need to be made to alter the neoliberal path which chapter five has argued that the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans are currently taking. Secondly, the argument that housing within Britain has been subjected to intensified neoliberalisation (Hodkinson et al. 2013) directs us towards exploring the roles that private sector actors have played in housing planning and provision in Britain. Consequently, there is also a need to examine the influences that private sector bodies and rationalities have had over the formation of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

6.5   Reflections on the LLDC's relations with developers/housing associations

6.5.1   LLDC perspectives on their relations with private sector actors

When speaking to LLDC staff about the role of the private sector within their planning framework, I was simultaneously keen to hear about the spaces that private sector rationalities occupied within the LLDC, and the LLDC's relations with private sector actors. Given the argument that English planning operates within a broader neoliberal political economy (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012), I was expecting to hear in interviews that private sector actors do play a central role in shaping the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. Indeed, in interviews, it was interesting to hear about how integral private sector actors and their rationalities are to the LLDC's structure. I have already noted in section 4.2.2 that individuals with long track records of working in the private sector comprise the LLDC's Board and PDC. Importantly, it is also the case that some key LLDC departments are replete with individuals who have backgrounds in the private sector:

> I mean, the LLDC has some fairly distinct bits to it. So, the real estate team are by and large real experts…They often have fairly commercial backgrounds because they come from the real estate world…So they, that part very much operates along those lines [35].

This aspect of the LLDC's governance framework has meant that private sector rationalities greatly dictate the LLDC's practices. This governance dynamic displayed itself regularly in LLDC PDC meetings I attended. In these meetings, PDC members regularly deliberated over planning applications for housing development where, due to viability considerations, less than 35 percent of the housing proposed would be 'affordable'. Sometimes, some PDC members would challenge the logic of viability informing these planning applications. However, in most cases these planning applications would be permitted because most PDC members and most LLDC planning officers did not question the agendas pervading these viability considerations (see for example LLDC 2015g).

On a theoretical level, arguments made within the regulatory capitalism discourse about the subservience of governance practices to private sector rationalities certainly rings true (Raco 2012). This conclusion is strengthened when considering that a senior LLDC planning officer emphasised that they regularly hold 'developers and landowners sessions…workshops and seminars to get their views and their input' [8]. It was asserted that these meetings have empowered developers to integrally input into the production of the LLDC's plans for their boundary [8]. Such a perspective thus also adds weight to Raco's (*ibid*: 453) argument that in the current political-economic conjuncture 'private interests [have] become involved in co-producing all aspects of urban projects.' I wanted to further my understanding of this governance dynamic by speaking to developers who are building the first two new Olympic neighbourhoods: Chobham Manor and East Wick.

6.5.2   London and Quadrant staff's perspectives on their relations with the LLDC

I began my enquiry into the role the private sector has played in shaping the LLDC's plans for Chobham Manor by approaching individuals within Taylor Wimpey and London and Quadrant. I was not able to speak to representatives from Taylor Wimpey. But representatives from London and Quadrant were content that the relations they held with the LLDC were collaborative and close:

> We generally have fairly joint aims I think. We all want to build this housing development and to the, to what we committed to in our planning documents and things. And so, I think generally we're on the same page. And in many ways the LLDC kind of want to help us to realise our aims for it as well…they very much do things as kind of a partnership [28].

> We have a good relationship with the LLDC. They, what they did during that competition [competitive dialogue to select developers for Chobham Manor] was set out clearly what matters to them, what their targets were. So, we're very clear in our business plan to look and meet those targets…And so I would say that we work very closely with them and we remain close to them because they will in the final analysis be the beneficiary of the land value that we generate [13].

The latter interview response begins to touch on the importance of profit-making within the LLDC. This feature of the LLDC's planning framework began to reveal itself more explicitly as I began to hear about how Taylor Wimpey and London and Quadrant were

selected to develop and provide housing at Chobham Manor. Interestingly, discussion of this selection process would also reveal information about the extent to which the broad housing plans for Chobham Manor have been 'co-produced'.

The process for selecting developers for Chobham Manor began in November 2011—so it was a process actually initiated by the OPLC. The OPLC received almost 65 expressions of interest in developing the site, which led to twelve pre-qualifying questionnaires being formally submitted by interested parties. Of these twelve parties, six were subsequently selected to submit an outline masterplan, an initial project execution plan, and preliminary financial information to the OPLC's (soon to be LLDC's) Investment Committee in March 2012. Following this Committee's evaluation of these submissions, three parties were invited to proceed to Competitive Dialogue: Taylor Wimpey and London and Quadrant; Barratt/Le Frak; and Countryside and East Thames Housing Association (LLDC 2012). An interviewee from London and Quadrant provided me with detailed information about how, in July 2012, the LLDC came to select London and Quadrant and Taylor Wimpey as the developers of Chobham Manor:

> The LLDC put out a competition [tender]…So we bid together for the site and following a fairly lengthy process—about 6 months—we were selected to deliver the housing on that site…[T]he competition had a number of elements. One was the, the land value that we could generate…whether we could guarantee to provide the affordable housing and the quality of the stock of the scheme...What we'd do to support nascent and then growing communities over time, and how we would fit into their legacy vision. So, there was a number of elements, each of which were weighted and scored, and the, and the aggregate score I guess for us proved to be higher than the others [13].

From this statement, it is evident that London and Quadrant and Taylor Wimpey have not so much been involved in 'co-producing' the overarching plans for Chobham Manor as they have been selected to deliver the LLDC's wishes for this site. Moreover, this statement reveals that the competitive dialogue operated as a powerful tool of governing for the LLDC. It empowered them to select the developer and housing association that had most greatly consented to pursue their wishes for Chobham Manor. Notably, a senior development projects officer at the LLDC highlighted that these wishes encompassed London and Quadrant and Taylor Wimpey ensuring that the LLDC would

significantly 'share in the growth over time' of land values at Chobham Manor [41]. Tellingly, the financial offer that bidders (to develop Chobham Manor) made to the OPLC/LLDC was the factor that OPLC/LLDC staff gave the highest weighting (28 percent) in their deliberations about who to select to develop Chobham Manor (see table 6.1).

Table 6.1. LLDC weightings attributed to elements of the competitive dialogue for Chobham Manor. Source: LLDC (2012).

Criteria	Weighting (%)
Financial offer (price percentage)	28
Scheme proposals and design approach	24
Delivery and implementation	21
Financial drivers	12
Alignment with OPLC priority themes	9
Funding	6

The LLDC would obtain 'an agreed percentage of the revenue received by the developer for the sales of all houses, apartments and commercial units (excluding revenue from affordable housing)' (GLA 2016). Unfortunately, London and Quadrant staff did not detail what this percentage was. This information was commercially confidential. Regardless, London and Quadrant staff's reflections on this process was valuable. These reflections illustrated that there is still an important distinction to be made between the quasi-public LLDC as a policymaking landowner, and the private institution of Taylor Wimpey and the housing association London and Quadrant[48] who have been selected to deliver the LLDC's wishes for their land. A senior design and planning officer for London & Quadrant stated that within this relationship, London and Quadrant and Taylor Wimpey had the capacity to take the LLDC's broad plans for Chobham Manor and interpret 'how those were going to translate into, into the scheme' [27]. However, the LLDC still retained the overriding capacity to officially 'okay' these interpretations as

---

[48]London and Quadrant have been structured into behaving like a private developer as it operates within a political climate which has seen slashes in central government funding for social and 'affordable' housing (Gardiner 2014; Hodkinson and Robbins 2013).

London and Quadrant and Taylor Wimpey's detailed plans for Chobham Manor had to be approved by the LLDC's PDC.

Significantly, these interpretations did not lead to any proposals to increase the 28 percent 'affordable' housing target for Chobham Manor. This senior design and planning officer emphasised that proposals were not made to increase the 'affordable' housing provision because 'affordable' housing 'requires subsidy, it doesn't actually generate positive cash flow', and because 'the levels of grant that are available these days' for 'affordable' housing is 'much diminished' than from before 2010 [27] (see section 4.2.3). This latter comment usefully reveals that serious efforts need to be made to pressure central government to ramp up national funding for 'affordable' housing so that developers/housing associations have no excuse for not earnestly providing 'affordable' housing.

6.5.3   Places for People staff's perspectives on their relations with the LLDC

In relation to East Wick, I was not able to speak to anyone from Balfour Beatty as nobody responded to my interview requests. However, I was able to speak to a Group Director for Places for People. They noted that Places for People and Balfour Beatty had a 'good working relationship' with the LLDC [47]. They also emphasised that within this relationship 'they [the LLDC] do challenge, we do challenge' [47]. Despite this, this Group Director suggested that by-and-large Places for People and Balfour Beatty held collaborative and close relations with the LLDC:

> What we do, what we have done from the start of the relationship is that we developed jointly with the LLDC a business plan for East Wick and Sweetwater. And that sets out quite clearly across all elements of the project what we're gonna be doing sort of over the next three years. And that's updated and reviewed and reported against [47].

However, in parts of the interview where we discussed the procurement process that led to Places for People and Balfour Beatty being selected as the developers of East Wick (and Sweetwater), a different governance relationship revealed itself. I heard again

about how the process enabled the LLDC to exert power in setting the overarching development agendas for East Wick (and Sweetwater).

In February 2013, the LLDC Board approved the acceleration of housing delivery at East Wick (and Sweetwater) by six years so that the whole development would be completed by 2023; it is important to emphasise that this is a decision which led to a drop in East Wick's 'affordable' housing target from 38 percent to 30 percent. The LLDC subsequently launched a procurement process on 17 November 2013 to select a development partner (to develop East Wick and Sweetwater). The LLDC again ran a Pre-Qualification Questionnaire to ascertain applicants' financial and economic standing. Subsequently, six applicants were selected to submit an outline masterplan, an initial project execution plan, and preliminary financial information to the LLDC's Investment Committee. This information was presented to this Investment Committee in May 2014. Subsequently, three consortia were shortlisted for Competitive Dialogue: Grainger; Mace, Argent and Peabody; and Places for People and Balfour Beatty.

At the LLDC's request, on 8 October 2014 these applicants submitted proposals to the LLDC about design, priority themes, delivery approach, structure and funding, legal agreements, and financial offer (GLA 2014b). I did a lot of digging through relevant LLDC Investment Committee reports to ascertain what weightings the LLDC attributed to each of these criteria. However, unlike with Chobham Manor, this information appeared to be held in documents that the general public were unable to view. I thought that this information would remain concealed within planning's 'black box' (McAllister et al. 2013). However, after conducting a freedom of information request I was able to gather the information I was after. The information I received (see Appendix 9) showed that the LLDC attributed identical weightings to the aforementioned criteria (see table 6.2) as the OPLC/LLDC had done in deliberations over who should develop Chobham Manor (see table 6.1). This meant that again the financial offer that bidders made to the LLDC was the factor that was given the highest weighting by the LLDC in their deliberations over which consortium should develop East Wick and Sweetwater. Thus, it was likely that the consortium that made the most favourable financial offer to the LLDC would be selected to develop East Wick and Sweetwater.

Indeed, on 11 November 2014 the LLDC's Investment Committee selected Places for People and Balfour Beatty as the Preferred Bidder as they 'scored highest in relation to financial offer', in addition to commercial drivers, design, and priority themes (GLA 2014b: 2). After the LLDC finalised a development agreement with Places for People and Balfour Beatty, and after Mayoral approval of the LLDC Investment Committee's decision, in March 2015 Places for People and Balfour Beatty were publicly announced as the developers of East Wick (and Sweetwater) (LLDC 2015h).

Table 6.2. LLDC weightings attributed to elements of the competitive dialogue for East Wick and Sweetwater. Source: See Appendix 9.

Criteria	Weighting (%)
Financial offer (price percentage)	28
Scheme proposals and design approach	24
Delivery and implementation	21
Financial/commercial drivers	12
Approach to delivering the LLDC's priority themes	9
Funding	6

Reflecting on this process, the Group Director I interviewed stated that the LLDC, as the procuring client:

> had very strongly defined views of what they wanted to deliver and how it fitted into the greater plan for the Park. So, compared to a lot of competitive dialogues that we've done, they knew what they wanted it to be…So, you're working in quite tight parameters on that. And I think that's true in terms of how they work across piece [47].

This comment again demonstrates how the competitive dialogue operated as a powerful tool that enabled the LLDC to generate private developer consent over the LLDC's wishes for two of its neighbourhoods. Additionally, this comment shows how the LLDC again exhibited a great amount of power to shape the agendas and objectives to be pursued within East Wick (and Sweetwater). This includes the objective to ensure that 30 percent of housing at East Wick is 'affordable'. Places for People's and Balfour Beatty's role has

largely been left to delivering, rather than co-producing these agendas and objectives; although Places for People and Balfour Beatty were apparently able to 'stamp quite a strong personality on, on the bid' [47].

This Group Director's comments also illustrated that although the financial return that the LLDC would make on East Wick (and Sweetwater) was not the LLDC's only concern, it certainly was a preeminent concern within LLDC ranks:

> we had to bid what percentage we'd offer them, of every home for sale which we sell…With the private rented they, we had to bid a percentage of the rents that we receive for a period of time, probably fifteen years after build…What they wanted to do with East Wick and Sweetwater was to get that combination of cash coming in, so capital receipts. But it gives them revenue every year from the rental share…So, we gave them the strongest commercial offer and their preferred design, and we won [47].

Unsurprisingly, the commercial offer that Places for People and Balfour Beatty made to the LLDC was 'commercially sensitive' [47].

In these responses, like with London and Quadrant staff's comments, the Group Director I interviewed usefully illuminated where the locus of power actually lay between the LLDC and private developers/housing associations in the production of plans for the new Olympic neighbourhoods. For East Wick, it is again evident that the LLDC has been the agenda setter, with Places for People and Balfour Beatty being selected, and consenting, to realise the LLDC's aspirations for this neighbourhood. Again, the LLDC's procurement process has centred the pursuit of profit-making agendas, in this context manifesting in a lower 'affordable' housing target for East Wick. Places for People and Balfour Beatty have been content to deliver the LLDC's reduced 'affordable' housing aspirations for these neighbourhoods, owing to three factors: (1) a mixture of the competitive dialogue process; (2) the private sector rationalities pervading these developers' own set ups; and (3) the fact that there is no government grant for 'affordable' housing on this scheme [47].

6.6   Reflections on the LLDC's relations with local communities

6.6.1   *LLDC perspectives on their relations with local communities*

My analysis so far has highlighted that the LLDC has heavily engaged with the Olympic host boroughs, the GLA, and developers/housing associations that are building the Olympic neighbourhoods on a more day-to-day level. LLDC staff that I spoke to also generally believe that the same holds true for local communities. Chapter five emphasised that one of the primary ways in which the LLDC has attempted to work collaboratively with local communities is through inviting them to participate in formal consultation exercises. A senior LLDC planning officer stated that in addition to this:

> what the LLDC does as a whole is quite a lot of, quite sophisticated community engagement work that is done over quite a long period of time in its current and previous guises to involve residents around the area in the plans that are developing things like the Legacy Communities Scheme [8].

This engagement work has primarily encompassed the LLDC organising local resident meetings [8]. Ethnographic research conducted in Hackney Wick and Stratford also showed that LLDC staff have attended and participated in meetings organised by local communities. As I will discuss more in chapter seven, I think this latter form of engagement is valuable as the LLDC are inserting themselves into spaces where local communities are able to set the agenda and have greater power to shape the direction of meeting discussions.

In essence, LLDC staff have claimed that the LLDC has attempted to develop relations with local communities that extend beyond engaging with them during stale consultation exercises. Some LLDC staff thus view the LLDC to be a 'responsible developer' that is working collaboratively with local communities, and empowering them to shape development plans for London's Olympic area [41]. However, there was also recognition from a senior LLDC regeneration officer that some communities 'don't think any of this [the LLDC's planning framework] is collaborative' [14], or empowering for them. This reflects concerns raised by some local community representatives in sections 5.5.3 and 5.5.5 about whether it has been useful for them to use the EiP as a

means to realise their broader aspirations for London's Olympic area. Indeed, this sentiment would be strongly articulated by many community representatives who spoke to me about their experiences of the LLDC's planning framework.

6.6.2   Community perspectives on their relations with the LLDC

LLDC staff have been generally content that they have been engaging meaningfully with local communities in the production of their development and regeneration plans. But, I was also keen to hear these communities', particularly marginalised communities', thoughts on this matter. I was particularly eager to speak to these communities as throughout the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process, and in community-run meetings, I had continually seen these communities express dissatisfaction with their level of involvement in producing the LLDC's plans. These communities also expressed huge dissatisfaction with the content of the LLDC's plans. Additionally, I was interested in hearing these communities' concerns about the governance dynamics surrounding housing and regeneration planning within the LLDC. However, I also wanted to hear their thoughts about potential positive aspects of these governance dynamics. Hearing these varied perspectives would enhance my understandings of which governance dynamics need to be built upon or transformed to empower these communities to ensure that their various social justice agendas occupy powerful spaces within the LLDC's planning framework.

As discussed in section 3.2.2, I was particularly interested to hear from HWFICIG members and GCNF members. Based on my field observations of public aspects of the LLDC's planning framework (e.g. the EiP and community meetings that the LLDC held), I was expecting to hear strong discontent from these community representatives about their respective roles within the LLDC's planning framework. However, to my surprise, some interviewees from these two groups regarded their relationship with the LLDC to be collaborative and positive, as these comments from Sam (GCNF member) and Grace (Hackney Wick resident) highlight[49]:

---

[49]Section 3.4.1.3 emphasised that the names I provide for community-level participants within my research are pseudonyms.

> They've been willing to engage, and are willing to engage at a senior level. We, we had…the previous head of planning and the present head of planning at meetings at Carpenters which was really, you know, a breath of fresh air. They've also been willing to enter into a dialogue and I, I was able to attend a meeting with I think it was the Vice Chair of the Development Corporation [18].

> I find them really engaging. I mean like, I've got a really good relationship with them. And they've been very supportive. And they've also sort of engaged me in things. So, you know they haven't just used me as a sort of consultation baton. You know, they've asked me to do workshops for them, and, you know that kind of thing. So, I've been quite, yeah, I think we've got quite a good relationship. And I think there's a sort of mutual trust and respect that we have. And I genuinely think that they want to help the community that they're not reaching. And that makes me feel positive about what they're doing [45].

These perspectives forced me to alter my own framing, at the time, of the relations between the LLDC and local communities within their boundary. Importantly, these perspectives gave me a greater appreciation of the varying degrees of contentment that some local community members had with the LLDC's planning framework.

Notably, for some community representatives, the LLDC have been more engaging than preceding Olympic institutions and surrounding LPAs. Although, amongst these representatives there are still concerns about the LLDC's engagement with local communities, as highlighted by the following comment from Felicia (GCNF member):

> So, with the LLDC they have been, well they have been engaging with us. You know, they have the workshops with us or they have set up workshops and stuff. So, it's nicer that they are making more of an effort! But, their, their last part of the plan that they put out kind of like shows that well they may be talking to us but we're not sure that we're actually making any real impact (laughter) [15].

Felicia's comment suggests that although the LLDC are engaging with surrounding communities, these engagements have not empowered communities to alter the LLDC's plans. As critical commentary on community participation in state planning has argued, participation does not necessarily equate with empowerment (Brownill and Carpenter 2007; Brownill and Parker 2010; London Tenants Federation et al. 2014).

In a similar vein, at several meetings which the LLDC ran for local residents, I heard community representatives express concerns about the way the LLDC were engaging with local communities. For example, in September 2014 I attended a meeting that the LLDC held for Greater Carpenters residents in Carpenters Primary School (nine residents attended). In this meeting, significant frustrations were expressed by a few residents about how these meeting spaces did not empower local residents to influence the direction of travel of the LLDC's plans. The meeting was actually held so that LLDC staff could *talk to* residents about the LLDC's existing plans for Greater Carpenters and the upcoming statutory consultation into the *Publication Local Plan*. Whilst disseminating this information was valuable, the fact that the meeting was not tailored towards *engaging in discussion and debate* about the LLDC's plans was a palpable source of frustration for some of the residents that were present. These residents were particularly perturbed that the only real space they were offered to comment on and critique the LLDC's plans was during consultations. They felt they had an 'impossible task' and found it unjust that they had to offer cogent critiques of the LLDC's plans in their spare time (during a six-week consultation period), whilst LLDC staff had about two years (in a full-time capacity) to produce their plans.

Similarly, Marta from the LGTU expressed disappointment with the LLDC's efforts to engage with local Gypsy and Traveller communities. She highlighted that the LLDC did not make any concrete efforts to seriously engage with local Gypsies and Travellers, with the LGTU taking the responsibility for brokering a meeting between the LLDC and local Gypsy and Traveller communities:

> [A]lthough in their statement of community involvement they had identified Gypsies and Travellers as a hard to reach group, there wasn't any sort of consultation or, you know, meetings or focus groups or anything set up with the community. So, the meeting that LGTU finally managed to arrange was a really, we didn't feel that was enough [59].

Moreover, Marta expressed concerns that the LLDC's lack of initiative in developing meaningful relationships with local Gypsies and Travellers is rooted in a broader state reticence to earnestly plan for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation:

> Well I just think as with any other local authority, it's not a priority providing Traveller sites. And, you know, the discourse that we're facing is that it's a really low density form of accommodation. It's very specialist. And, and, they don't feel it's proportional to spend a lot of, you know, time, effort, resources engaging with Gypsy and Traveller needs [59].

On a broader level, some community representatives have even suggested that the LLDC's limited forms of everyday engagement with local communities have not been benevolently designed to empower them to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. Rather, these forms of engagement are regarded by some community representatives as an unempowering 'tick-box' activity, as illustrated by these comments from Jordan, Dom and Temi:

> And what tends to happen in conversations with the, the LLDC planning department is they say that they 'have to listen to Newham' [16].

> they'd go away and your, your words wouldn't really make any much change to what they've done…So, really all they're trying to do is, of course as we know, it can be kind of a tick-box activity [22].

> I think any form of consultation that they've had has been poor. The LLDC's has been poor. Newham Council's has been poor. And I think they both work from the same template. And that template is, "we're the experts. We tell you when we're having the consultation. And we tell you the method of the consultation, and you turn up if you want to. We, we answer some of your questions, but we don't answer all of them. We know more than we can tell you, and you make of it what you will. But we've done the bare minimum and we can tick the boxes around consultation." There you go. That's their approach [17].

These quotes call into question LLDC staff's general assertions that they have worked collaboratively with communities, and empowered these communities to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. However, more importantly, these concerns, both in and of themselves, and alongside my analysis of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process, reify conceptual concerns I discussed in section 2.4.2 about community participation in state planning. Significantly, that community participation in planning is a 'tyranny' (Cooke and Kothari 2001), in the sense that inviting community participation 'gives the impression of empowerment' to communities while subsuming their participation to 'particular discourses and interests' (Brownill and Carpenter 2007: 621).

Additionally, that community participation in planning is encouraged by powerful state actors to engender community acquiescence/informal community consent for pre-determined top-down state neoliberal plans for their neighbourhood (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012; Rosol 2015). This informal consent has been gained by giving the impression that the LLDC's planning framework is democratic and participatory—in an empowering manner for communities—whilst simultaneously masking that many aspects of the LLDC's plans are not actually up for meaningful debate with community actors.

An important corollary is that the LLDC's existing governance relations with local communities are not designed to empower these communities to centre their development and regeneration needs, and the needs of wider east London working-class communities, within the LLDC's planning framework. Consequently, as argued in chapter five, serious doubts are raised about whether certain state planning spaces (e.g. consultation spaces) provide the appropriate vehicle for marginalised communities to try and privilege the pursuit of their social justice agendas (see chapters five and seven) within the LLDC's planning framework. This would suggest that communities within the LLDC's planning boundary need to pursue more innovative forms of engagement within and outside of state planning spaces to be able to powerfully impact on the LLDC's plans.

6.7   Conclusion

This chapter has primarily used interview material to discuss research participants' perspectives on the policy goals and governance actors that have shaped the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. These discussions have enabled me to further engage with **RQ1**. LLDC perspectives have suggested that their plans have been chiefly informed by a desire to distil benefits to local people [14]. Yet, there have also been some LLDC perspectives, as well as perspectives from a broad range of governance actors participating within the LLDC's planning framework, which have noted that the LLDC's housing plans have been a particularly important sphere for realising other policy goals. For instance, section 6.4.2 presented perspectives which argued that the LLDC's housing plans are influenced by GLA policy aspirations which seek to privilege the production of private sector housing. This coincides with the LLDC's own financial agenda which sees

them aim to use housing development within London's Olympic Park as a tool generate capital receipts that will allow them to pay £425m to the National Lottery. Section 6.5 demonstrated that this financial agenda has been a priority within the LLDC's plans for new Olympic neighbourhoods.

My discussions across this chapter have been important for furthering my engagement with my core theoretical tension in relation to **RQ1**. They provide support for chapter four's and chapter five's connected argument that within an English planning context the LLDC have been structured into privileging neoliberal policy goals—i.e. privileging the production of private sector housing and profit-making—within their housing plans. However, my discussions have also importantly enhanced understandings, provided within this thesis, of the current manifestation of planning under neoliberalism. My brief comparison of the LLDC context with the LDDC context has revealed that housing planning is a particularly pronounced sphere where neoliberal policy goals are being realised within planning. I argued that this transition reflects the broader and intensified marketisation and financialisation of housing that has taken place nationally and internationally since the 1980s (Edwards 2016).

Within this chapter, I also furthered my thesis' engagement with **RQ2**. In section 6.3, this engagement has seen me demonstrate, as chapter four and five have argued, that the Olympic host boroughs have been able to exert some (and varied) influence over the LLDC's plans. But, in section 6.4 (again in keeping with arguments in chapter four and five) I also presented perspectives which argued that the GLA have had a significant bearing on the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. Whilst chapter five showed how the GLA have been able to exert this influence 'from a distance', this chapter highlighted that the GLA have been able to exert this influence 'from within' the LLDC through Boris Johnson's previous role as the chair of the LLDC Board. His position had, for example, enabled him to ensure that the LLDC followed *The London Plan's* policy stance to particularly promote the production of private rented housing [41]. However, my discussions in section 6.4 also presented perspectives which have argued that the Olympic host boroughs have actually been shaping Mayoral perspectives on the broad policy goals that housing and regeneration plans for London's Olympic area should achieve. As another point of interest, section 6.5 also demonstrated the influence that

the LLDC have had, relative to private developers/housing associations, in setting plans for new Olympic neighbourhoods. This section, and as a modification to Raco's (2012) argument on this issue, has demonstrated that there are still important distinctions to me made in some cases between public (or quasi-public) policymakers and private providers of policy.

But, my discussions in relation to governance actors have chiefly allowed me to build my engagement with the core tension I am exploring in relation to **RQ2**. They have affirmed my arguments in chapters four and five that English planning's hierarchical multi-level system of governing does create top-down, and enable horizontal, relations of influence between planning actors. Within the specifics of my research context, the GLA have been able to exert top-down, and the Olympic host boroughs horizontal, relations of influence from both outside and within the LLDC's institutional structure. Additionally, perspectives provided in section 6.4 provide much stronger support for relational perspectives which argue that hierarchical forms of multi-level governing do allow for important bottom-up relations of influence (Jessop 2004; Marks 1993). Jessop's (2004) strategic-relational approach can help me in thinking through how this governance dynamic has materialised as his framework directs attention towards exploring how broader social, economic and political issues affect governance relations. In my context, this bottom-up relationship emerging can be explained through recognising that although the Olympics was meant to a vehicle to realise the GLA's strategic visions for London, it was also meant to realise the Olympic host boroughs' aspirations for east London (Mayor of London 2011).

In this chapter, I have also furthered my engagement with **RQ3**. I have done so by providing LLDC perspectives and community-level actors' perspectives on community participation within the LLDC's planning framework. Discussions in section 6.6 have demonstrated that generally the LLDC think that their planning framework has been open for communities to participate within it. Community perspectives I presented do indeed support this LLDC perspective. However, community representatives I interviewed also found their engagement within the LLDC's planning framework to be unsatisfactory as it was not empowering for their collective planning agendas. In other words, they did not think that the LLDC's instances of engaging with them were chiefly

designed to enable them to shape, challenge and/or transform the LLDC's development and regeneration plans.

These community-level perspectives have significant and challenging implications for my initial arguments (presented in chapter five's conclusion) about the core tension I am exploring in relation to **RQ3**. They suggest a need to take a more critical stance on the limitations and possibilities that the LLDC's consultations have offered communities to influence their plans. It is important to more strongly recognise that although the community-level actors have had capacity to use their participation within LLDC consultations to do more than just acquiesce to the LLDC's preferred plans, outcomes for them have still been highly unsatisfactory. Consequently, it must be recognised that communities having the capacity to challenge top-down government plans within consultations does not automatically lead to a reconfiguration of the power-relations that lead to the continued marginalisation of their development and regeneration aspirations in the aftermath of a consultation. Evidently, more is necessary.

Overall, this chapter has deepened my engagement with the chief argument that I am exploring with regards to English planning's operation as a system of governmentality. I have used interview material to provide stronger support for the argument that English planning's key technologies of governing have structured the LLDC into privileging neoliberal policy goals. As an extension from previous chapters, I have additionally highlighted that currently housing planning is a key sphere where neoliberal policy goals are being realised within English planning. Furthermore, I have presented arguments which suggest that the privileging of neoliberal policy goals within local-level planning is not just shaped top-down or horizontal relations of influence between national-, metropolitan-, and local-level planning actors, but also by bottom-up relations of influence. Critically, though, community perspectives I presented argued that bottom-up relations of influence have not extended as far as communities being empowered to use their participation within the LLDC's planning framework to powerfully shape the LLDC's plans. As a result of this expressed concern, my final empirical chapter moves my discussion on to critically reflecting on alternative methods of action that communities have been adopting to try and powerfully influence planning within the LLDC's boundary.

Chapter seven: Community-level planning action within the LLDC area and London

The master's tools cannot dismantle the master's house, but perhaps when strategically used, they can allow those on the outside to occupy the master's house (Roy 2005: 155).

7.1   Introduction

In chapter six, I presented a variety of community actors' perspectives on their participation within the LLDC's planning framework. These perspectives emphasised that whilst the LLDC have invited communities to participate within their *Local Plan* production process and their planning framework, there are important questions to be asked about how empowering this participation has been for communities. There are notable concerns about the extent to which participation within the LLDC's planning framework has enabled communities to have their respective development and regeneration needs and aspirations to be privileged within the LLDC's plans. These perspectives build on my analysis in chapter five which demonstrated that communities participating within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process were able to engender only marginal alterations to some LLDC plans. In chapter six's conclusion, I stated that further actions were necessary to enable the development and regeneration needs and aspirations of the communities I have researched to be privileged within the LLDC's plans. Consequently, this chapter explores further actions that community groups within my research context have been conducting.

This chapter is dedicated to engaging with **RQ3**, particularly the latter aspect of this research question. This latter aspect opens explorations of how communities are complementing their participation within the LLDC's statutory consultations with other forms of action. In section 7.2, I address this issue in two ways. Firstly, I examine how the HWFICIG have attempted to use their meetings as a vehicle to shape affordable workspace plans for Hackney Wick. Secondly, I examine how the GCNF are using neighbourhood planning, and have used a variety of other actions, to try and shape statutory housing and regeneration plans for Greater Carpenters. Within these discussions, I consider the benefits and limitations of the forms of engagement/action

that I discuss. This will provide me with a platform to consider whether the forms of engagement/action that I discuss have/can assist these groups in having more powerful impacts on planning within the LLDC's planning boundary.

To further my engagement with **RQ3**, I also consider what can be learnt from other relevant cases about forms of engagement/action that may assist in enabling the HWFICIG's and GCNF's development and regeneration needs and aspirations to be privileged within the LLDC's plans. In this regard, section 7.3 critically reflects on lessons that can be learnt from Focus E15's campaign in relation to the Carpenters Estate. This discussion reflects on the potential role that creative direct action may play in supporting the GCNF's existing work. In section 7.4, I examine Just Space's recent efforts to impact on London-wide planning. This focus stems from my identification, in previous chapters, of the prominent structuring role that that the GLA have had on the LLDC's plans. Thus, my discussion reflects on whether Just Space's forms of engagement/action can assist them in powerfully shaping the GLA's broad plans, which will have knock-on effects for future LLDC plans.

My discussions across this chapter show that each of the community groups I discuss are addressing problems that they believe exist with the ways in which state actors are planning for their respective areas of concern. Notably, they are each doing so through mobilising social justice agendas. I seek to identify what a social justice agenda has come to mean within each of their contexts. This identification will demonstrate that what a social justice agenda means within each group has been shaped by their perceptions of a 'wrong'/'wrongs' that they aim to remedy. This will show that the specifics of what a social justice agenda entails evolves and varies from group to group. However, within the variations I outline, I discuss whether they together support the argument mobilised in section 2.2.3 that a social justice agenda within planning is broadly something that encompasses issues to do with just processes, empowerment and just outcomes.

However, my discussions across this chapter chiefly aim to assist my engagement with the core tension I am exploring in relation to **RQ3**. Consequently, an overriding concern within subsequent sections is thinking about how conceptualisations of the limitations and possibilities associated with community participation in statutory planning is

affected when this participation is viewed relationally—i.e. when analysing this participation as part of a broader repertoire of multi-faceted action. In this chapter, I aim to highlight some ways in which the forms of action that I discuss can complement and bolster forms of participation in statutory planning that aim to shape and transform state-level development and regeneration plans. Notably, I argue that some limitations to participation in statutory planning can be addressed, and the possibilities of this participation can be enhanced, by situating this participation within a multi-faceted strategy of engagement/action. This is a chief way that I argue that communities can use state planning tools to 'occupy' the state's planning 'house' in productive ways (Roy 2005).

This chapter concludes by considering the implications of my discussions for literature that I am engaging with relation to community participation in planning. I discuss what insights can be brought to bear on Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced critiques and critical pragmatist perspectives (through the lens of Roberto Unger (2007)) on community participation in statutory forms of governance. I also briefly reflect on what my discussions can tell us about Fainstein's (2009a) and Marcuse's (2009a) perspectives on what a social justice agenda encompasses in relation to planning. Significantly, I also discuss how this chapter's analysis impacts on the overarching argument that my thesis examines with regards to English planning's operation as a system of governmentality.

7.2   Activism within the LLDC's planning boundary

7.2.1   The HWFICIG and community action within Hackney Wick and Fish Island

As highlighted in section 3.2.2.3, my chief avenue for exploring community action in Hackney Wick was to study the activities of the HWFICIG. Prior to this research, a senior LLDC regeneration officer noted that the HWFICIG was a prominent community group that the LLDC were positively engaging with [14]. Given these comments, I wanted to hear for myself how positive the relations were between the HWFICIG and the LLDC. I also wanted to see the extent to which the relations that the HWFICIG held with the LLDC empowered this community group to shape the LLDC's plans for Hackney Wick (and Fish

Island). I was able to interview one HWFICIG member, Michael.[50] He stated that the HWFICIG had 'built up over a number of years' productive long-term relationships with the LLDC [36]. One key way the HWFICIG have developed these long-term relations is through inviting LLDC staff to attend the group's monthly meetings. Michael stated that through these meetings the HWFICIG have been 'getting traction at a senior level in the LLDC' [36].

I was permitted to attend several HWFICIG meetings over the nine months that I conducted research on this group. The HWFICIG's meetings were itinerant—these meetings took place at various business and community spaces within Hackney Wick and Fish Island on the second Friday of every month. These meetings were well attended— of the meetings I attended, there were anywhere between 20 and 35 people in attendance. In addition to local artists and creative and cultural sector workers being in attendance, a couple of representatives from the LLDC, and representatives from Hackney Council and Tower Hamlets Council also regularly attended. There tended to be a relatively even gender balance amongst those in attendance, but there was a lack of ethnic diversity amongst attendees, and most of those in attendance seemed to have a middle-class background. I was worried that my presence within these meetings and my research would act as a hindrance to discussions within meetings. But, as with similar concerns I had in relation to the EiP (see section 5.5.1), my presence and my research interests did not appear to inhibit discussion.

From attending meetings, it was evident that some HWFICIG members were cognisant of the fact that the HWFICIG was not representative of the diverse ethnic, residential and business communities living in Hackney Wick and Fish Island (see London Borough of Hackney 2015). In fact, in a meeting in March 2015, HWFICIG members had long and tense existential discussions about the HWFICIG, its governance, what its aims should be, and its composition. In this latter regard, discussions reflected the difficulty I highlighted in section 2.4.1 of identifying precisely who or what constitutes a specific community (Healey 2006; Peterman 2000). In this meeting, many members thought that for the HWFICIG to be representative of the Hackney Wick and Fish Island community, it

---

[50]Sections 3.4.1.1 and 3.4.1.3 explained that I will be using pseudonyms for community representatives that I mention by name.

needed to encompass and represent the interests of a wider array of Hackney Wick and Fish Island's residential and business communities (e.g. Hackney Wick and Fish Island's various working-class residents and businesses within industrial sectors). These wishes that many members expressed seemed important insofar as the HWFICIG would potentially become a more powerful force for enacting change in pre-existing development plans for Hackney Wick and Fish Island. Indeed, I heard in interviews about some small successes that a broad coalition of residents and businesses in Hackney Wick and Fish Island had in altering development plans for a residential-led mixed-use development project in Fish Island called Neptune Wharf.

In November 2012, the Neptune Group submitted initial development proposals to the LLDC (for Neptune Wharf). The Neptune Group wanted to provide nearly 800 homes with zero affordable housing (Neptune Group 2012; LLDC 2013g). Tower Hamlets Council and the GLA were perturbed by these proposals and sought to transform them during the pre-application consultations into these proposals. A collection of residents and workers within Hackney Wick and Fish Island were also dismayed by these proposals. Notably, in the second round of pre-application consultations (in May 2013), a collection of nearly 30 residents and workers within Hackney Wick and Fish Island submitted critiques of the Neptune Group's initial plans. Comments included people saying: that 'there's not enough social housing'; asking 'where's the green space?' [22]; and raising objections about the development's height and density (Affordable Wick 2013). According to Dom from the HWFICIG, these collective comments, and comments from Tower Hamlets Council and the GLA, forced the Neptune Group to go back to the LLDC's planning department in October 2013 with amended plans [22]. The Neptune Group proposed to: increase the level of open space in the scheme; lower the minimum building height parameters; reduce the number of units in the development (down to 522 homes)[51]; and increase the 'affordable' housing target up from zero percent to three percent.

Of course, the Neptune Group's increase in the 'affordable' housing target for Neptune Wharf was nothing to celebrate. The fact that contestations from powerful state actors like the GLA and Tower Hamlets Council only enforced a tokenistic increase in Neptune

---

[51]These homes will be delivered by Peabody Housing Association after they purchased the Neptune Wharf site in April 2014. Peabody are now planning to deliver 578 homes on this site (CMA Planning 2015).

Wharf's 'affordable' housing target speaks volumes about the power that the Neptune Group's development interests had over local residents' aspirations. Despite this, it is still important to recognise that community contestations did prompt the Neptune Group to amend the scheme's overall housing numbers, building height parameters, and open space provision. This indicates that there is some benefit (albeit limited) that communities derive by participating within state planning. Additionally, these changes that were engendered can lead us to optimistically believe that more far-reaching changes could have been made to the Neptune Group's 'affordable' housing plans by a bigger, more powerful and strategically minded collection of residents and workers.

Despite the potential for the HWFICIG to be empowered by broadening and diversifying its membership base, during the meeting in March 2015 some HWFICIG members were resolute that the HWFICIG should remain a cultural and creative sector 'business-to-business' forum. Significantly, that is how the HWFICIG remained, much to the disappointment of some existing and former HWFICIG members:

> I think, it's just, it's vital really to have a genuine community group that can look in on itself and go who are we? What are the things we actually need and want in that, rather than a kind [of] more business to business group that already exists which is really about opportunity, opportunity, opportunity [22].

> So, you know in a sense it's, it's become probably almost what it was fighting against, because it's become, it's, it's a gentrified forum which is income generating and it is a business now which is not what it was intended to be in the first place [45].

These concerns certainly reflect an important point: we cannot universally conceptualise communities as being bastions of social justice agendas that work always in opposition to neoliberal agendas and rationalities. Despite these concerns about the more commercial intent informing the HWFICIG's activities, I was still keen to see what HWFICIG members were doing in meetings to try and get social justice considerations to be prioritised within the LLDC's planning framework. In particular, because, as noted by Grace (a former HWFICIG member), the HWFICIG had been simultaneously viewed as being a community vehicle 'trying to combat, combat some of the issues and problems that people [face]' [45].

Each meeting agenda was drawn up by a HWFICIG member, after HWFICIG members had suggested agenda items, by email, for the next meeting. Meetings were chaired by different HWFICIG members each month. These features of the meetings meant that HWFICIG members possessed the power to dictate what would be discussed at meetings, whose voices would be given prominence, and thus retained the power to shape the nature of discussions. Possessing this power was vital in ensuring that discussions that HWFICIG members had with each other, and the LLDC and LPA representatives that were present, took place on HWFICIG members' terms.

To draw from Sherry Arnstein's (1969) framework, these meeting spaces thus represented a potential movement away from tokenistic to more citizen-controlled forms of community participation in planning. Despite this movement, there were various instances within HWFICIG meetings where LLDC, Hackney Council and Tower Hamlets Council representatives dominated discussions and the direction of these discussions. This power dynamic reflects concerns articulated by Lipietz (2008) in relation to participatory and collaborative forms of urban governance. Lipietz (*ibid*) argues that even within these forms of governance it can be difficult to shake off existing external and unequal power relations, in terms of whose voices are given prominence and thus who has power to dominate debates. However, these meetings did still perform an important function for HWFICIG members. They were still largely able to continuously articulate their concerns and aspirations about the LLDC's plans for Hackney Wick and Fish Island. This is rather than just at 'key stages' within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process (see figure 5.1 in section 5.2).

One chief issue that HWFICIG members would continuously question LLDC staff about was the LLDC's plans for providing genuinely affordable workspace within Hackney Wick and Fish Island. This issue was situated within a commonly held concern amongst HWFICIG members that affordable workspace may be threatened as a result of housing development pressures in Hackney Wick (see section 5.5.4):

> Yeah, I, I think...build more workspace and industry, and there's definitely people who need that. At least it's jobs. Housing's kind of coming in no matter what. The Olympic Park's gonna bring loads. They've already cleaned the Olympic Park and turned it into [a] development paradise. So, in terms

of like Hackney Wick, it's still really special and I feel like it should be retained [22].

The issue of affordable workspace was most lengthily debated at the HWFICIG's July 2015 meeting. A few HWFICIG members were particularly questioning LLDC staff about what the LLDC's percentage definition of affordable workspace—'75 per cent of historic market rent for the previous year for the equivalent floorspace in the same area for an equivalent…[u]se' (LLDC 2014a: 35)—translated as numerically. HWFICIG members also demanded to hear what the LLDC were doing to adopt a needs-based approach to retaining the genuinely affordable workspace that is being used by artists and cultural and creative sector workers. For this group a needs-based approach was one where ability to pay, rather than market rates had chief influence over determining affordable workspace rates.

The former issue over affordable workspace was ignited because some HWFICIG members discovered that workspace within Here East—a new creative and media centre in Hackney Wick—was being rented out at £25 per square foot; these members thought that affordable workspace should be £8 per square foot. In response to these concerns, a LLDC representative emphasised the LLDC's position that genuinely affordable workspace was £8 per square foot. But, they also stated that the LLDC needed information from local artists and cultural and creative sector workers about what they were paying for workspace. Having this information would enable LLDC staff to see whether their idea of affordable workspace matched up with local artists' and cultural and creative sector workers' ability to pay for workspace. HWFICIG members seemed generally content with this response. It signalled an ostensible intent from the LLDC to work collaboratively with HWFICIG members to plan for affordable workspace in a way amenable to local artists and cultural and creative sector workers. It seemed like the space of HWFICIG meetings had empowered HWFICIG members to have influence over the LLDC's affordable workspace plans for Hackney Wick and Fish Island. Indeed, Michael has argued that HWFICIG meetings have been an empowering space for HWFICIG members to get 'a massive commitment from the LLDC' to provide long-term genuinely affordable workspace [36]. But, further research will need to be conducted on the actual rent levels of future affordable workspace that is provided within Hackney Wick and Fish

Island. This will allow an assessment of whether the LLDC's planning policy framework is enabling the HWFICIG's affordable workspace aspirations for this area to be realised.

In relation to the second affordable workspace issue that was raised by HWFICIG members, a look at the LLDC's 'Providing low-cost and managed workspace' policy (policy B.4: see figure 7.1) indicates a disconnect between the HWFICIG's desires and the LLDC's actual plans. Policy B.4 states that existing affordable workspace within the LLDC's boundary will be retained only 'where viable and where it complements wider plans for the area' (*ibid*: 34), rather than where retaining affordable workspace is contributing to meeting identified workspace needs.

Figure 7.1. The LLDC's low-cost and managed workspace policy. Source: (LLDC 2015a: 34).

Clearly, in the transition from HWFICIG meeting spaces to the LLDC's planning department, HWFICIG members' needs-based approach to existing affordable workspace had been diluted. This dilution illustrates the need for community representatives to also occupy powerful positions within the LLDC's planning 'house' on a more everyday level. Occupying the LLDC's 'house' at this level may enable community

representatives to *continually* pressure LLDC staff into promoting their collective development and regeneration needs and aspirations within LLDC plans. However, local community representatives would be unlikely to be able to carry out this role in a voluntary capacity. Indeed, Dom from the HWFICIG, although jokingly, suggested that it may beneficial for the realisation of the HWFICIG's social justice agendas in relation to affordable workspace if the LLDC did 'employ us' [22].

Leaving aside questions about the likelihood of the LLDC actually employing local community representatives, what is more of a concern is whether this situation would be automatically beneficial for social justice. As Ananya Roy (2005: 155) asks '[i]s it possible to be subversive when there is such complicity with the system?' Notably, a community representative I spoke to, who is actually participating in the OPDC's (the second MDC) consultations, questioned how useful having a community representative on the OPDC's Board has been for promoting the development and regeneration needs of the communities living and working within the OPDC area [44].

Additionally, there is the concern that community representatives that come to work within the LLDC's 'house' could over time become co-opted into the LLDC's 'wider governmentalities of neoliberal politics' (Williams et al. 2012: 1479). This may more smoothly subordinate their social concerns to wider financial rationales and economic agendas. Still, I think Dom's joking suggestion was an interesting one. It would be worth communities in Hackney Wick and Fish Island at least having conversations with one another, and the LLDC, about whether operating in the state's planning 'house' on a more day-to-day basis could be a strategically useful and empowering tool for them and their social justice agendas.

7.2.2 The GCNF and community action within Greater Carpenters

My chief avenue for exploring community activism within Greater Carpenters was to conduct ethnographic research on the GCNF. As discussed in section 1.1, the GCNF was formed in July 2014. But, it was not until one year later (in July 2015) that the GCNF was officially designated as a neighbourhood forum by the LLDC's Board. The GCNF's 100 plus

membership base[52] is comprised of a wide variety of residents (freeholders, leaseholders, private renters and council tenants) and workers (e.g. NHS staff and owner of a local pub) within Greater Carpenters. Since the GCNF's inception, according to Sam from the GCNF, GCNF members have been pursuing a social justice agenda which comprises enabling broad sections of the Greater Carpenters community to come together to have 'a proper say in the shape of their community in the future' [18]. This agenda also comprises:

> Protect[ing] existing homes [in Greater Carpenters] and ensur[ing] they are kept in a good condition. Add[ing] new homes [in Greater Carpenters] where this supports and strengthens our community and meets identified needs - particularly for low-cost rented, family sized, older and disabled people's homes (GCNF 2016b: 2).

Evidently, the GCNF's social justice agenda is different from that being pursued by the HWFICIG. This difference stems from the different social identities that comprise these two groups. The HWFICIG is made up of artists and cultural and creative sector workers, and the main threat to their livelihoods, as a result of the LLDC's plans, relates to the potential loss of affordable workspace. However, the GCNF is largely comprised of working class residents, and the main threat to their livelihood, as a result of the LLDC's plans, is the loss of their secure and genuinely affordable homes. Still, these two social justice agendas were united in the sense that they both incorporated the value that planning should primarily facilitate the realisation of the collective development and regeneration needs of communities.

Working-class members of the GCNF come from the Carpenters Estate; these members comprise the core component of the GCNF's membership base. Section 5.5.5 has outlined some of the problems that Carpenters residents past and present have faced (and continue to face) because of Newham Council's aspirations to redevelop the Estate. Newham Council's enduring efforts to redevelop the Estate reached a highpoint between 2012 and 2013 when they and UCL wanted to develop a UCL campus on top of a demolished Carpenters Estate. In response to these aspirations, Carpenters residents employed a diversity of tactics to resist Newham Council's (and UCL's) plans. As

---

[52]As of January 2016, there were 108 GCNF members.

interviews with Carpenters Estate residents revealed, these diverse tactics have encompassed: setting up a campaign group called Carpenters Against Regeneration Plans (C.A.R.P) (see C.A.R.P 2016), lobbying local government, media campaigns, letter writing, participation in planning consultations, and producing a community plan. Adopting a multi-faceted strategy seemed politically astute given that multiple state influences and state tools are being utilised to try and force through the redevelopment of the Carpenters Estate. Indeed, in interviews I conducted with Carpenters Estate residents, they saw it as necessary to employ various channels to 'speak out' and 'fight' against the various structural influences and Robin Wales' influences on Newham Council's plans for the Estate [17, 48].

In their multi-faceted fight to protect the Estate, Carpenters residents received solidarity and support from community organisations like Just Space and London Tenants Federation, as well as UCL students. Residents that I spoke to found this solidarity and support invaluable in helping them with their cause:

> I think they've helped us to feel as if we are able to do something. I think it's been a major factor. And in more practical terms on, on the actual you know processes and how, you know, we engage in the…mechanisms. Cos it's immense, this whole planning thing, they're so bureaucratic [16].

> I think it's great [receiving support and solidarity from others] because it kind of, you see to me, it kind of lights up the flame again. Where the flame was going down, it kind of ignites it again and it makes you want to, you're not alone kind of thing [53].

These comments from Jordan and Janet importantly highlight the political impacts that solidarity from other organisations can have on bolstering a community's campaign (Brecher et al. 2002).

When speaking further with Carpenters Estate residents, they even expressed the belief that their diverse actions, with the support of other community organisations, have helped to prevent the Estate's wholesale redevelopment, as emphasised by this comment from Temi (Carpenters Estate resident):

It was essential…So there was a need for [a] campaign, and being proactive and outspoken, and through media action because of what was happening with the UCL, and trying to derail that, and expose what the Newham Council were doing, which worked [17].

However, some residents did think that the Estate not being redeveloped thus far has predominantly 'boiled down to' financial problems (e.g. who would be responsible for paying CPO money to Carpenters Estate residents), rather than the influence of residents' 'direct actions' [16]. Indeed, it has been widely reported that UCL shied away from pursuing the redevelopment of Carpenters Estate on financial grounds (Klettner 2013). Incidentally, such reports intimate towards potential actions that can help protect the Carpenters Estate from redevelopment. If necessary, and given the right capacity, it may be expedient for Carpenters residents to adopt tactics that will hit the pockets of Newham Council or any potential suitors they find to redevelop the Carpenters Estate.

Notably, a senior regeneration officer at the LLDC suggested to me that although UCL had issues with redeveloping the Carpenters Estate within an 'acceptable…budget', Carpenters Estate residents' activism also contributed to the 'cold feet' that UCL developed over their proposed redevelopment of the Estate [14]. This perspective adds weight to some residents' belief that applying various points of attack has so far been a successful tactic of resistance for them. It seems imperative that residents employ a similar diversity of tactics, when necessary, and if, as Jordan (Carpenters Estate resident) noted, 'resources are available' to do so [46], in their fight to protect the Estate from Newham Council's development aspirations. Currently, though, efforts by Carpenters residents to protect the Estate, and see empty homes on the Estate be refurbished and inhabited, are chiefly being pursued through neighbourhood planning. This pursuit is part of Carpenters residents', and the wider Greater Carpenters community's, efforts to articulate their collective aspirations for Greater Carpenters. This pursuit is couched within an extremely popular uptake of neighbourhood planning in London. Within London, as of June 2015, 56 groups had been designated as a neighbourhood forum, with a further 35 groups either applying for designation or expressing a formal interest in neighbourhood planning (figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2. London neighbourhood forums – June 2015. Source: London First et al. (2015).
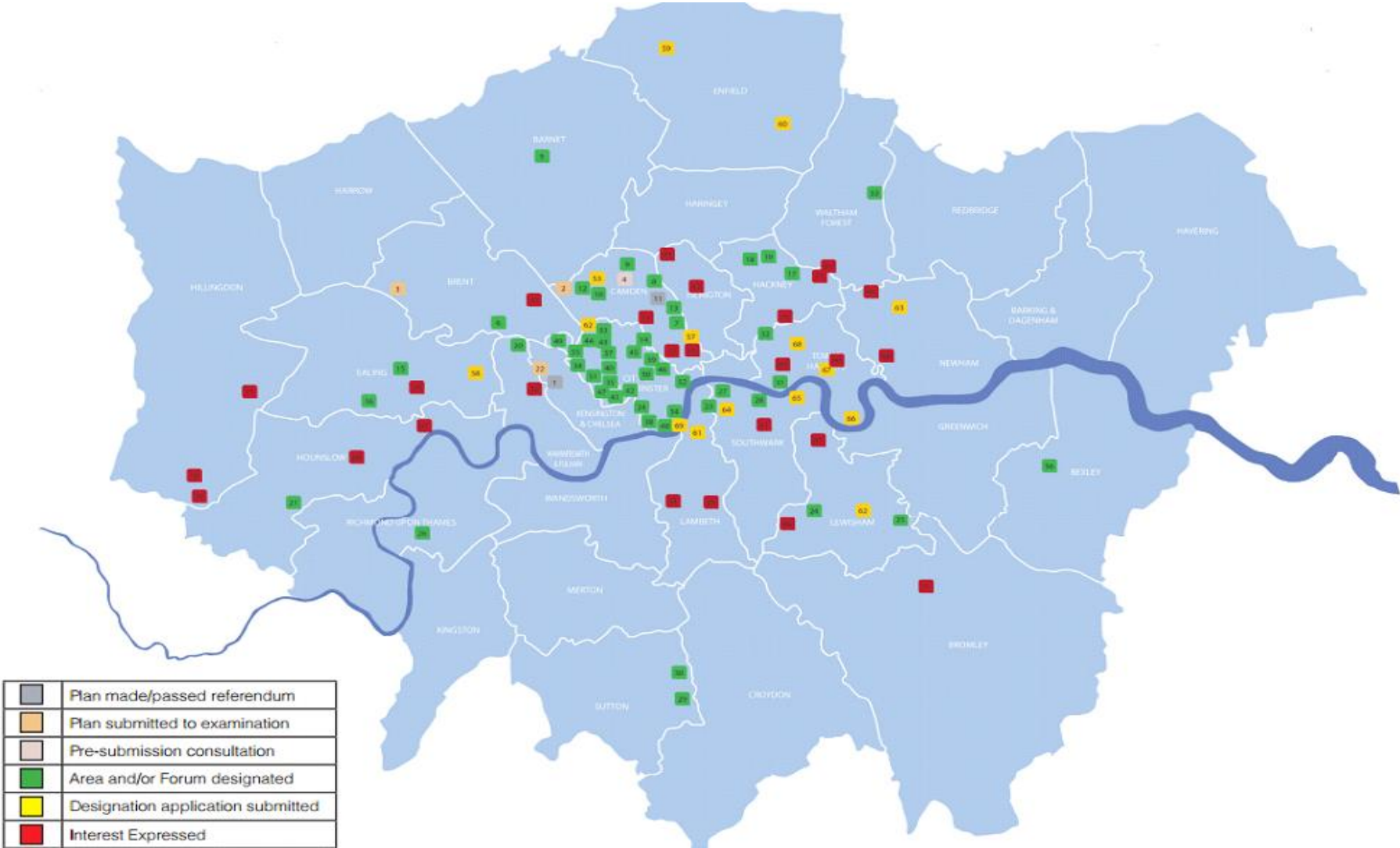
So, why the turn to neighbourhood planning? In what ways is this state planning tool being strategically used by the GCNF to occupy a powerful space within development and regeneration planning in London's Olympic area? I was particularly keen to gain answers to these questions considering the strong reservations that some critical planning scholars have expressed about the potential of neighbourhood planning (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012; Davoudi and Mandanipour 2013; Parker et al. 2015). I began to get answers to these questions at the first GCNF meeting at the Building Crafts College, Carpenters Estate in July 2014. Just over 30 people attended this meeting. A variety of residential interests, business interests, and representatives from other community organisations attended. Unlike with HWFICIG meetings, there was a conspicuous ethnic diversity amongst those in attendance; a microcosm reflecting Newham's ethnic diversity (Qpzm 2015). This diversity was a welcome sight considering that ethnic minorities are often marginalised from planning processes in England (Beebeejaun 2012; Thomas 2000).

There was a modest buzz in the air amongst attendees as they keenly awaited hearing what use neighbourhood planning may be for the GCNF. At the start of the meeting, Felicia from the GCNF (who was co-facilitating the meeting) duly obliged:

> I think we should make a Forum because over the years we've had lots and lots of master planners come and go and tell us what they think their vision of what the area could be. And I think that this is an excellent opportunity for us, ourselves, to say what we think of our estate, what our vision of our estate is, and to be actually involved in the planning process of it. So, that's why I think that we should all embrace the thought of a Neighbourhood Plan.

Supplementing this perspective, GCNF members that I interviewed (Temi and Janet) stated that the time was right to pursue neighbourhood planning as:

> what we're now in the phase of is…having what we feel is a stake on the estate. And the way to have a stake on the estate is through…the Neighbourhood Forum and also the Neighbourhood Plan, because it's really what would be…the essential part [of] moving forward as an estate [17].

> it was like when and how do we fight it? And that's when the Forum came into play [53].

Phrases such as 'we're now in the phase of', 'how do we fight', and 'moving forward' are certainly evocative of the sort of thinking that is promoted by Roberto Unger's (2007) radical pragmatism framework. It would appear that GCNF members have thought long and hard about the intellectually and politically appropriate 'next steps' to try and ensure that their aspirations are central to the eventual development plans pursued within Greater Carpenters. Critically, these perspectives also follow Roy's (2005: 155) position that a strategic use of the master's tools 'can allow those on the outside to occupy the master's house', potentially in an empowering manner.

But is neighbourhood planning the appropriate next step? Does neighbourhood planning represent a strategic and empowering use of state planning tools for communities that wish to privilege the pursuit of their social need agendas within development plans for their neighbourhood? As section 2.4.2 discussed, this is a question which has been hotly debated within planning literature. Some commentators have noted that neighbourhood planning is hailed as radical, exciting and empowering for communities (Parker 2012). Indeed, some GCNF members thought that neighbourhood planning would empower them to realise their aspirations for Greater Carpenters, as illustrated by these comments from Janet and Sam:

> It gives the people a voice. It gives them the opportunity to help plan the future of the area they're living in. And yeah…an influence into what happens whereas before, all that didn't exist. You know you're dealing with a juggernaut that's gonna do what it needs to do. But now at least there's people out there saying "hang on. Stop. We have a different view, or we have a different idea. We want this to happen rather than this" [53].

> I think a neighbourhood plan can do lots of things…It can bring together the residents of the original estate and the residents of the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood…It's, it's also a way of actually giving people a proper say in the shape of their community in the future, within, within I think generally sensible guidelines [18].

Supplementing and supporting these perspectives were my observations that once the GCNF had been formally designated as a neighbourhood forum, LLDC planning officers actually started to attend some GCNF meetings. Thus, post designation, GCNF members have been able to engage with LLDC planning officers more regularly and in their own

spaces. But, time will tell whether this increased level of engagement will bear fruit for the GCNF and its members' collective aspirations.

Despite these potential benefits to neighbourhood planning, it still has numerous detractors. One problem that neighbourhood planning has not escaped is that it can still be pervaded by unequal power relationships. The corollary is that the most powerful community representatives, 'those most articulate' in planning-speak, or 'those who shout the loudest' will have undue power in steering the direction of travel of a forum's neighbourhood plan (Gallent and Robinson 2012: 191). Additionally, there are concerns that only a small group will be actively involved in producing the neighbourhood plan. Candid reflections on the GCNF's limitations by Jordan and Janet suggested that these conceptual concerns had materialised within the GCNF's context:

> The way the Forum is at the moment is there are personalities which, myself included, which seem to take most of the stage. And, and so I think one of the things that we need to do, and especially me, is find ways to encourage people who don't say much to, to be involved more [46].

> I'd like the Forum…to gather momentum with the people that live on the Estate…In the new year, we need to really start, and I think maybe that is one of the things I would voice. Because I go to the meetings and I'm not actually voicing them cos I'm just listening to everybody [53].

It was positive to see these issues being raised within GCNF meetings towards the end of my research. Within these meetings, it seemed like there were earnest efforts by GCNF members to ensure that no one person or group of people dominated discussions. Additionally, discussions were taking place about how to encourage more people within Greater Carpenters to attend meetings and be active participants in the production of the GCNF's neighbourhood plan; the most common suggestion was that active GCNF members should go canvassing around Greater Carpenters promoting the GCNF and identifying ways for local residents and workers to get involved with the Forum. My ethnographic research on the GCNF ended (in December 2015) before I could see the fruits of these renewed efforts and suggestions. But, I do feel that the GCNF amassing more active participation from a wider range of the Greater Carpenters community is

vital. Doing so will enable at least the Forum's plan production process to represent an important departure from normative state-level plan production processes.

Running alongside these concerns, are the 'generally sensible guidelines' that the GCNF have to conform to. Neighbourhood planning's guidelines are presented 'in such a way that *appears* to allow for significant influence' on the part of communities (Parker et al. 2015: 523, emphasis in text). However, as discussed in section 2.4.2, these guidelines require neighbourhood plans to be in conformity with strategic planning policies produced at higher levels. From a Foucauldian lens, this rule conducts the conduct of neighbourhood forums in ways structuring them into producing plans that incorporate localised expressions of higher-level planning policy agendas (Davoudi and Mandanipour 2013). Thus, some commentators have conceptualised neighbourhood planning as a manipulative governance tool that generates informal community consent for top-down government visions for their neighbourhood (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012). Thus, from this perspective, it would not seem like the master's tools (neighbourhood planning) could be used to occupy the master's house in transformational ways. Indeed, representatives that I spoke to within the DCLG's neighbourhood planning team stated that this planning rule was a source of great disquiet for many, but not all, neighbourhood forums:

> Early on they might come up thinking it, the Neighbourhood Plan…[meant]…that they could do whatever they want, that they could go against the local authority's plans. And then quite early on they obviously realise that they can't. And there's a bit of a sort of norming, storming kind of process goes on…And probably, possibly some drop out at that stage. But, a lot carry on because they decide well it's better to do something than just nothing [25].

> It can be frustrating for groups who don't agree with what the Local Plan is saying as written by the local authority [and] who disagree with how many houses there should be, or whatever it might be with those kind of strategic-level questions [21].

Within my research context, this limitation of neighbourhood planning was sharply brought to the fore in an aforementioned LLDC PDC meeting that took place in June 2015 (see section 6.3.2). In this meeting, PDC members offered their views on officially

designating the GCNF as a neighbourhood forum. Some PDC members expressed concerns that the GCNF was merely comprised of residents that wanted to resist change at all costs. So, the view was articulated that the GCNF's establishment would have the effect of stifling Newham Council's aspirations for Greater Carpenters. However, one PDC member was quick to point out that the rules around neighbourhood planning meant that the LLDC 'have control as a planning authority anyway' over the overarching direction and content of the GCNF's neighbourhood plan. This revealing statement raises doubts about whether neighbourhood planning represents a productive tool for GCNF members to utilise to realise their aspirations for Greater Carpenters.

This concern is amplified by the seemingly irreconcilable visions that the LLDC (and Newham Council) and the GCNF have for Greater Carpenters, particularly the Carpenters Estate. The LLDC regard Greater Carpenters as an 'area with potential for extensive mixed-use redevelopment' (LLDC 2015a: 205). However, the GCNF give 'the highest priority to maintain[ing] and refurbish[ing] all existing homes in the neighbourhood' (GCNF 2016b: 7). Time will tell whether the LLDC will use its statutory power to alter this GCNF policy aspiration. But, what may work in the GCNF's favour is that the Forum's draft neighbourhood plan also stipulates that '[n]ew homes will be achieved [in Greater Carpenters] through sensitive infill…and will be additional to social rented housing rather than replacement' (*ibid*: 7). This compromise on the part of the GCNF does offer some hope that the Forum's draft policy framework is enabling some of the LLDC's (and Newham Council's) development aspirations to be met whilst not depleting the necessary supply of social housing in the neighbourhood. Whether the LLDC also decide to compromise will give us a true sense of the nature of the institution that the GCNF are dealing with. Additionally, although the GCNF are offering a compromise, it would be a mistake to suggest that the GCNF are acquiescing to the 'consensual' approach that permeates neighbourhood planning (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012). Rather, the Forum appears to be exploiting the LLDC's proposal to '[c]onsider retention of existing low-rise family housing where this does not prevent the achievement of wider regeneration objectives' (LLDC 2015a: 429), and push for a lot more.

I was keen to hear more from GCNF members about how neighbourhood planning could be utilised as a productive tool for the Forum. Intriguingly, responses from Temi and

Janet emphasised that although neighbourhood planning is the prominent tool, it is still just 'one tool amongst many' that GCNF members will need to draw from (Sagoe 2016: 13):

> [B]eyond what we're doing in terms of the Neighbourhood Plan and the Neighbourhood Forum is to make sure that we also speak to those in planning, i.e…through any of the Council's cabinet meetings that they have to ratify how they go forward [17].

> we really need, people to be active—the way they were in the days of UCL, because then I think we could beat them [53].

This latter comment suggests that the tools that the GCNF may need to use in the future lie both within and outside the realms of planning. Or taking from Roy's (2009: 160) words, in relation to her theorisations on grassroots organisations more generally, it seems like the GCNF will both 'resist and comply with…top-down forms of rule…emanating from the state'. Importantly, for the latter half of **RQ3**, these comments suggest that the productivity of neighbourhood planning for the GCNF will be enhanced if it is situated within a broader repertoire of action.

Incidentally, Janet's comment also demonstrates residents' perceptions that the power of adopting a multi-faceted strategy would be enhanced if there was a greater mobilisation of forces within Greater Carpenters. Janet even stressed the importance of continuing to combine forces with various community/activist groups:

> I think we should be involved with other, other sources, like other campaigners. And I think it's because there's strength in numbers regardless of what you know. And I don't think at this stage we can say 'oh we don't wanna work with them cos they're socialist or we don't wanna work with them because of this'. I just think whoever can get me what we need and what we want for this Estate you go with it and you fight together you know [53].

Combining forces with other community/activist groups who are pursuing similar ends has certainly been beneficial in the past for GCNF members (as mentioned earlier in this section). But, there was also some caution expressed about uncritically connecting up with other community/activist groups. In particular, Jordan stressed that 'common

ground' needs to be established between groups [46], and that the needs of the Greater Carpenters community must remain paramount [46]. Being mindful of these concerns, it would be truly exciting to see what politically productive results could emerge from the GCNF combining forces with other contextually relevant community groups pursuing social justice agendas in relation to planning. This seems especially important because, as Janet poignantly noted, many working-class communities within London are 'facing the same things' as many members of the GCNF [53]. It would also be important to see what useful insights GNCF members could draw from exploring the work of other community/activist groups who harbour similar ambitions.

7.3 The political productivity of creative direct action: Insights from the Focus E15 campaign

In this section, I want to briefly discuss another campaign that has given hope that social justice can prevail in local-level housing planning within London, and indeed England. This campaign is the one developed by Focus E15. For just over two weeks, straddling the end of September and the beginning of October 2014, Focus E15 brought the Carpenters Estate sharply back into the national public limelight by occupying four of the 400 plus empty homes lying on the Carpenters Estate (Caller 2014; Chakrabortty 2014). Through critically engaging with this campaign, I wish to consider the potential role that creative direct action can play in assisting the GCNF to realise their aspirations for their neighbourhood.

Focus E15, prior to occupying the Carpenters Estate, had already been the subject of public attention as a result of their protracted battle with Newham Council. The campaign was born in September 2013 when a group of 29 young mothers:

> were served eviction notices by East Thames Housing Association after Newham Council cut its funding to the Focus E15 hostel for young homeless people (Focus E15 2016a).

Subsequently, these 29 mothers approached Newham Council for help with being rehoused within the borough. However, they were advised by Newham Council that:

due to cuts to housing benefit and the lack of affordable housing in London, they would have [to] accept private rented accommodation as far away as Manchester, Hastings and Birmingham if they wanted rehousing (*ibid*).

Newham Council's refusal to consider helping the mothers find secure, genuinely affordable accommodation in Newham did not disillusion these mothers. After a chance encounter with the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG) (see RCG 2012; Watt 2016), and after linking up with individual campaigners, these mothers developed a long-term campaign to pressure Newham Council into housing them securely and affordably. Watt (2016) has highlighted that the RCG played a significant role in the formation and the development of the campaign. During my ethnographic research, I heard anecdotal concerns raised by some housing campaigners active in Newham that members of the RCG had undue influence over the Focus E15 campaign. So, there were some concerns that the Focus E15 mothers' needs had been subjected to an ideological capture by the RCG and that it was not necessarily the Focus E15 mothers who were setting the campaign's agendas. In this latter regard, one Focus E15 campaigner I spoke to—Sally—did acknowledge that in more recent times only a couple of the Focus E15 mothers have been centrally involved in shaping the campaign's development:

> Well, what happened was that the, the initial campaign got a lot of media publicity straight away because it was highlighting the kind of social cleansing that was going on. The 29 young mums had been offered places outside of Newham. So, that campaign lasted for a little while but then what happened was the mums got rehoused because of the strength of the campaign within Newham, but on one-year contracts and stuff. So, once they got their rehousing some of the original mums no longer wanted to carry on campaigning apart from a couple [9].

Yet, Watt's (*ibid*) deep ethnography of Focus E15's multi-faceted campaign also importantly shows that in fighting to be rehoused, Focus E15 mothers were active participants in developing the campaign. Moreover, Watt's (*ibid*) article also demonstrates that these mothers' needs had been the driving force behind the campaign's development. In its early stages, this campaign involved:

> a weekly stall in Stratford, an occupation of Newham Council's housing office, and a march of several hundred supporters to Newham Town Hall all

contributing towards the mothers' growing national profile (Focus E15 2016a).

The campaign reached its highpoint on 21 September 2014, a year after the campaign's birth. To celebrate this achievement, Focus E15 held a fun day on the Carpenters Estate (see figure 7.3). Little did anyone know that this fun day was a screen for an action which would come to disrupt Newham Council's plans for parts of the Carpenters Estate. The Focus E15 campaign would use the fun day to occupy four flats on Doran Walk and open these flats up as an open house/social centre (Stone 2014).

The occupation aimed to:

> draw…attention to the fact that people are being forced out of London due to a lack of affordable housing while thousands of perfectly good social housing units sit empty (Focus E15 2016a).

The occupation certainly succeeded in that aim. The occupation was given significant airtime by national news outlets like *The Guardian* and *The Independent*. However, after just over two weeks, the occupation ended on 6 October 2014 after Newham Council issued a repossession order; although the campaign maintain that occupiers left of their 'own accord' because they had 'successfully generated a huge amount of local, national and international support for the campaign' (Focus E15 2016b).

Figure 7.3. Focus E15 fun day on Carpenters Estate. Source: Blowe (2014), with edits made by author.
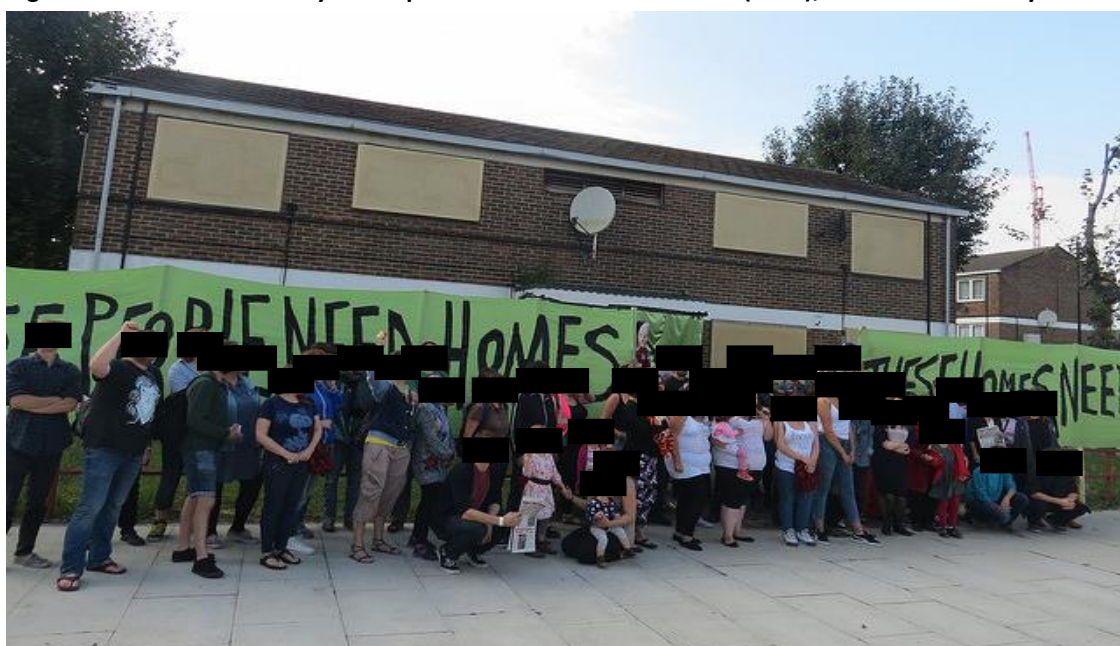
In the aftermath of the occupation, I caught up with Sally from the Focus E15 campaign to hear her thoughts about why the occupation, and more broadly creative direct action, was a political necessity for Focus E15:

> I think it was a matter of the fact that the people who were directly affected, the young mums had no other choice. They were actually gonna be evicted out of the borough. It had already started happening to their friends. So, they had to stand up and fight if they wanted to be housed in the area next to their families. They had no other choice. They were on the frontline. So, they found that it was the direct action that got their eviction notices withdrawn by East Thames Housing Association. They found that it's by direct action that they get to meet more senior people in the housing association. And it's through the direct action and the media that the issue becomes well known and highlighted. And it's through the direct action of the political occupation of the four council flats…that we can expose the lie that there's nowhere for people to live in Newham, because the flats are in perfectly good condition [9].

The repetition of the idea that the campaign 'had no other choice', is intriguing as again there are evocations of Roberto Unger's radical pragmatism philosophy. For their political situation, they believed these were the appropriate 'next steps' to achieving radical change (Unger 2007: 27). In this case, creative direct action proved a powerful tool. Although the occupation stopped short of pressuring Newham Council into housing these mothers in secure social housing, this occupation did prompt a written response from Robin Wales. In an article for *The Guardian*, on the day the occupation ended, Robin Wales apologised to the Focus E15 mothers for their plight; although the sincerity of this apology must be questioned considering that Robin Wales had in the same year dismissed Focus E15 mothers' plight by telling them 'if you can't afford to live in Newham, you can't afford to live in Newham' (Stone 2014).

In the article, Robin Wales also announced that 40 empty homes on the Estate would be used to temporarily house homeless people; although Newham Council will not admit that this decision was influenced by the Focus E15 occupation [9]. Thus, Focus E15's occupation represented a powerful instance of community action as the action tangibly led to 'a disruption of the established order' in a variety of ways (Dikeç 2005: 186). For instance, this occupation, along with public reporting of this occupation (see Chakrabortty 2014), forced Newham Council to suspend its refusal to reopen empty

homes on the Carpenters Estate. Additionally, as Watt (2016: 311) has pointed out, the Focus E15 campaign powerfully and publicly highlighted the 'disingenuousness of Newham Council's claim' that empty homes on the estate were uninhabitable.

I was thoroughly impressed and inspired by the Focus E15 campaign in the aftermath of their action. However, my positive take on this action was challenged by some GCNF members and Just Space members who I had spoken to about Focus E15's occupation. In informal discussions I had with some members of the GCNF and Just Space, they stressed the importance of critically reflecting on the long-term impacts of Focus E15's action. In particular, they pushed me to reflect on whether Focus E15's action has led to a transformation in the long-term housing and regeneration plans for the Carpenters Estate, and Greater Carpenters more broadly. In this regard, it is germane to emphasise again that Newham Council still ardently aspire to redevelop these homes (see section 5.5.5). The fact that Newham Council and the LLDC still hold these aspirations, and formal plans, does point to important limitations that this direct action has had on impacting on long-term policy. It may have been beneficial for the Focus E15 campaign to channel the energy and power that their occupation garnered into the vital policy-level work that the GCNF have been doing. Combining the GCNF and Focus E15's respective activities may have created a more powerful mass for engendering changes to long-term state plans for Greater Carpenters; this collaboration would have co-ordinated disparate activities to provide multiple and simultaneous points of attack to the LLDC and Newham Council.

But, still, despite some critiques about Focus E15's occupation, some GCNF members (Felicia, Irene and Janet) were supportive of the occupation:

> Yeah, I sympathise with them…[But] I did say to one of the guys…I did say to him that because we are working with the LLDC I cannot be as vocal from your point of view as I would want to be because we're working with the LLDC. You know, we've been to meetings with them and we've, we're trying to make an effect on the plans that they're writing. So, we don't want to be in the headlights or in the spotlight for anything else other than what's happening at the moment…[But] I liked what they were, the principle of what they were trying to do. I was definitely behind all of that [15].

What they did, was they highlighted—even though people probably think they're just a load of troublemakers, because that's how when people fight for what they want, they are seen as—...that these places are live[able], there is just nothing wrong. Not a thing. So, they did highlight that [48].

I think they're fantastic...I know people say they're this, and they're that. For me, when they came on this Estate I thought it was a fantastic thing they did. They occupied one of the flats and they did bring people together. They had little barbeques, they had like poetry nights...And I showed my support because I just felt they were doing something constructive for us. They didn't have to. None of them live on this Estate. But they're concerned with what's going on, not just here, but everywhere in London. And I think it's a very important thing what they're doing to be honest with you [53].

Amongst these Carpenters residents, there was certainly overwhelming support for the occupation, and the political intent behind it. There was also some recognition of the efforts that Focus E15 campaigners made to engage with people on the Estate. But, there were also reservations as to whether creative direct action was a strategically appropriate form of action to take at the time given that the GCNF were explicitly trying to develop collaborative, harmonious relations with the LLDC. Thus, and counter to my suggestion above, some GCNF members I spoke to did not think that it would have been productive for the GCNF to have more explicitly linked their work with Focus E15's occupation. There was an implicit concern that more disruptive activities would have undermined the GCNF's relationship with the LLDC, which, in the long-run, may have hindered their efforts to get the LLDC on board with their aspirations for the Carpenters Estate.

This latter viewpoint expressed by some GCNF members is understandable. But, at the same time, it is hard to ignore the short-term successes of the Focus E15 occupation. Consequently, we might imagine what potential successes a strategy of collaborative and antagonistic engagement with the LLDC could bring for the GCNF. If the appetite and the capacity is there, and if the situation necessitates such a response, it may be useful for the GCNF to consider what benefits such a creative action—or indeed actions that Carpenters residents carried out in the days of C.A.R.P—could bring to the GCNF as a supplement to the essential long-term work of developing a neighbourhood plan. For example, strategically utilising such a creative action may also apply pressure to the LLDC and Newham Council to take up the principles promoted in the final GCNF

neighbourhood plan. Marrying together these two tools—creative actions and developing a neighbourhood plan—has the potential to enhance each one's strength by combining short-term political impact with a long-term path for enabling social justice to be the driving force behind plans for Greater Carpenters.

7.4 Just Space and community action at a London-wide level

7.4.1 Just Space and their engagement with London-level planning

The last two sections have discussed local-level community efforts to privilege social justice agendas within London's Olympic area. But, what work is being done by community groups at a London-wide level to try and enhance the power that social justice agendas have within the GLA's planning framework, and within *The London Plan*? Discussing this question is critical as in the last three chapters I showed that the LLDC takes significant direction from the GLA. So, it is essential for interventions to be made within the GLA to force various manifestations of social justice to be given prominence by the LLDC. Conducting this exploration also positively contributed to my modest activist agenda (see section 1.1). It enabled me to contribute to existing and long-term community efforts to try and enable social justice agendas to be prioritised within the GLA's planning framework (which would likely have subsequent impacts on the LLDC's planning framework).

As highlighted in section 3.2.2.5, I was particularly eager to explore Just Space's activism around London-wide planning. Just Space have been active around planning since the group's formation in 2006. According to Just Space member, Simon, Just Space's social justice agenda initially centrally comprised of creating 'space[s] for community groups to actually participate in the decision-making, in the scrutiny of development policies in London' [40]. In attempting to meet this goal, Just Space's broad remit is to 'act as a voice for Londoners at grass-roots level during the formulation of London's major planning strategy' (Just Space 2016a). In a lengthy interview with Simon, I heard about a variety of goals that Just Space are trying to achieve within their agenda. But, two interconnected goals particularly stood out. Firstly:

to completely change the representation at these public hearings on the London Plan…The London Plan was completely dominated by private developers and by public bodies, with just one or two token community and voluntary sector representatives [40].

Simon stated that he thought that Just Space had done well in meeting this goal as:

we've changed from a position where in the round table discussions on The London Plan—the public hearings there's generally 25 seats—…before Just Space you would have a couple of people out of the 25 from the community or voluntary sector. And through our efforts, generally, there is now one third representation round the table [40].[53]

Just Space have assisted civil society groups in using state planning tools to occupy the state's planning 'house' at a metropolitan level. Indeed, Just Space have done so in ways which have yielded successes for civil society groups. For example, Simon informed me about how Just Space's interventions within the EiP into the *2011 London Plan* led the final version of this plan to stipulate that 'small traders could…draw on developers' funds from a development in the wider area to improve the attractiveness of their shop and, and their surrounding area' [40].

Despite important successes like these, Simon still stressed that there are 'problems within the system, definitely' [40]. Occupying aspects of the state's planning 'house' has not necessarily enabled civil society groups to wrest *The London Plan* away from privileging the pursuit of an economic growth agenda. On a housing front, this is evident insofar as Boris Johnson and his former Mayoral team—not necessarily departing from Ken Livingstone and his former Mayoral team's approach—have placed undue emphasis on centring the growth of market housing (Mayor of London 2008; Mayor of London 2011; Mayor of London 2015). This is at a time when prioritising the delivery of social housing and 'affordable' housing should have taken precedence (see section 4.2.3).

Notably, Just Space and other civil society groups have not transformed *The London Plan's* overarching strategies because they have not been occupying planning spaces that

---

[53]Unfortunately, the GLA's website no longer contains detailed information about the EiP, including information about who was providing representations during the EiP.

empower them to co-produce the overarching development strategies informing *The London Plan*, as this comment from Simon suggests:

> I mean you've then got for example the housing team at the GLA–what was the Mayor's housing Forum—and, and then from that various stakeholder forums between the housing officials at the GLA and the development industry. And then [you have] some stakeholder forums with the London boroughs. But the community is completely left out of, of that apparatus around housing and development…And then on the economy side the, the quite shocking way really in which Johnson has commissioned the, the main big business voice in London called London First to actually produce for the Mayor the new economic strategy for London. I mean how anyone can think this is acceptable to do it, to be so blatant about it is beyond me really. But it's proceeded [40].

Building on Ananya Roy's (2005) work, it seems salient for communities to utilise more than just state planning tools in their efforts to powerfully occupy the state's planning 'house'. Although, engaging with these tools may usefully form part of a wider strategy. In this vein, Simon noted that Just Space were also conducting alternative work to try and assist the group to: (1) engender 'a far more democratic, participatory, collaborative process about the way in which the city is developed and shaped' [40]; and (2) ensure that *The London Plan* is 'more fit for purpose in terms of sustainability and meeting the needs of the citizens' [40]. One notable activity is lobbying the GLA to try and pressure them into making civil society groups more integrally involved in the production of future London Plans, as opposed to civil society groups only being invited to participate during planning consultations [40]—this would represent a movement from a tokenistic form of participation to a more 'citizen power' form of participation (Arnstein 1969). But, one of the more innovative and exciting ways Just Space have been trying to achieve their goals is through developing a community plan titled *Towards a Community-led London Plan: Policy Directions and Proposals.*

7.4.2   Just Space and the development of a community-led London Plan

Figure 7.4. Front page of *Towards a Community-led London Plan*. Source: Just Space (2016c: 1).
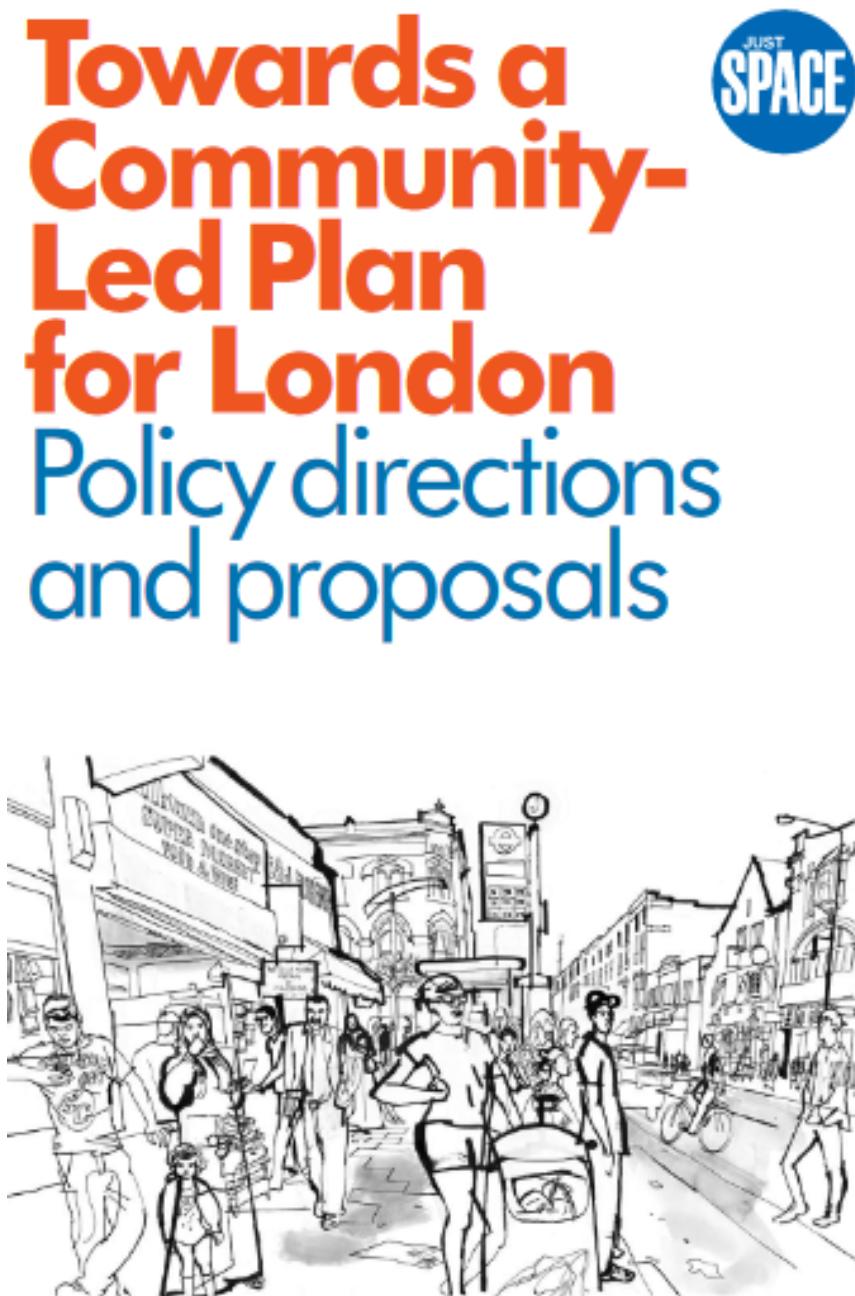
In the latter half of my field research, I spent time studying the development of *Towards a Community-led London Plan* (figure 7.4). I also participated in small ways in activities that assisted in this plan's development. This participation chiefly included facilitating and participating within small and large sessions and workshops that were designed to help Just Space generate the content for *Towards a Community-led London Plan. Towards a Community-led London Plan* is the product of a year's work which began in the summer of 2015 when Just Space and its member groups prepared contributions for

a new London Plan that will be commissioned by the new London Mayor, which turned out to be Sadiq Khan. After three major conferences and many working group meetings, *Towards a Community-led London Plan* was eventually published in August 2016.

My participation within these conferences and meetings demonstrates my belief in the political importance of Just Space developing *Towards a Community-led London Plan*. I had to acknowledge the danger that my belief in the importance of Just Space's planning activities could lead me to provide a rose-tinted outlook on the process of producing this plan. However, my adoption of a critical ethnographic research approach helped to ensure that I was a critical participant within the process of producing *Towards a Community-led London Plan*. Consequently, whilst I discuss why I think developing this community plan has been an important intervention, I also suggest how the productivity of this intervention could be enhanced.

During the preparations of *Towards a Community-led London Plan,* it was clear that Just Space's social justice agenda had evolved. This agenda now also comprised enabling a broader range of London's communities to be leading architects in the construction of London planning policy. I interviewed a few people from/engaging with the Just Space network—Simon [40], Joyce [52], and Marta [59]—to hear their thoughts about this evolution. I sought interviewees' thoughts about three issues: (1) why producing this community plan was an effective tool for assisting London's communities to force their way into the GLA's institutional framework; (2) how this community-led plan could assist in transforming the governance structures shaping the production of *The London Plan*; and (3) how this community-led plan could be deployed to make social justice agendas the driving force behind the GLA's work. I received the following responses:

> there need to be people in a position to engage with the system in order to, to try and lead the changes you know on, on the governance side. So, for me, one of the frustrations is that so much energy goes, goes into giving attention to direct actions whether it's Focus E15, or Radical Housing Network, or squatting on the Aylesbury Estate or whatever…And I think this is a mistake. And actually, the attention should be towards how do we actually frame alternatives, and how do we create a critical mass across the society that gives an opportunity for those alternatives to actually have some possibility of being taken forward [40].

London is becoming [an] increasingly unequal society, unequal city...its planning policies and procedures need to pay special attention, or particular attention to those groups...for whom it's not a level playing field. So, I think that's the message, and those voices really need to be central to the plan, and to really kind of highlight these issues [52].

I mean, I guess, to be part of a larger voice that has...a common message and a common aim, because the experience usually is that Gypsy and Traveller organisations are side-lined; they work very isolated from other community groups...So, within a London-wide platform...that has a message for social justice, I think it's a lot easier to get, to get those concerns and messages across, and not be marginalised even further [59].

Two critical points are worth raising here. Firstly, the first comment questions the political utility of forms of dissent such as direct action *on their own* in taking steps towards disrupting and transforming governance structures. Instead, reminiscent of comments GCNF members have made, more emphasis is placed on the political value of mobilising civil society forces to collectively produce alternative visions of how urban development planning could be governed, and to what ends planning should serve. Direct action does have an important role to play. But, it should be used strategically, rather than the de facto method of seeking to enact change in governance structures. In other words, as Joyce argued, the political value of forms of dissent, such as direct action, is enhanced when this dissent is deployed as 'a strand to a much wider mobilisation' [52]; a mobilisation which is always asking what are 'the next steps by which, in thought and practice, we can get from here to there'? (Unger 2007: 112).

Secondly, the second and third comments suggest that developing this community plan can be invaluable for communities typically marginalised within formal planning spaces (e.g. Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities), but whose livelihoods are greatly affected by current planning policies and practices. If mobilised effectively, this community plan could be an important vehicle for enabling typically marginalised voices and communities to act in solidarity with one another and play a central role in outlining at length: (1) how current planning policies are negatively impacting upon them; (2) what their development and regeneration needs are from planning; and (3) strategies for centring and addressing the various development and regeneration needs of marginalised communities. Essentially, a significant potential of producing *Towards a*

Community-led London Plan is that it may galvanise a collective force of communities to pressure the GLA into prioritising the pursuit of social justice agendas within London-wide planning.

The thinking informing the production of *Towards a Community-led London Plan* certainly encapsulates the spirit of a lot of the work I have seen London-based community/activist groups conduct over the duration of my research. Whether it is the GCNF or indeed the plethora of other neighbourhood forums pursuing neighbourhood planning in London (figure 7.1), there is certainly a ravenous appetite amongst many community/activist groups to demonstrate that they have the power to plan alternative, social-justice-based, development plans. Thus, it is unsurprising that there was a huge level of interest displayed in *Towards a Community-led London Plan.* About fifty community groups were involved in developing visions and proposals that were made within the first iteration of this plan, which was released as a tabloid paper (Just Space 2016d; Just Space 2016e). These community groups interacted in a number of working groups, with each working group producing visions and proposals in relation to one theme. The first iteration of *Towards a Community-led London Plan* eventually contained proposals in relation to participation, sustainable development, the economy, housing, transport, social inclusion, and the environment (Just Space 2016e).

On a housing front, this version of the community plan contained ambitious proposals that aim to make GLA housing planning policy particularly promote the pursuit of social justice:

> To meet existing need and to address London's backlog of need over a five year period a target of 30,000 not-for-profit rented homes per annum would need to be set (*ibid*: 12).

> Any replacement of not-for-profit rented homes should be carried out on the basis of like for like in terms of tenure, rental cost and size (*ibid*: 12).

> The Mayor [is] to seek devolved powers to introduce city wide rent control, based on [a] Living Rent formula…Generation Rent and the Highbury Group recommend that rents should be set at 30% of lower incomes (*ibid*: 13).

On a participation and social inclusion front, this iteration of *Towards a Community-led London Plan* aspired to help London's communities, and emphasised the salience of having London's most marginalised communities, co-produce London-wide planning policy:

> The Mayor must enter into a social compact with Londoners by developing a Mayor's Statement of Community Involvement, which will provide a framework and resources for participation. The recognition of diversity should be at the heart of this approach, to ensure minority or excluded groups are properly included (*ibid*: 6).

> Introduce needs and impact assessments (such as social impact assessments) that are (a) based on communities' own assessments, reflecting their own understanding of their social identities and (b) reflect the cross-cutting nature of problems faced by minority and/or excluded groups (for example, the link between lack of stable accommodation and education attainment for Gypsies and Travellers) (*ibid*: 17).

These proposals were essentially targeted at enabling London's marginalised communities to occupy state planning spaces in ways empowering them to mobilise their collective development and regeneration needs within London-wide planning.

The community groups contributing to the first iteration of *Towards a Community-led London Plan* came together to discuss and debate the visions and proposals in this plan on 4 February 2016 at a community conference in City Hall. Representatives from community groups who had not previously been involved in Just Space's work also attended this conference—overall, about 200 people attended the conference. A group of 200 people cannot claim to wholly represent the plurality of interests and needs of the panoply of London's communities; this points to the challenging, yet important, work that Just Space need to do to broaden their collective reach. But, the people in attendance did importantly still represent a broad range of London's communities.

Perhaps as a result of having such a broad range of voices represented, debate formed a critical part of the day's proceedings. In particular, there were quite heated exchanges about what issues should be prioritised within *Towards a Community-led London Plan.* These debates importantly illuminate discrepancies in what people thought a social

justice agenda should encompass. These varying claims over what should comprise a social justice agenda within this given context were shaped by people's positionality. Within Just Space's conference, these contestations helped to sharpen my understanding of the multi-faceted composition of a social justice agenda within any given context (see also section 7.2 in this regard). Within Just Space's conference, the most striking contestation was the product of bubbling tension throughout the production of *Towards a Community-led London Plan* over the concept of 'social inclusion'. On one side of the debate, there was a concern that the way in which the term social inclusion was being mobilised residualised the importance of class. Tacitly, there was a concern that the white British working-class were being side-lined within the mobilisation of the concept of social inclusion; problematically, this tacit assumption obscures possibilities of getting a more complete understanding of ethnic and racial diversity of the working-class. Whilst raising issues of class is essential, hearing this line of argument raised in this space, and the tacit assumptions behind it, was perplexing given that I had co-facilitated a social inclusion session at Just Space's conference with Joyce where class-based issues perforated the discussion.

Indeed, on the other side of the debate (which I locate myself within), arguments were being made that the way social inclusion was being mobilised was not occluding discussions of class, or seeking to marginalise white British working-class communities. Rather, it was being mobilised to address the marginalisation of groups along the intersections of class, race, gender, sexuality, ability, religion and other structures of oppression/domination. Indeed, I believe this to be an important organising principle for any community group wishing to powerfully challenge the multifarious structures of oppression/domination we are witnessing under neoliberalism and capitalism. As Audre Lorde (1984: 138) emphatically stated, '[t]here is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives.' Importantly, within the context of Just Space's conference, these discussions about social inclusion were seeking to enhance our understanding of the range, and interconnectivity, of structural issues faced by a variety of working-class communities. The goal was to develop policy positions which highlighted that there is a serious need for planning to simultaneously cater for the various and connected needs of the manifold communities that have typically been

marginalised from/by planning along a range of interconnected structures of oppression/domination.

However, by-and-large, debates during the conference were channelled into bolstering the social justice agendas driving the first iteration of *Towards a Community-led London Plan*. This was most evident in the social inclusion session that I co-facilitated with Joyce.[54] In this session, an eclectic mix of people—refreshingly comprising many women, people from BAME communities, and people from working-class backgrounds—strongly made the case for social inclusion and social need, rather than economic growth and financial greed (masked as financial viability), to be the pillars of planning. There was a unified view that both in process and outcome, promoting social inclusion should be at the heart of all visions and proposals developed in the final iteration of *Towards a Community-led London Plan*. Thus, the introductory chapter of this final iteration emphasised that:

> Working class communities, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) groups, Gypsies and Travellers, LGBT communities, the young, the unemployed, many social tenants, many private tenants, those with a range of disabilities are all, in diverse ways, disadvantaged by London's current development trajectory (Just Space 2016e: 6).

Throughout the rest of the publication, social inclusion issues also shine through. For instance, the housing chapter proposes that:

> The Mayor has a duty to enable a wider range of Londoners to participate in making decisions on housing policy: engagement strategies need to recognise the tenants of 800,000 social rented homes in London, the growing numbers of private renters in the capital, connect with community-led housing schemes and be inclusive of groups such as Age UK and the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit that represent Londoners with particular housing needs (*ibid*: 34).

> Each group needs their own structure, focusing on their own specific issues, but as well as working in parallel it is important that there is an overarching Housing Forum for London that sits at a strategic level and is inclusive of all groups (*ibid*: 34).

---

[54]Although, I was not able to attend other workshops that were being run in parallel with the 'Social Inclusion' session, so I cannot comment upon the debates held within these sessions.

Discussions during the community conference at City Hall did assist in strengthening the social justice agenda that was promoted within *Towards a Community-led London Plan*. However, important questions remained about how the policies proposed in this document could alter the governance framework surrounding planning in London, which would be likely to have subsequent impacts on the LLDC's plans; as a senior LLDC planning officer stated, the LLDC's *Adopted Local Plan* is 'expected to reflect Mayoral' planning policy positions [8]. In this regard, it was interesting in the closing plenary to hear a member of the GLA's planning committee (who only heard about this community conference during the day), express some disappointment that a broader range of London Assembly members had not been approached to attend the conference. In hindsight, it may have been useful for Just Space to have invited a wider array of London Assembly members, and even the former Mayoral team. Some time at the conference could have then been dedicated to pressuring those in power to take up visions and proposals that were being presented during the day; although, I appreciate that this may not have been an ideal space to lobby London Assembly members and the former Mayoral team as the conference was specifically dedicated to bolstering nascent visions and proposals for *Towards a Community-led London Plan*.

In light of this GLA planning committee member's comments, I wanted to hear what the potential strategies were for forcing *Towards a Community-led London Plan's* proposals to be taken up in the new London Plan that will be produced by Sadiq Khan and his Mayoral team. Some potential strategies were highlighted in the closing plenary of the City Hall conference:

> In terms of the Plan that's been produced, I would suggest to Just Space that actually there's a synthesis of the, the Plan, and that it actually is put in every single Standard and Metro, and other sort of newspaper that is available free of charge. I think this message needs to go out to every single Londoner…I think also the document needs a series of questions, because if we're really about participation then we need to make sure that we engage in a much wider and much broader constituency in terms of who gets to influence the actual plan, ultimately. And whose plan is it anyway? So, I think it does need to include a series of quite challenging questions so that we can really hear those voices that are often, well they're not in this room necessarily, and they wouldn't even think about potentially contributing to planning processes (Joyce quote in Just Space 2016f).

I also heard from Simon and Marta about how Just Space were seeking to make *Towards a Community-led London Plan* a politically productive document:

> In order to, to try and do something effective then you have to meet with the Mayor candidates, you have to meet with their teams, not just with the Mayor's candidates. You have to understand who their teams are, who [is] doing their research for them, helping produce their manifestos. You need to meet with those teams, engage with them, be useful to them if you want them to be useful to you. So, I think there's a whole question about forming those relationships...Then general media influence, in terms of how can you get some of the mainstream media, including the Evening Standard, to run some stories around the type of Plan you want for London, and so on...But if you don't, obviously, if you're not, if you're not engaging with those different parts of the system then you're not going to have much chance really [40].

> The plan was sent to the Mayor's housing [and] planning team and...the London Assembly members. And there are a few meetings set up. So, with the planning committee...this meeting we're having on Monday with the Deputy Mayor for Housing, we think that's gonna be the first to, to introduce the...participation and housing policies at that level, not officer level [59].

These comments clearly signal an intent to enhance the power this document has in radically transforming the landscape of planning in London by: (1) enabling broader communities within London to contribute to the document's visions and proposals, giving the document more democratic legitimacy; (2) disseminating the document to the public through mainstream media, so that the public have access to this document, enhancing the possibility that a social movement can be built around the document's visions and proposals; and (3) lobbying, engaging with, and where strategically productive, building collaborative relations with senior state officials who have statutory power to shape London planning agendas. This is always with a view to pressuring the GLA into privileging the pursuit of social justice within any new London Plan.

I would also add that it would be useful to build strategic alliances with community/ activist groups who are applying different methods to try and transform the governance of development within London. In doing so, Just Space will be able to broaden the points and styles of pressure that they have at their disposal to challenge and transform the multiple governance actors, governing technologies, and governing rationalities that are marginalising the pursuit of social justice within the GLA's planning framework.

Furthermore, in building these alliances, although extremely difficult, it will be vital to scale-up the work to a national level. As a long-term strategy, it will be important to develop locally rooted, but nationally co-ordinated, actions and activities that aim to radically wrest national-level planning away from privileging economic growth agendas and financial agendas, and pushing it towards privileging social justice. The challenge is great. But, the implications of meeting such a challenge would be profound for London-level planning, LLDC planning, and the plurality of communities who ostensibly were meant to benefit from development and regeneration plans for London's Olympic area.

7.5   Conclusion

This chapter has furthered my engagement with **RQ3**, particularly its latter aspect. This aims to investigate actions and engagements that can enable communities in my research context to productively build on their existing engagements with the LLDC's statutory planning spaces. Consequently, section 7.2 reflected on the HWFICIG's use of their meeting spaces as a means to influence the LLDC's affordable workspace plans. This was followed by examining how the GCNF are using neighbourhood planning as part of a broader strategy of action which aims to support their existing participation within LLDC consultations. Section 7.3 then discussed Focus E15's occupation of four flats in the Carpenters Estate to consider whether creative direct action could provide a vital buttress to the GCNF's current activities. Section 7.4 followed this up by discussing Just Space's activism around London-level planning. This section aimed to provide insights into actions and engagements that may impact on GLA planning in ways that would have ramifications for the power that communities have within future LLDC consultations.

My discussions across this chapter emphasised that each of the community groups I have discussed have been motivated by social justice concerns. For the HWFICIG, their social justice agenda chiefly comprised attempting to ensure that regeneration plans for Hackney Wick and Fish Island privileged planning for a needs-based approach to affordable workspace (see section 7.2.1 for discussion of this). For the GCNF, the social justice agenda I discussed particularly comprised: (1) local communities playing empowering roles in shaping development and regeneration plans for the LLDC area; and (2) ensuring that LLDC housing plans for Greater Carpenters and the LLDC area were chiefly informed by planning for the identified need for social and 'affordable' housing,

rather than exacerbating these needs (for instance through sanctioning redevelopment plans that would displace residents from the Carpenters Estate). Linked to this, Focus E15's social justice agenda comprised ensuring that Newham Council met some of the housing needs of working-class people within their borough by refurbishing and opening up empty homes on the Carpenters Estate. Lastly, Just Space articulated a social justice agenda which sought to make GLA planning: (1) empower London's diverse communities, inclusive of communities typically marginalised from and by planning, to continuously shape the production of development and regeneration plans that affect their daily lives; and (2) primarily responsive to the collective development and regeneration needs of London's diverse communities.

My presentation of the HWFICIG's, the GCNF's, Focus E15's and Just Space's respective social justice agendas significantly provide support to Fainstein's (2009a) argument that that there are context specific nuances to what a social justice agenda encompasses. This therefore demonstrates a need to provide clarity about what a social justice agenda encapsulates within any given planning context. However, simultaneously, discussion of these groups' respective social justice agendas does support a perspective I mobilised at the end of section 2.2.3 of my literature review. This is that social justice within the context of spatial planning encompasses: (1) enhancing the spaces and opportunities that broad sections of society, particularly social groups marginalised by and within planning processes, have to shape contextually relevant plans and planning policies; (2) ensuring that this participation is empowering for participants; and (3) ensuring that this empowerment translates into planning outcomes that address collective development and regeneration needs (Fainstein 2009a; Marcuse 2009a). Critically, the fact that the community groups I have discussed have been mobilising these broad concerns within their planning-related activities suggests that they do not think that such a conceptualisation of social justice is at the heart of planning for London's Olympic area and London more widely.

Whilst this chapter has enabled me to make these insights about social justice, what has been particularly important is what these chapter's implications are for the core tension at the heart of **RQ3**—the limitations and possibilities associated with community participation in statutory planning. Chapter five argued that there may be some benefit

to participation in statutory planning for communities; through great effort throughout the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process some communities engendered marginal alterations to the LLDC's plans. However, perspectives provided by community-level actors within chapter six supported Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced critiques which view participation in planning as a tool or technique of governing that ultimately leads to top-down state planning aspirations being 'legitimised' and thus consolidated (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012; Davoudi and Mandanipour 2013; Rosol 2015). This would suggest that there is little possibility that communities can use their participation in statutory planning in ways benefitting their planning aspirations, if these aspirations go against contextually relevant state planning aspirations.

But, this chapter has found support for Roberto Unger's (2007) critical pragmatist perspective about participation in statutory forms of governance. Notably, my discussion of the GCNF shows that GCNF members' participation within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process can be regarded as more productive than initially reflected upon in chapter five because of what this participation is enabling them to do with neighbourhood planning. GCNF members' participation in the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process did only cause the LLDC to include refurbishing homes in Greater Carpenters as a potential development principle, with the overriding policy direction still being the promotion of extensive redevelopment (LLDC 2015a). However, the inclusion of this development principle has subsequently enabled the GCNF to develop a neighbourhood plan which prioritises refurbishment of homes on the Estate. If their neighbourhood plan is adopted, then their ambitions to protect the Carpenters Estate from wholesale redevelopment may be strengthened; any planning application for Greater Carpenters would need to give credence to this GCNF policy aspiration. This example demonstrates that existing limitations with instances of community participation in planning can sometimes be worked past by using the limited gains from any instance of participation as a springboard to realise further gains within subsequent forms of action or engagement. This perspective supports Unger's (2007) argument that participation in statutory form of governance can be made to be productive for communities if they mobilise this participation as part of a broader repertoire of action.

In this spirit, sections 7.3 and 7.4 critically reflected on whether local-level creative direct action and metropolitan-level campaigning and action around planning can provide an important buttress to communities' participation within planning in the LLDC's planning boundary. I argued that, where strategically appropriate, creative direct action can provide short-term disruptive impacts that may boost long-term community engagements with statutory planning within the LLDC's boundary. I also noted that the sort of multi-faceted engagement with London-level planning that Just Space are currently conducting will be important in helping to stimulate changes within GLA planning approaches, which may subsequently impact on the gains that communities can make from participating in future LLDC planning consultations. Incidentally, this argument supports Fainstein's (2009a) argument that multi-level action is necessary to transform the policy agendas privileged within any localised planning context. Ultimately, though, the perspectives mobilised across this chapter show that the possibilities associated with any instance community participation in planning has the potential to be enhanced if this participation comprises a part of a multi-faceted strategy of action encompassing activities lying within and outside of statutory planning.

This conclusion has implications for the overall argument I am exploring in relation to English planning's current operation as a system of governmentality. A key aspect of this argument is that English planning represents a current system of neoliberal governmentality which in the arena of local-level planning marginalises the influence of governance actors privileging the pursuit of social justice. My previous empirical chapters provide support for this argument in relation to an LLDC context. However, perspectives presented in this chapter provide modest hope that this situation can change. They highlight that through creative, multi-faceted, and crucially strategic action and engagement, governance actors who are privileging the pursuit of social justice agendas may enable these agendas to 'step by step' (Unger 2007: 69) occupy more prominent spaces within the LLDC's planning 'house' (Roy 2005).

Chapter eight: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has used the case study of housing and regeneration planning within the LLDC's planning boundary to examine the impacts of English planning's current operation as a system of governmentality on local-level planning. Key to this examination has been investigating how, under the contemporary neoliberal conjuncture, English planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing have shaped the policy goals, rationalities of governing and governance actors that have had power to influence the LLDC's plans. The main argument that I have explored is whether English planning currently operates a system of neoliberal governmentality which has: (1) structured the LLDC into mobilising neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing within their housing and regeneration plans; (2) empowered governance actors who are pursuing these policy goals and mobilising these rationalities of governing to have chief influence over the production of the LLDC's plans; and (3) marginalised governance actors who are challenging the pursuit of these neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing.

This argument has been explored with reference to the following three research questions:

RQ1. What policy goals and rationalities of governing has English planning structured the LLDC into privileging within their housing and regeneration plans?

RQ2. How have English planning's structural technologies and statutory spaces of governing shaped which governance actors have influenced the policy direction(s) of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans?

RQ3. What power have community groups had to use statutory planning spaces and technologies to shape the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans and how can this power be enhanced?

In this concluding chapter, I discuss (in section 8.2) what my explorations across my empirical chapters can lead us to conclude about the conceptual tensions and

theoretical debates that I have explored within each of these research questions, as well as the overall argument that this thesis has engaged with. I then finish with some concluding remarks (in section 8.3) about the broader academic reach of my research.

8.2   Conclusions on conceptual debates explored in this thesis

8.2.1   *Policy goals and rationalities of governing privileged within local-level planning*

In relation to **RQ1**, a core element of this thesis has been using the case of planning for housing and regeneration within the LLDC to illuminate what policy goals and rationalities of governing English planning structures local-level plans into privileging. As highlighted in section 2.2, this thesis was particularly concerned with exploring the tension of whether English planning has structured the LLDC into privileging neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing and/or social justice policy goals and principles within their housing and regeneration plans. This investigation took place particularly with regards to the LLDC's social and 'affordable' housing plans, their Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans, and their plans for Greater Carpenters, Chobham Manor, Hackney Wick and East Wick. My decision to pursue this investigation was influenced by: (1) arguments that historically the English planning system had been chiefly influenced by more social democratic and social justice aims (Cullingworth and Nadin 2006)—section 2.2.3 importantly argued that social justice in the arena of spatial planning refers to participatory planning processes, empowering planning processes (particularly for communities typically marginalised by and from planning), and planning outcomes that address collective development and regeneration needs; (2) arguments that English planning currently privileges economic growth, profit-making policy goals, 'mixed and balanced community' policy agendas that privilege the production of private sector housing, market-based criteria, financial considerations and technocratic forms of governing (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012; Haughton et al. 2013; Flynn 2016; Lees et al. 2012; McAllister et al. 2016); and (3) arguments that neoliberal forms of governing make room for the pursuit of social justice, but with this pursuit being subordinate to economic growth, profit-making policy goals, market-based criteria, financial considerations and technocratic forms of governing (Allmendinger and Haughton 2009; Davies 2014b). Consequently, I wanted to use my research to examine the balance of

294

power between these policy goals and rationalities of governing within LLDC planning. I also intended to explore whether other policy goals and rationalities of governing have also structured the LLDC's plans.

Chapter four contributed to this discussion by exploring the policy goals and rationalities of governing that have been privileged within a broad range of national-, metropolitan- and local-level plans that are likely to have influenced the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. This chapter showed that historically there have been growth-based and social-justice-based development and regeneration agendas for London's Olympic area. This chapter also revealed that at the top of English planning the *NPPF* does indeed make the realisation of social justice contingent on: the realisation of economic growth goals; a 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda which serves to privilege the production of private sector housing; market-based criteria; financial considerations; and a technocratic form of governing (viability assessments) that has been conceptualised as privileging profit-making considerations (Flynn 2016). This chapter also highlighted that *The London Plan* and Newham Council's and Hackney Council's respective Local Plans have produced localised expressions of this broad policy approach. Additionally, this chapter illuminated that in the arena of Gypsy and Traveller accommodation planning, the plans I discussed also privilege rationales that serve to characterise this form of accommodation as being particularly harmful to urban environments.

Chapter five's contribution was to discuss which of the aforementioned policy goals and rationalities of governing were given prominence throughout the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. This chapter showed that as a result of English planning's hierarchical structure, and the requirement of lower-level plans to be in general conformity with higher-level plans, the LLDC's strategic housing plans represented a localised expression of the policy approach mobilised within the *NPPF* and *The London Plan*. This meant that within the LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans, they mobilised a rationale which serves to characterise this form of accommodation as being harmful to urban environments. Additionally, this has meant that for the LLDC's social and 'affordable' housing plans, social justice is subordinate to/contingent upon economic growth goals, financial rationales, market-based criteria, technocratic forms

of governing, and a 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda—although, the LLDC's *Local Plan* departed from the *NPPF's* and *The London Plan's* specific mobilisation of this policy agenda by also explicitly stating that the provision of 'affordable' housing can positively contribute to the development of mixed and balanced communities. Interestingly, this chapter also demonstrated that the LLDC's 'affordable' housing target (35 percent) is lower than Hackney Council's and Newham Council's respective overall 'affordable' housing targets (both of which stand at 50 percent). It was revealed that the difference in these targets has been informed by the LLDC's own financial agenda which currently sees them trying to use development on the Olympic Park as a way to generate capital receipts to pay back £425m to the National Lottery's Big Lottery Fund. In relation to Hackney and Newham, this chapter also showed that the LLDC's plans for Hackney Wick were greatly shaped by Hackney Council's economic-growth based aspirations for this neighbourhood, and that the LLDC's plans for Greater Carpenters generally reflected Newham Council's redevelopment aspirations for this neighbourhood.

Chapter six's contribution was to use interview responses from my research participants to consolidate understandings of the policy goals and rationalities of governing that the LLDC have privileged within their planning framework. It helped further demonstrate that the LLDC's policy aspirations have been significantly shaped by the policy aspirations of the GLA. For instance, this chapter showed that whilst the LLDC have been concerned with planning for the identified need for social and 'affordable' housing, the LLDC has also been particularly concerned with privileging GLA planning policy aspirations for London which seek to privilege the production of private sector housing. Importantly, this chapter also used a brief comparison of the LLDC's planning context with the LDDC's planning context to emphasise that since the time of the LDDC, within English planning, housing planning has become an increasingly pronounced sphere were neoliberal policy goals—e.g. privileging market-based criteria, the role of the private sector and financial considerations—have been pursued.

Considering the contributions made by each of these chapters, in relation to **RQ1**, this thesis provides strong support for the perspective that English planning currently structures the pursuit of key neoliberal policy goals in the arena of local-level planning. My thesis has illustrated how English planning has structured the LLDC into pursuing

localised expressions of key neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing mobilised within the *NPPF*, *The London Plan,* and surrounding host borough plans. Moreover, this thesis has shown that social justice goals and principles have been present within the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans that I discussed. But, I illustrated that the LLDC's style of incorporating social justice goals, replicating the approaches mobilised in other statutory plans that I discussed, was to make the pursuit of social justice subordinate to key economic, market-based and financial goals. Consequently, my thesis provides empirical support for the argument that a key element of neoliberal governance is subjecting the pursuit of social justice to broader economic growth goals, market-based criteria, financial considerations, technocratic forms of governing, as well as a 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda (Allmendinger and Haughton 2009; Davies 2014b; Flynn 2016; Lees et al. 2012); although, for the LLDC, at least discursively, a 'mixed and balanced communities' policy agenda also had the capacity to be mobilised to realise social justice policy goals.

Additionally, and pertinently, my discussions across these chapters has also demonstrated that a rationale which presents Gypsy and Traveller accommodation as being particularly harmful to urban environments, also pervades housing and regeneration planning within England. This means that although my thesis provides support for Haughton et al.'s (2013) argument that English planning privileges the pursuit of neoliberal policy goals, it also provides a challenge to them by demonstrating that other policy goals, which are not classifiable as neoliberal are also privileged within English planning. Thus, my thesis also highlights a need for academic discussions around neoliberalism and planning to simultaneously have greater appreciation for the ways in which neoliberal policy goals and rationalities of governing may be privileged in concert with a wider range of policy goals and rationalities of governing. Adopting this more open analytical framework will enable future research on English planning's operation as a system of governmentality to provide more robust accounts of the range of policy goals and rationalities of governing privileged in housing and regeneration planning within different local-level planning contexts.

8.2.2 Relations of influence within English planning's multi-level system

With regards to **RQ2**, this thesis' core concern was to use to the LLDC case to explore what conclusions can be made about the impacts of English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies and statutory spaces of governing on the power(s) that various governance actors have to shape local-level planning. As highlighted in section 2.3, I was particularly interested in examining whether these technologies of governing and statutory spaces chiefly enable top-down or multi-directional relations of influence between national-, metropolitan-, local- and neighbourhood-level governance actors. My decision to explore this theoretical tension was motivated by: (1) my identification of English planning as a hierarchical system of governing (see section 2.3.2); (2) English planning's rule that lower-level planning actors' plans must conform with higher-level planning actors' strategic plans, whilst also allowing lower-level planning actors to retain some autonomy over how higher-level planning actors' policy aspirations are incorporated within their own plans (Allmendinger 2006; Allmendinger and Haughton 2013; Crook 1996; Hart et al. 2015); and (3) my engagement with relational approaches to multi-level governing which argue that multi-level governing can allow for multi-directional relations of influence (Jessop 2004; Marks 1993). Given these motivations, I ultimately wanted to use my investigations within **RQ2** to explore whether a relational approach to multi-level governing is useful in helping to conceptualise the operation of English planning's multi-level governing technology, which is affected by its rules-based governing technology.

Chapter four contributed to this discussion by examining the relations of influence that exist between central government's, the GLA's, Hackney Council's, Newham Council's and the OPLC's (the LLDC in its former guise) plans. I demonstrated that in relation to planning for social and 'affordable' housing the GLA's, Hackney Council's, Newham Council's and the OPLC's plans follow the same aforementioned policy approach adopted by national government within their *NPPF* (see section 8.2.1). This is because planning's rules about conformity between strategic plans across different tiers mean that metropolitan- and local-level planning actors are required to adopt the same policy approach adopted by national government. This planning rule also meant that the GLA's, Hackney Council's and Newham Council's broad policy approach to Gypsy and Traveller

accommodation mirrored that of national government. Thus, this chapter provided strong support for the argument that English planning's multi-level system of governing is chiefly marked by top-down relations of influence. However, chapter four also showed that within these top-down relations lower-level planning actors were given room to determine specific housing targets for their respective planning boundaries. This autonomy, for instance, manifested in different 'affordable' housing targets and Traveller pitch targets between Hackney Council's, Newham Council's and the OPLC's respective plans.

Chapter five furthered discussions by exploring how English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies shaped relations of influence between governance actors participating within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process. This chapter provided important understandings of how top-down relations of influence manifest within the arena of local-level planning. It was demonstrated that within the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process statutory consultations such as the EiP, and aspects of these consultations like the role of the independent examiner, acted as important tools and actors that effectively enabled national government and the GLA to shape the LLDC's plans 'from a distance'. This is because these aspects of the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process served a chief function of ensuring conformity between the LLDC's plans and the GLA's and national government's connected plans. However, this chapter also began to provide support for the argument that planning's hierarchical multi-level governing technology does allow for multi-directional relations of influence within a *Local Plan* production process. I, for instance, demonstrated that Newham Council have had a strong bearing on the LLDC's strategic plans for Greater Carpenters and that neighbourhood communities have had marginal influences on some of the LLDC's plans (e.g. for the development principles for Greater Carpenters). Consequently, this chapter provided strong support for the idea that English planning can allow for horizontal relations of influence between local-level planning actors. It also provided weaker support for the idea that English planning allows for some bottom-up relations of influence between neighbourhood communities and LPAs.

Chapter six added to discussions by reflecting on my research participants' interview responses. This chapter was important for showing that whilst the GLA have been able

to exert influence over the LLDC's plans 'from a distance', the historical particularity of their governance structure, where Boris Johnson had been the chair of the LLDC's Board, meant that the GLA have been able to exert this influence 'from within' the LLDC. However, this chapter was chiefly important for demonstrating that the Olympic host boroughs also had a significant bearing on Boris Johnson's and the GLA's perspectives about the policy goals that the LLDC should be trying to realise within their statutory plans. So, this chapter provided stronger support for the argument that within the LLDC's planning context bottom-up relations of influence have been exhibited. This is in addition to me presenting perspectives which provided mixed accounts about the capacity that the Olympic host boroughs have had to influence the LLDC's plans through consultations and LLDC Board and PDC meetings. Interestingly, though, reflections from neighbourhood community representatives somewhat quelled arguments in chapter five that communities have also retained some minor capacity to exhibit bottom-up relations of influence. But, overall, chapter six provided further support for the argument that English planning's hierarchical multi-level governing technology can encompass multi-directional relations of influence within the arena of local-level planning.

The contributions from each of these chapters in relation to **RQ2** have notable implications for the applicability to my research context of relational approaches to multi-level governing. My discussions provide some support for perspectives which argue that lower-level governance actors have the power to shape the activities of higher-level governance actors (Brenner 2004; Jessop 1997b, 2004; Marks 1993). However, my discussions also suggest that future applications of relational perspectives to an analysis of English planning's multi-level governing technology would benefit from recognising that within possibilities for multi-directional relations of influence, top-down relations of influence are currently the chief power dynamic. Thus, in the arena of local-level planning, although a broad constellation of public, private and civil society actors, operating at a variety of scales, do exert influence over a LPA's plans, it is central government (and their policy aspirations) and subsequently metropolitan government (and their policy aspirations) that still have significant structural influence over a LPA's plans.

This conclusion also has implications for arguments within the regulatory capitalism discourse about power-relations between states and corporations within policy formulation. Within this discourse, it has been argued that states and private bodies are increasingly playing joint roles in policy formulation (see Raco 2012). However, my conclusion highlights that, in the arena of English planning, state actors still hold chief power in shaping planning policy formulation; although, as the LLDC itself highlights, individuals representing the private sector can take up important positions within public sector institutions. Thus, attempts to apply elements of the regulatory capitalism discourse to an analysis of English planning need to give greater credence to the balance of power that my research has identified between states and private bodies in planning policy formulation. Importantly, a strategic-relational approach can help us in understanding why this power dynamic currently exists. A strategic-relational approach causes us to think about the broader spatial, social, economic and political objectives that systems like planning are meant to be serving. Asking these questions helps in illuminating that currently English planning and its technologies of governing are still fundamentally geared towards supporting the realisation of '[g]overnment's planning policies for England and how these are expected to be applied' (DCLG 2012: 1).

8.3.3   Limitations and possibilities of community participation in planning

For **RQ3**, this thesis' core concern was to use my research context to come to conclusions about the impacts of communities using statutory planning spaces and technologies as vehicles to shape planning policies for their area of concern. As emphasised in section 2.4, my particular concern was with exploring what utility communities, particularly those privileging social justice agendas, derive from participating in statutory consultations and engaging with neighbourhood planning. I was interested in using my empirical discussion to navigate between strong debates about the limitations and possibilities of community participation in planning. My decision to investigate this conceptual tension was shaped by: (1) my engagement with Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced perspectives which ultimately see forms of community participation in statutory planning as tools that function to consolidate the pursuit of state actors' planning aspirations (Allmendinger and Haughton 2012, 2015; Davoudi and Mandanipour 2013; Rosol 2015); (2) my engagement with critical pragmatist

perspectives, which argue that communities and citizens retain the capability to engage with institutional systems of governance, such as planning, subversively (Unger 2007); and (3) my engagement with critical pragmatist perspectives which argue that evaluations of the utility derived from engaging with institutional systems of governance should be made through examinations of how any instance of engagement relates to a broader repertoire of action (*ibid*). Thus, I wanted to explore whether participation in planning should be conceptualised as an inhibiting or an empowering tool for the communities that I researched.

My empirical engagement with **RQ3** began in chapter five. A vital element of this chapter was exploring the power that communities have had, through their participation in the LLDC's *Local Plan* production process, to shape the policy goals privileged within the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans. This chapter demonstrated that communities had mixed results in mobilising their participation to engender changes to the LLDC's plans. For 'affordable' housing, community representatives' strong and sustained opposition to the LLDC's 35 percent 'affordable' housing target, and their desires to see the LLDC establish a higher 'affordable' housing target, did not lead to any alterations to the LLDC's target. However, strong and sustained challenges from community representatives over the LLDC's Gypsy and Traveller accommodation plans and their plans for Greater Carpenters did lead to marginal alterations to these LLDC plans. Notably, alterations were only made as a result of recommendations made by the independent inspector, who during the EiP was persuaded by some of the perspectives and arguments mobilised by community representatives. Thus, this chapter demonstrated the greater capacity that communities had to use verbal debates (that were adjudicated by an independent figure) than written statements to influence the LLDC's plans.

Chapter six furthered my investigation by providing interview responses from community representatives about their participation within the LLDC's planning framework. It particularly presented their thoughts about whether they have been empowered through their participation in the LLDC's planning framework. I demonstrated that communities had found the LLDC's planning framework to be open and participatory. However, there were strong reservations expressed by community

representatives about their capacity to shape the LLDC's plans through participating in the LLDC's statutory consultations. Representatives: (1) questioned the power that their voices and aspirations carried relative to other public governance actors within the LLDC's statutory consultations; and (2) regarded the consultations as tick-box activities that were not benevolently designed to enable their views and aspirations to powerfully shape the LLDC's planning policies. Consequently, community perspectives presented in this chapter served to check more optimistic conclusions provided in chapter five about the possibilities of community participation in planning.

Given the conclusions made in chapter six, chapter seven investigated alternative methods that community groups within my research context—the HWFICIG and the GCNF—are adopting to try and impact on housing and regeneration planning within the LLDC's planning boundary. This investigation saw me discuss the HWFICIG's attempts to use their meeting spaces and the GCNF's attempts to use neighbourhood planning as vehicles to influence workspace planning for Hackney Wick and housing planning for Greater Carpenters respectively. Supplementing this discussion, I also reflected on other forms of action that could effectively support the HWFICIG's and the GCNF's existing methods of action. I did this with reference to Focus E15's utilisation of creative direct action in relation to Greater Carpenters and Just Space's varied engagements with London-wide planning. This latter focus on Just Space reflects my thesis' recognition that communities in my research area will need to engage in multi-level action to more powerfully influence the LLDC's future plans. Of relevance for the latter part of **RQ3**, the totality of my discussions across this chapter led me to argue that the possibilities associated with community participation in statutory planning have the potential to be enhanced if this participation is situated within a broader multi-faceted strategy of action.

Collectively, the contributions made by each of these chapters allow me to draw important conclusions on Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced perspectives and critical pragmatist arguments about community/citizen participation in statutory planning, and broader institutional forms of governance. My discussions do provide some support for Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced perspectives. In particular, perspectives which see participatory processes as vital tools in state governing because

they provide 'legitimacy' to a state actor's planning policy formulation process by giving communities 'freedom' to articulate their policy aspirations whist simultaneously enabling state actors to use 'rational' debate to marginalise community policy aspirations that conflict with these state actors' aspirations (Rosol 2015: 261; Allmendinger and Haughton 2012, 2015). This was for instance seen within the discussion of the LLDC's 'affordable' housing target where LLDC representatives used the perceived value-free and incontestable results of their viability study to quash community perspectives that the LLDC should be mobilising a much higher 'affordable' housing target.

However, at the same time, the results from my empirical chapters do challenge elements of Foucauldian argumentation. Significantly, communities did not simply acquiesce to the LLDC's preferred plans. Rather, they consistently and strongly challenged the LLDC's preferred housing and regeneration plans; although, at best, community representatives' challenges only engendered marginal alterations to the LLDC's preferred plans. Despite this limited success, it is important to recognise, in keeping with Unger's (2007) perspective on this matter, that communities/citizens can still mobilise their agency to engage subversively with statutory forms of governing. Foucauldian and Foucauldian-influenced perspectives would benefit from having a greater appreciation of this community/citizen capacity.

Additionally, my discussions in chapter seven highlight that Foucauldian perspectives would benefit from taking a more relational outlook on instances of community participation in planning, as Unger's (*ibid*) framework directs us towards doing. Adopting such an approach, for instance, has allowed me to find important value in the minor alterations that Carpenters representatives were able to engender to the LLDC's plans for Greater Carpenters. This minor success has acted as a springboard which is enabling the GCNF to develop a neighbourhood plan which, if adopted, will create a neighbourhood-level policy framework that privileges their social justice agenda for Greater Carpenters. Subsequently, the value I have currently found in the GCNF's neighbourhood planning activities could be enhanced if the GCNF complement neighbourhood planning with other forms of action that enable their future neighbourhood plan policies to be taken up within any LLDC planning decision for

Greater Carpenters. As a result of this analysis, it is my contention that Unger's (*ibid*) radical pragmatism framework provides us with a valuable conceptual path for thinking about how communities can enhance the possibilities associated with their participation in statutory planning.

8.3.4   *English planning's operation as a current system of neoliberal governmentality*

My enquiries within each of my research questions have enabled me to examine the overarching argument that this thesis explores. Section 1.2 (also see section 8.1) outlined that this argument is that English planning currently operates as a system of neoliberal governmentality (Haughton et al. 2013). Section 8.2.1 concluded that English planning has structured the LLDC into adopting housing and regeneration plans that pursue neoliberal policy goals, where what is understood by a neoliberal policy goal is framed by Allmendinger and Haughton's (2009) and Davies' (2014b) conceptions of neoliberal governance (see section 8.2.1); although in the arena of planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, English planning has also structured the LLDC into privileging a rationale which serves to represent Traveller sites as particularly harmful to the urban environment. Section 8.2.2 concluded that English planning's multi-level and rules-based governing technologies, and its statutory spaces, have particularly empowered governance actors who privilege neoliberal policy goals, to have significant influence over the policy direction(s) of the LLDC's plans. Section 8.2.3 concluded that statutory spaces within the LLDC's planning framework have enabled governance actors who are privileging social justice goals and principles—who were typically community actors—to have only marginal influences on some aspects of the LLDC's housing and regeneration plans.

As a result of these conclusions, this thesis does provide overall support for Haughton et al.'s (2013) argument that English planning currently represents a key system of neoliberal governmentality, within Britain's wider neoliberal political economy. It would appear from my case study that English planning's key structural technologies and its statutory spaces structure the pursuit of neoliberal policy goals, and particularly empowers governance actors who are privileging these policy goals. Although, my results in relation to planning for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation do suggest that

investigations of English planning should also explicitly explore what wider sets of policy goals and rationalities of governing currently permeate English planning. Conducting this type of analysis will help in enhancing understandings of the broad range of policy goals and rationalities of governing shaping contemporary planning.

Intriguingly, my conclusions also illustrate that English planning's operation as a current system of neoliberal governmentality does make space for governance actors—in my research context largely community-level actors—pursuing social justice goals. But, English planning subordinates their pursuit of social justice to broader economic, financial and market-based objectives. The fact that my research has shown that community actors are using their engagements with planning to try and bring in to being piece-by-piece changes to its current operation demonstrates their belief that community action can help to recapture planning from neoliberal political ideology and push it towards privileging social justice aims. It is my belief that academic research into English planning should aid this cause by examining and critically supporting community strategies aimed at realising this goal. Conducting this type of research will assist in enhancing understandings of actions, activities and strategies that can help make interconnected tiers of English planning privilege the pursuit of social justice.

8.4   Concluding remarks: Broader relevance of my research

This thesis has been specifically concerned with considering the implications of LLDC planning for conceptualisations of English planning as a system of governmentality. However, there are several other areas where my research is of relevance for urban planning and urban governance literature. Firstly, at a metropolitan level and national level, my research on the LLDC is useful for contributing to conceptualisations of development corporations within London and Britain. This importantly builds on existing research on development corporations (see Brownill 1999; Brownill & O'Hara 2015; Imrie and Thomas 1999b; Raco and Henderson 2006; Rustin and Cohen 2008). For example, Imrie and Thomas (1999a) have significantly emphasised that development corporations have been subject to institutional, political and spatial specificities which has resulted in varied operations, powers and objectives. A comparative research project on the LLDC and OPDC would usefully contribute to this research agenda. It

would do so through considering whether and how the institutional, political, spatial *and temporal* particularities of each of these development corporations' governance context has resulted in varied operations, powers and objectives between these development corporations, and previous incarnations of development corporations. Valuably, this research agenda would assist in developing a theory of UDCs from the 1980s to the present within a British urban landscape.

Secondly, at a local, metropolitan and national level, the discussions within this thesis are of relevance for communities and other governance actors who desire for English planning's operation as a system of governmentality to primarily facilitate the pursuit of social justice. My thesis has identified that multi-faceted and multi-level action is necessary to transform the policy goals and rationalities of governing that English planning structures LPAs into privileging within their local-level plans. I discussed types of actions and strategies that may be useful in beginning to transform the planning landscape within the LLDC's planning boundary and London. Whilst being aware of the importance of developing locally rooted strategies of action, it is my contention that communities and governance actors who are interested in transforming planning may be able to learn some useful lessons from community actors within my research context. In this regard, my thesis contributes to existing scholarly and activist work which discusses potential methods of action for transforming London's planning landscape (see, for example Brown et al. 2014; Lipietz et al. 2014).

However, as emphasised at the end of section 7.4, I also think that a salient research and action agenda is for communities, campaigners and academics to take up the difficult task of thinking about the type of national-level actions and strategies that will begin to transform planning's current operation as a system of governmentality. Section 2.2.1 of my literature review argued that the policy goals and rationalities of governing that planning privileges are shaped by the ideological and policy agendas privileged within the broader governance and political landscape that a planning system operates within. So, a challenging task that we are left with is to also think about the types of national-level actions and strategies that will assist in step-by-step transforming Britain's current governance and political landscape so that these landscapes, and subsequently planning, centres the pursuit of social justice.

Lastly, and on a more international level, discussions across my thesis are also of significance for governance actors and academics concerned with Olympic legacy planning. Section 1.1 outlined that there has been extensive research on Olympic Games and mega-events. An important theme running through this research is considering some of the governance implications of, or lessons to be learned from, hosting an Olympic Games (see deLisle 2009; Gold and Gold 2008; Hill 1997; Larson and Park 1993; Raco 2012, 2013, 2014; Tufts 2004; Zhang & Zhao 2009). Within this, a key agenda has been exploring what lessons future Olympic cities can learn about legacy planning from previous Olympic cities (see for example Coaffee 2012; Davies 2011; Darcy 2016).

Through my research focus, I have shown that if an Olympic Games is not situated within a planning system and wider systems of governmentality that privilege the pursuit of social justice, it is challenging to develop Olympic legacy planning policies that will powerfully benefit local low-income and marginalised groups. For governance actors with sincere desires to use an Olympic Games to achieve such social justice goals, my research demonstrates that it is vital to think about the transformations to wider systems of governmentality and political landscapes that are necessary to enable an Olympic Games to achieve these goals.

Whilst my thesis has this broader relevance, its chief contribution remains the argument that the LLDC's plans have been produced within, and reflect, a planning system which currently largely operates a key system of neoliberal governmentality. Crucially, within this argument, questions have been raised about whether the development and regeneration needs of low-income and marginalised groups in east London—who were ostensibly at the heart of the convergence agenda—have been the driving force behind LLDC planning. Indeed, these concerns are motivating multi-faceted efforts from communities to have their development and regeneration needs placed at the heart of future LLDC planning. These efforts have only yielded some minor successes so far. However, these continued community efforts, which in the long-term will need to be diversified and scaled up, will be vital in pushing future LLDC plans to be more for the direct benefit of east London's low-income and marginalised communities.

Appendices

Appendix 1:   Initial consent form

Informed Consent Form for   involvement in a UCL PhD
research project exploring the governance of real estate and housing in Stratford.

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Project: **Return of the Urban Development Corporation: Exploring Real-Estate and Housing Governance within the London Legacy Development Corporation Planning Area**

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID Number): 6191/001

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part, the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you to decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Participant's Statement

I _____

- have read the notes written above and the Information Sheet, and understand what the study involves.

- have had the opportunity to ask questions about this study and have had these answered satisfactorily.

- understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.

- consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study.

- understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

- understand that interview discussions may appear in this research's final report and I will be sent a copy.

- agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.

Signed: Date:

Appendix 2:   Final consent form

Informed Consent Form for   involvement in a UCL PhD
research project exploring the governance of real estate and housing in London's Olympic Area.

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Provisional Title of Project: **Return of the Urban Development Corporation: Exploring Real-Estate and Housing Governance within the London Legacy Development Corporation Planning Area**

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID Number): 6191/001

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part, the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you to decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Participant's Statement

I   _____

- have read the notes written above and the Information Sheet, and understand what the study involves.
- have had the opportunity to ask questions about this study and have had these answered satisfactorily.
- understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.
- consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study.
- understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.
- understand that interview discussions may appear in this research's final report and I will be sent a copy.
- agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.

Please tick this box if you are happy to participate in this study ☐

Please tick this box if you are happy for your name to appear in the study (If you leave this box empty then your comments will be anonymised) ☐

Please tick this box if you are happy for this interview to be recorded ☐

Signed: Date:

Appendix 3:   Notification of ethical approval

UCL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
ACADEMIC SERVICES

Dr Andrew Harris
Department of Geography
UCL

16 January 2015

Dear Dr Harris

Notification of Ethical Approval
Project ID 6191/001: Governing Olympic 'Legacies': Exploring the Governance of London 2012's Real Estate and Housing 'Legacies' within Stratford

I am pleased to confirm in my capacity as Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee that I have approved by your study for the duration of the project i.e. until **August 2017.** Approval is subject to the following conditions:

1.   You must seek Chair's approval for proposed amendments to the research for which this approval has been given. Ethical approval is specific to this project and must not be treated as applicable to research of a similar nature. Each research project is reviewed separately and if there are significant changes to the research protocol you should seek confirmation of continued ethical approval by completing the 'Amendment Approval Request Form': http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/responsibilities.php

2.   It is your responsibility to report to the Committee any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to participants or others. Both non-serious and serious adverse events must be reported.

     Reporting Non-Serious Adverse Events
     For non-serious adverse events you will need to inform Helen Dougal, Ethics Committee Administrator (ethics@ucl.ac.uk), within ten days of an adverse incident occurring and provide a full written report that should include any amendments to the participant information sheet and study protocol. The Chair or Vice-Chair of the Ethics Committee will confirm that the incident is non-serious and report to the Committee at the next meeting. The final view of the Committee will be communicated to you.
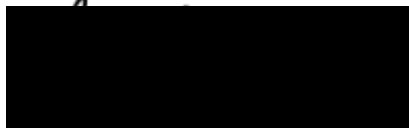
Reporting Serious Adverse Events

The Ethics Committee should be notified of all serious adverse events via the Ethics Committee Administrator immediately the incident occurs. Where the adverse incident is unexpected and serious, the Chair or Vice-Chair will decide whether the study should be terminated pending the opinion of an independent expert. The adverse event will be considered at the next Committee meeting and a decision will be made on the need to change the information leaflet and/or study protocol.

On completion of the research you must submit a brief report (a maximum of two sides of A4) of your findings/concluding comments to the Committee, which includes in particular issues relating to the ethical implications of the research. Academic Service, 2 Taviton Street, University College London Gower Street London WC1E 6BT Tel: +44 (0)20 3108 4312 Email: ethics@ucl.ac.uk http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/

With best wishes for the research.

Yours sincerely

Professor John Foreman
Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee

Cc: Cecil Sagoe, Applicant

Appendix 4: Research ethics application form

IMPORTANT: ALL FIELDS <u>MUST</u> BE COMPLETED. THE FORM SHOULD BE COMPLETED IN PLAIN ENGLISH UNDERSTANDABLE TO LAY COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

SEE <u>NOTES IN STATUS BAR</u> FOR ADVICE ON COMPLETING EACH FIELD. YOU SHOULD READ THE ETHICS APPLICATION GUIDELINES AND HAVE THEM AVAILABLE AS YOU COMPLETE THIS FORM.

APPLICATION FORM

SECTION A	APPLICATION DETAILS

A1	**Project Title: Governing Olympic 'Legacies': Exploring the Governance of London 2012's Real Estate and Housing 'Legacies' within Stratford**	
	Date of Submission: 28/1 1 /2014	Proposed Start Date: 27/01 /2015
	UCL Ethics Project ID Number: 6191 /OOl	Proposed End Date: 31/08/2017
	If this is an application for classroom research as distinct from independent study courses, please provide the following additional details:	
	Course Title:	Course Number:

A2	**Principal Researcher**	
	Please note that a student — undergraduate, postgraduate or research postgraduate cannot be the Principal Researcher for Ethics purposes.	
	Full Name: Dr. Andrew Harris	Position Held: Lecturer
	Address: Department of Geography, 26 Bedford way, London, WCIH OAP	Email: andrew.harris@ucl.ac.uk
		Telephone: 0207 679 5528
		Fax: 0207 679 7565
	Declaration To be Signed by the Principal Researcher • I have met with and advised the student on the ethical aspects of this project design (applicable only if the Principal Researcher is not also the Applicant). • I understand that it is a UCL requirement for both students & staff researchers to undergo Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) Checks when working in controlled or regulated activity with children, young people or vulnerable adults. The required DBS Check Disclosure Number(s) is: • I have obtained approval from the UCL Data Protection Officer stating that the research project is compliant with the Data Protection Act 1998. My Data Protection Registration Number is: Z6364106/2014/10/77	

- I am satisfied that the research complies with current professional, departmental and university guidelines including UCL's Risk Assessment Procedures and insurance arrangements.

- I undertake to complete and submit the 'Continuing Review Approval Form' on an annual basis to the UCL Research Ethics Committee.

- I will ensure that changes in approved research protocols are reported promptly and are not initiated without approval by the UCL Research Ethics Committee, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the participant.

- I will ensure that all adverse or unforeseen problems arising from the research project are reported in a timely fashion to the UCL Research Ethics Committee.

I will undertake to provide notification when the study is complete and if it fails to start or is abandoned.

SIGNATURE: ███████████ DATE: 28|11|14

A3	**Applicant(s) Details** (*if Applicant is not the Principal Researcher e.g. student details*):	
	Full Name: Cecil Sagoe	
	Position Held: PhD Candidate	
	Address: 25 Emsworth Close, Edmonton, London, N9 8NW	Email: cecil.sagoe.13@ ucl.ac.uk
		Telephone: 07946277062
		Fax: NA
	Full Name:	
	Position Held:	
	Address:	Email:
		Telephone:
		Fax:

A4 | **Sponsor/ Other Organisations Involved and Funding**

a) **Sponsor:** ☒ UCL ☐ Other institution

If your project is sponsored by an institution other than UCL please provide details:

b) **Other Organisations**: If your study involves another organisation, please provide details. Evidence that the relevant authority has given permission should be attached or confirmation provided that this will be available upon request.

c) **Funding:** What are the sources of funding for this study and will the study result in financial payment or payment in kind to the department or College? If study is funded solely by UCL this should be stated, the section should not be left blank.

Economics and Social Research Council. They will pay for my tuition fees and provide me with a maintenance allowance.

A5 | **Signature of Head of Department or Chair of the Departmental Ethics Committee**

(This must not be the same signature as the Principal Researcher)

I have discussed this project with the principal researcher who is suitably qualified to carry out this research and I approve it. The project is registered with the UCL Data Protection Officer, a formal signed risk assessment form has been completed, and appropriate insurance arrangements are in place. *Links to details of I-JCL's policies on data protection, risk assessment, and insurance arrangements can be found at: http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/procedures.php*

UCL is required by law to ensure that researchers undergo a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) Check if their research project puts them in a position of trust with children under 18 or vulnerable adults.

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT TO DELETE BELOW AS APPLICABLE

I am satisfied that checks: **(1) have been satisfactorily-completed**

(2) have been initiated

(3) are not required

If checks are not required please clarify below:

Chair's Action Recommended: ☑ **Yes** ☐ **No**

315

A recommendation for Chair's action can be based only on the criteria of minimal risk as defined in the Terms of Reference of the UCL Research Ethics Committee.

PRINT NAME:

SIGNATURE: **DATE:**

SECTION B	DETAILS OF THE PROJECT

B1 **Please provide a brief summary of the project in <u>simple prose</u> outlining the intended value of the project, giving necessary scientific background** *(max 500 words).*

Literature on London 2012's regeneration and housing 'legacies' for east London has been extensive. My PhD aims to contribute to this literature by comprehensively exploring the governance of real estate and housing (post London 2012) within the section of the London Legacy Development Corporation's (LLDC) planning boundary covering Stratford, Newham. My research intends to shed light on the roles played by, and relationships between, a number of state, market and civil society actors historically and currently influencing the governance of real estate and housing within Stratford. I will particularly: (1) examine the implications of the LLDC's establishment as a planning authority in 2012 (for the Olympic Park and its peripheries) on these two sectors' governance; and (2) extensively explore the diverse strategies utilised by community level actors to shape real estate and housing governance within my research area. These are two relatively under-researched topics within literature discussing London 2012's social and political implications for east London. I therefore hope that my PhD will add value to this literature on London 2012 by exploring these two topics.

Within my research I also plan on working collaboratively with and supporting community groups in their efforts to influence real estate and housing governance within Stratford. Consequently, I hope that this supportive work, as well as my research outputs, will be valuable to them.

B2 Briefly characterise in <u>simple prose</u> the research protocol, type of procedure and/or research methodology (e.g. observational, survey research, experimental). Give details of any samples or measurements to be taken *(max 500 words).*

I will adopt a mixed-methodological approach within my research. This mixed methodology will encompass participatory, ethnographic and quantitative approaches. Within this mixed-methodological approach I will be use the following research methods to gather research data: planning document analysis, interviews, participant observation, and hedonic regression analysis.

Attach any questionnaires, psychological tests, etc. (a standardised questionnaire does not need to be attached, but please provide the name and details of the questionnaire together with a published reference to its prior usage).

B3 Where will the study take place (please provide name of institution/department)?

If the study is to be carried out overseas, what steps have been taken to secure research and ethical permission in the study country?

Is the research compliant with Data Protection legislation in the country concerned or is it compliant with the UK Data Protection Act 1998?

The research will take place in London. University College London is the host institution. The Geography department is the host department.

B4 Have collaborating departments whose resources will be needed been informed and agreed to participate?

Attach any relevant correspondence.

N/A

B5 How will the results be disseminated, including communication of results with research participants?

I plan on disseminating research results in the following formats:

- Articles in academic journals

- University and beyond-university events (e.g. conferences, workshops)

- Reports for community groups that I work with in my research

- Final thesis (which will be available for all research participants to read)

B6 | **Please outline any ethical issues that might arise from the proposed study and how they are be addressed.** *Please note that all research projects have some ethical considerations so do not leave this section blank.*

I currently anticipate the following ethical issues being relevant for my research

1. **Consent:** I intend on seeking informed consent from all interviewees either in written or verbal form. With regards to carrying out participatory and ethnographic research with community groups, I plan on providing an outline of my research to them and seeking their permission for me to carry out this research.

2. **Overt/covert research:** I intend on being open and honest about my research as much as possible. However, there may be instances when I conduct research on individuals, without their knowledge, who are subsequently described in my research write up. I aim to minimise this possibility by always briefly outlining my research prior to carrying out research, and offering to speak to anybody who raises concerns about it.

3. **Anonymity:** It will be important to approach the issue of anonymity on a case-by-case basis. In each instance I will ensure that research participants remain anonymous if they request anonymity or if them being identified may be damaging to them. Anonymity, however, may still be hard to achieve due to the small number of people involved in the research; this may mean that they are still identifiable even if they remain anonymous within my write-up. For community groups that I am carrying out participatory work with, if they believe that they are still identifiable in a damaging way in any written sections (even if I anonymise them) then I will remove these sections from my final thesis.

4. **Representation:** When writing up about the community groups that I am working collaboratively with I intend on sharing what I write about the group with them so that they have opportunities to contest and suggest amendments to what I have written. In this way it is hoped that the group will play a meaningful hand in representing themselves within my research.

C1	**Participants to be studied**

C1a. Number of Volunteers:	45
Upper age limit:	NA
Lower age limit:	18

C1b. Please justify the age range and sample size:

Number of volunteers

- I plan on interviewing 20 community-level actors and 25 public/private actors who are involved with real estate and housing governance in Stratford.

Age limits

- The age limits have been decided based on my plan not to research anybody below the age of 18 as it is unlikely that anybody below this age will be currently involved with housing governance in Stratford.

SECTION C	**DETAILS OF PARTICIPANTS**

C2	**If you are using data or information held by a third party, please explain how you will obtain this. You should confirm that the information has been obtained in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998.**

In my research I plan on analysing the following planning documents (each of which I can confirm have been obtained with accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998).

- Planning Policy Guidance 3: Housing (2000)
- Planning Policy Guidance 3: Housing (2010)
- National Planning Policy Framework (2012)
- National Planning Practice Guidance (2014)
- The London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London (2004)
- The London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London — Consolidated with Alterations since 2004 (2008)
- The London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London (201 1)
- Draft Further Alterations to the London Plan: The Spatial Development Strategy for London (2014) Newham 2027: Newham's Local Plan — The Core Strategy (2012)

	• Newham Unitary Development Plan (2001) • Stratford Metropolitan Master plan (2011) • LLDC Local Plan 2015 — 2031 : Publication Version (2014) • Carpenters Community Plan (2013) • The Olympic Park Master plan (2006) • Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance (2012)

C3	**Will the research include children or vulnerable adults such as individuals with a learning disability or cognitive impairment or individuals in a dependent or unequal relationship?** ☐ ☒ Yes No How will you ensure that participants in these groups are competent to give consent to take part in this study? *If you have relevant correspondence, please attach it.*

C4	**Will payment or any other incentive, such as gift service or free services, be made to any research** ☐ ☒ **participant?** Yes No If yes, please specify the level of payment to be made and/or the source of the funds/gift/free service to be used. Please justify the payment/other incentive you intend to offer.

C5	**Recruitment** (i) Describe how potential participants will be identified: • Community actors — potential participants will be chosen from citizens in Stratford who are attempting to shape the governance of real estate and housing within Stratford. • Public actors — participants will be decided after identifying which individuals would be best for me to talk to (through emailing and/or calling the public body in question) about the role that public bodies play in Stratford's real estate and housing governance. • Private actors — participants will be decided after identifying which individuals would be best for me to talk to (through emailing and/or calling the private organisation in question) about the role that their organisation play in Stratford's real estate and housing governance

(ii) Describe how potential participants will be approached:

Potential participants will be approached by email or phone. If approached by email I send them my research information sheet. If approaching them by phone I will outline: my research aims; how I intend on using data gathered in the interview; my research outputs and intended recipients.

(iii) Describe how participants will be recruited:

After confirming with the potential participant they are happy to participate in my interview I will get them to sign an interview consent form (if I have been touch with them over email). If contact with the participant has been made by phone I will seek their verbal consent to being interviewed (where I will also discuss any data protection issues).

Attach recruitment emails/adverts/webpages. A data protection disclaimer should be included in the text of such literature.

C6 **Will the participants participate on a fully voluntary basis?**

☒ Yes ☐ No

Will UCL students be involved as participants in the research project?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If yes, care must be taken to ensure that they are recruited in such a way that they do not feel any obligation to a teacher or member of staff to participate.

Please state how you will bring to the attention of the participants their right to withdraw from the study without penalty?

I will do this getting participants to read and sign my consent form which highlights that they have the right to withdraw from the study without penalty. If I am not able to provide potential participants with a consent form prior to conducting research I will tell them verbally that they have the right to withdraw from my research without penalty.

C7 **CONSENT**

Please describe the process you will use when seeking and obtaining consent.

Prior to carrying out any participatory work with community groups in Stratford that I encounter in my research I will initially outline my research aims, research methods and intended research outputs to them (in both written and verbal form). I will then seek the written and/or verbal consent of members of these community groups before carrying out research with and on them.

Generally, when seeking to gain the consent of individuals to participate in my interviews, I will:

1. Initially contact the relevant individual about me carrying out a research interview with them (by phone or email).

2. If the relevant individual expresses interest in participating in an interview I will send them my research information sheet (see section CIO below for the information sheet that I will use).

3. If they are still interested in participating in an interview, prior to conducting the interview, I will ask them to read through and sign a consent form (See section 10) to confirm that they are still happy to participate in this interview.

There may be instances when I am carrying out ethnographic research in Stratford where I meet someone who I would like to interview and I do not have my information sheet or consent form to hand. In this instance I will briefly outline my research, how I intend on using the information discussed in the interview, and seek the participant's verbal consent before conducting the interview.

A copy of the participant information sheet and consent form must be attached to this application. For your convenience proformas are provided in CIO below. These should be filled in and modified as necessary.

In cases where it is not proposed to obtain the participants informed consent, please explain why below.

Throughout my research I intend on seeking the informed consent of research participants. However, as is common with ethnographic research there may be instances when I conduct research on individuals (e.g. participant observation), without their informed consent, who are subsequently described in my research write up. For these individuals, like with other research participants, I will ensure that they remain anonymous in my research. I aim to minimise the possibility of this situation

arising in the first place by always being open about my research prior to carrying out research, and offering to speak to anybody who raises concerns about it.

| C8 | **Will any form of deception be used that raises ethical issues? If so, please explain.**

No |

| C9 | **Will you provide a full debriefing at the end of the data collection phase?**

☒ Yes ☐ No

If 'No', please explain why below. |

| C10 | **Information Sheets And Consent Forms**

A poorly written Information Sheet(s) and Consent Form(s) that lack clarity and simplicity frequently delay ethics approval of research projects. The wording and content of the Information Sheet and Consent Form must be appropriate to the age and educational level of the research participants and clearly state in simple non-technical language what the participant is agreeing to. Use the active voice e.g. "we will book" rather than "bookings will be made". Refer to participants as "you" and yourself as "I" or "we" An appropriate translation of the Forms should be provided where the first language of the participants is not English. If you have different participant groups you should provide Information Sheets and Consent Forms as appropriate (e.g. one for children and one for parents/guardians) using the templates below. Where children are of a reading age, a written Information Sheet should be provided. When participants cannot read or the use of forms would be inappropriate, a description of the verbal information to be provided should be given. Please ensure that you trial the forms on an age-appropriate person before you submit your application |

Information Sheet for   involvement in a UCL PhD
research project exploring the governance of real estate and housing in Stratford.

You will be given a copy of this information sheet.
Title of Project: Return of the Urban Development Corporation: Exploring Real-Estate
and Housing Governance within the London Legacy Development Corporation Planning
Area

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID
Number): 6191/001

Name   Cecil Sagoe

Work   G14, Pearson Building, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT
Address

Contact   07946277062
Details   cecil.sagoe.13@ucl.ac.uk

Details of Study:

In this research I aim to examine how the establishment of the London Legacy
Development Corporation (LLDC) as the planning authority for the Olympic Park and its
peripheries is affecting the governance of real estate development and housing provision
within its planning boundary. Within this research focus I hope to shed light on the roles
played by, and relationships between, a number of public, private and community actors
historically and currently influencing the governance of real estate and housing within
Stratford.

Within this research I plan on interviewing representatives from the following public
bodies and private organisations: the LLDC; Newham Council; the Greater London
Authority; Qatari Diar; London and Quadrant; Get Living London; Taylor Wimpey;
Delancey Estates; and Triathlon Homes. I also plan on carrying out interviews with a
number citizens and community groups who are trying to influence the governance of
housing within the LLDC''s planning boundary. It is hoped that through these interviews
I will get a range of insights into how real estate and housing is governed within Stratford.

Interview Details (If you are happy to participate in this study):
- Length: 30 – 45 mins
- Date: A mutually convenient date to be decided by yourself and I
- Location: A mutually convenient location to be decided by yourself and I

After the Interview
- All interview recordings will remain solely in my (the interviewer's) possession
- Recorded interviews will be transcribed (written up) and the tape will then be
  wiped clear

- If you request anonymity then I will ensure that your name does not appear anywhere within the final thesis or any other research outputs
- Once I have submitted the final thesis I will make it available to all research participants

Please discuss the information above with others if you wish or ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. If you do decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

Informed Consent Form for   involvement in a UCL PhD research project exploring the governance of real estate and housing in Stratford.

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Project: **Return of the Urban Development Corporation: Exploring Real-Estate and Housing Governance within the London Legacy Development Corporation Planning Area**

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID Number): 6191/001

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part, the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you to decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Participant's Statement

I _____

- have read the notes written above and the Information Sheet, and understand what the study involves.

- have had the opportunity to ask questions about this study and have had these answered satisfactorily.

- understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.

- consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study.

- understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

- understand that interview discussions may appear in this research's final report and I will be sent a copy.

- agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.

Signed: Date:

D1	**Have UCL's Risk Assessment Procedures been followed?**
	☒ Yes ☐ No
	If 'No', please explain.

D2	**Does UCL's insurer need to be notified about your project before insurance cover can be provided?**
	☐ Yes ☒ No

The insurance for all UCL studies is provided by a commercial insurer. For the majority of studies the cover is automatic. However, for a minority of studies, in certain categories, the insurer requires prior notification of the project before cover can be provided.

If Yes, please provide confirmation that the appropriate insurance cover has been agreed. Please attach your UCL insurance registration form and any related correspondence.

D3 **Please state briefly any precautions being taken to protect the health and safety of researchers and others associated with the project (as distinct from the research participants).**

Please see my attached Risk Assessment Form which indicates how I will protect the health and safety of myself (the sole researcher).

D4 **Will these participants participate in any activities that may be potentially stressful or harmful in connection with this research?**

☐ Yes ☒ No

If Yes, please describe the nature of the risk or stress and how you will minimise and monitor it.

D5 **Will group or individual interviews/questionnaires raise any topics or issues that might be sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting for participants?**

If **Yes**, please explain how you will deal with this.

Yes, sensitive issues (e.g. relationships with other individuals or organisations) may arise in individual interviews. If a sensitive issue arises within the interview and my research participant indicates that they do not want to discuss this issue I will move the discussion onto another issue. If a research participant latterly decides that they do not want a sensitive issue discussed to appear in my research I will ensure that I do not transcribe the section of the interview recording discussing this issue.

D6 **Please describe any expected benefits to the participant.**

I am hoping that as part of the participatory work that I do with community groups in Stratford I will be beneficial to them by:

- Assisting them in their planning document analysis in their efforts to provide responses during planning consultations.
- Sharing my research with them on various planning issues pertaining to housing in Stratford.
- Providing them with administrative support — e.g. taking minutes when they hold meetings
- Helping them to set up social media accounts to enhance their public profile

D7	**Specify whether following procedures are involved:**

Any invasive procedure(s):

☐ Yes ☒ No

Physical contact:

☒ Yes ☐ No

Any procedure(s) that may cause mental distress:

☐ Yes ☒ No

To ensure the health and safety of research participants I will ensure that:

- Interviews will be conducted in either public places or places familiar to interview participants so that they remain comfortable when being interviewed.
- Interviews, if possible, will be conducted during the day or in the early evening to minimise the risk of interview participants having to walk home alone in the late evening.
- I do not conduct research with participants outdoors if there are adverse weather conditions.
- In warm weather I will offer research participants fluids so that they remain hydrated.
- I do not carry out research with participants in full sun to avoid the possibility of heatstroke.
- I do not include any information in any of my research outputs which may threaten the safety of my research participants.
- I am always calm and pleasant when interacting with participants so that they do not feel threatened by my behaviour.
- Any equipment used during my research will be in full working order. If for some reason any equipment is damaged I will inform research participants and instruct them not to use it.

D8	**Does the research involve the use of drugs?**
	☐ Yes ☒ No
	If **Yes**, please name the drug/product and its intended use in the research and then complete Appendix I
	Does the project involve the use of genetically modified materials?
	☐ Yes ☒ No
	If **Yes**, has approval from the Genetic Modification Safety Committee been obtained for work?
	☐ Yes ☐ No
	If Y**es**, please quote the genetic Modification Reference Number.

D9	**Will any non-ionising radiation be used on the research participant(s)?**
	☐ Yes ☒ No

D10	**Are you using a medical device in the UK that is CE-marked and is being used within its product indication?**
	☐ Yes ☒ No
	If **Yes**, please complete Appendix III.

CHECKLIST

Please submit ether 12 copies (1 original + 11 double sided photocopies) of your completed application form for full committee review or 3 copies (1 original + 2 double sided copies) for chair's action, together with the appropriate supporting documentation from the list below to the UCL Research Ethics Committee Administrator. You should also submit your application form electronically to the Administrator at: ethics@ucl.ac.uk

Please note that correspondence regarding the application will normally be sent to the Principal Researcher and copied to other named individuals.

Documents to be Attached to Application Form (if applicable)	Ticked if attached	Tick if not relevant
Section B: Details of the Project		
• Questionnaire(s) / Psychological Tests	☐	☒
• Relevant correspondence relating to involvement of collaborating department/s and agreed participation in the research.	☐	☒
Section C: Details of Participants		
• Parental/guardian consent form for research involving participants under 18	☐	☒
• Participant/s information sheet	☒	☐
• Participant/s consent form/s Advertisement	☒ ☐	☐ ☒
Section D: Details of Risks and Benefits to the Researcher and the Researched		
• Insurance registration form and related correspondence	☐	☒
Appendix I: Research Involving the Use of Drugs		
• Relevant correspondence relating to agreed arrangements for dispensing with the pharmacy	☐	☒
• Written confirmation from the manufacturer that the drug/substance has been manufactured to GMP	☐	☒
• Proposed volunteer contract	☐	☒
• Full declaration of financial or direct interest	☐	☒
• Copies of certificates: CTA etc...	☐	☒
Appendix II: Use of Non-Ionising Radiation		
Appendix IlI: Use Medical Devices		

Appendix 5:   Planning documents analysed as part of my research

Strategic planning level	Governance Actor	Planning document analysed
National	Central government	- *Town and Country Planning Act (1947)* - *Town and Country Planning Act (1954)* - *Town and Country Planning Act (1990)* - *People and Planning: Report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning (1969)* - *Planning and Compensation Act (1991)* - *Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act (2004)* - *Guidance on Changes to the Development Control System (2006)* - *Draft NPPF (2011)* - *Localism Act (2011)* - *NPPF (2012)* - *Consultation and Pre-Decision Matters (2014)* - *DCLG Affordable Housing Supply (2014)* - *Duty to Cooperate (2014)* - *Housing and Economic Land Availability Assessment (2014)* - *NPPG (2014)* - *Local Authority Housing Stock (2015)* - *Plain English Guide to the Planning System* - *Planning Policy for Traveller Sites (2015)* - *RSL Housing Stock (2016)*
Metropolitan	GLA	- *The London Plan (2004)* - *London Boroughs' GTANA (2008)* - *The London Plan (2008)* - *Greater London SHMA 2008 (2009)* - *The London Plan (2011)* - *REMA London Plan (2013)* - *East Wick and Sweetwater Development Agreement (2014)* - *Homes for London (2014)* - *The 2013 London SHMA (2014)* - *The London SHLAA 2013 (2014)* - *The London Plan (2015)* - *Disposal of Land at Chobham Manor (2016)*

Local	East London Boroughs	• *Strategic Regeneration Framework: An Olympic Legacy for the Host Boroughs (2009)* • *East London SHMA 2009 – 2010 (2010)*
	Hackney	• *London Borough of Hackney Housing Needs Assessment (2009)* • *Core Strategy (2010)* • *Hackney Wick AAP (2012)*
	Newham	• *Newham SHMA 2010 (2010)* • *Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan (2011)* • *Newham 2027: Newham's Local Plan (2012)* • *Agenda and Minutes: Cabinet – Thursday 19th November 2015 (2015)* • *Cabinet Report – November 19th 2015, Carpenters Estate Redevelopment: Appendix B – Options Appraisal for Delivery (2015)* • *The Challenge we Face (2016)* • *Newham Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment (2016)*
	OPLC	• *LCS Planning Application (2012)* • *S106 Agreement – Part 1 (2012)* • *Volume 2 – Main Report (2012)*
	LLDC	• *Chobham Manor Disposal Process Update Including Community Land Trust Update (2012)* • *Appendix 1: Draft Local Plan Consultation Document – 9th October 2013 (2013)* • *Draft Local Plan Consultation Document: December 2013 (2013)* • *London Legacy Corporation: Assessing the Legacy Corporation's Housing Needs (2013)* • *Minutes of the Meeting of the London Legacy Development Corporation PDC: Tuesday 22 October 2013 – Public Reports Pack (2013)* • *Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of the London Legacy Development Corporation: Tuesday 26 November 2013 (2013)* • *Neptune Wharf – 12/00210/OUT (2013)* • *Statement of Community Involvement (2013)*

		• *Three Year Business Plan: 2014/15 – 2016/17 – Budget Submission Draft for GLA Budget Process (2013)* • *Agenda and Minutes: PDC – Tuesday 24 June 2014 (2014)* • *All Combined Consultation Responses – 21 November 2014 (2014)* • *Appendix 1 – Draft Publication Local Plan (2014)* • *Consultation Report: August 2014 (2014)* • *LLDC: Gypsy, Traveller and Travelling Showpeople Accommodation Assessment (2014)* • *Local Plan Background Paper (2014)* • *Local Plan 2015 to 2031: Publication Version (2014)* • *Meeting of the Board of the London Legacy Development Corporation: Agenda and Papers – Tuesday 22 July 2014 (2014)* • *LD/31 Cumulative Table of Major and Minor Modifications (2015)* • *London Legacy Development Corporation PDC: Tuesday 26 May 2015 – Agenda Reports Pack (2015)* • *London Legacy Development Corporation PDC: Tuesday 15 December 2015 – Agenda Reports Pack (2015)* • *Local Plan 2015 – 2031: Adopted Version (2015)* • *M/17 – LLDC Response to Further Proposed Changes to Policy BN.10 (2015)* • *Main and Other Minor Modifications: All Representations Received - 1 April 2015 -13 May 2015 (2015)*

Appendix 6: List of interviewees and date of interviews

Interviewee names only appear when the interviewee has consented to their name appearing in my thesis.

Interviewee number	Position/Organisation	Pseudonym	Date of Interview
1	Former Clays Lane resident		6 November 2013
2	Staff Member, View Tube		27 January 2014
3	Poplar HARCA representative		6 February 2014 – written response
4	Local resident		7 March 2014
5	Newham Federation of Tenants representative		16 April 2014
6	Resident from Vila Autodromo, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		30 April 2014
7	Senior Design Officer, LLDC		30 June 2014
8	Senior Planning Officer, LLDC		31 July 2014
9	Focus E15 representative	Sally	8 November 2014
10	Focus E15 representative	Clare	8 November 2014
11	Officer, Delancey Real Estate Management		21 November 2014
12	Officer, Get Living London		24 November 2014
13	Group Director, London and Quadrant		18 November 2014
14	Senior Regeneration Officer, LLDC		19 December 2014
15	Carpenters Estate resident, GCNF member	Felicia	17 July 2015
16	Carpenters Estate resident, GCNF member	Jordan	4 February 2015

17	Carpenters Estate resident, GCNF member	Temi	23 February 2015
18	GCNF member	Sam	25 February 2015
19	Former senior housing officer, LDDC		2 March 2015
20	Locality		23 March 2015
21	DCLG Officer		16 April 2015
22	HWFICIG member	Dom	6 May 2015
23	Former senior planning officer, LDDC		3 June 2015
24	Former LDDC employee		4 June 2015
25	DCLG Officer		12 June 2015
26	Former member of Joint Docklands Action Group		23 June 2015
27	Senior design and planning officer, London and Quadrant		14 July 2015
28	Community and development officer, London and Quadrant		14 July 2015
29	Former senior planning officer, Newham Council		30 July 2015
30	Newham community activist		25 August 2015
31	London Assembly Green Party officer		26 August 2015
32	London Assembly Labour Party officer		3 September 2015
33	Former senior regeneration officer, Hackney Council		4 September 2015
34	Hackney Councillor		15 September 2015
35	Senior strategy officer, LLDC		17 September 2015

36	HWFICIG member	Michael	17 September 2015
37	Former Green Party London Assembly member		22 September 2015
38	Hackney Cabinet Member		24 September 2015
39	LLDC PDC member		12 October 2015
40	Just Space member	Simon	12 October 2015
41	Senior development projects officer, LLDC		13 October 2015
42	Ealing Council representative		12 November 2015
43	Concrete Action representative	Cleo	16 November 2015
44	London Tenants Federation representative		23 November 2015
45	Hackney Wick resident	Grace	25 November 2015
46	Carpenters Estate resident, GCNF member	Jordan	30 November 2015
47	Group Director, Places for People		1 December 2015
48	Carpenters Estate resident, GCNF member	Irene	2 December 2015
49	Radical Housing Network representative		4 December 2015
50	GCNF member	Anisha	9 December 2015
51	Former senior planning officer, ODA		16 December 2015
52	Ubele Initiative, Just Space Social Inclusion Working Group		16 December 2015
53	Carpenters Estate resident, GCNF member	Janet	18 December 2015

54	DCLG representative		21 December 2015 – written response
55	Former DCLG officer		29 December 2015
56	Senior London 2012 bid team member		14 January 2016
57	GCNF member	Bill	21 January 2016 – written response
58	London Assembly Labour Party officer		23 March 2016 – written response
59	LGTU, Just Space Social Inclusion Working Group		7 October 2016
60	Former LDDC planning officer		10 October 2016

Appendix 7:   Coding categories and an extract from a coded interview

Coding Categories

Category	Coding Acronym
Capitalism and Neoliberalism	C & N
Community	C
Finance	F
GLA	GLA
Governance Actors	GA
Governance Relationships	GR
Governing Technologies	GT
Greater Carpenters	GC
Hackney Wick	HW
Hackney	H
Housing	Ho
LDDC	LDDC
LLDC	LLDC
LTGDC	LTGDC
Neighbourhood Forum	NF
Newham	N
New Town Development Corporation	NTDC
Olympics	O
Planning	Pl
Politics	P
Race	Ra
Regeneration	R
Space	S

UDC	UDC

Extract from a coded interview

Me: Then picking up off of that point how much power does, within that space, does the community voice have, cos there's the representation but then there's also the issue of having the voice, your voices heard. But also having the opinions like acted upon or like, I suppose yeah from, from your experience how much power do you think the community voice carries within those sort of spaces especially when it's challenging London planning policy which is quite development, well not quite, is development and growth oriented?...One of the things I found with the LLDC examination is that apart from when like Janiz gave her like really emotive speech about the Carpenters Estate it seemed like a lot of community level comments were being sort of acknowledged but not really, and looking at the Local Plan as well, not really influenced the Plan that much. I was just wondering in your time how much you've been able to influence, or Just Space, sorry has been able to influence London Planning Policy as a result of increased representation around the Examination in Public table?

LLDC, C, Pl, P, GT, GC

RQ2
RQ3

Richard: Well you're bringing me, bringing me to the example of the LLDC there so I have to comment quickly on that. Because, because I think the sessions where the direct community voices were forcefully brought to the sessions, the public hearings were the sessions where most success was achieved. The sessions around the Carpenters Estate and around Gypsy and Traveller sessions where there was a, a grass roots mobilisation. In other sessions yes, there was community and voluntary sector representation, but some of it was at an advocacy level, some of it was people who were spokespersons or staff in some cases for organisations. And I, and I think that in my experience the, most success is achieved when the direct voice from the grassroots is brought to the table allied with that the technical expertise. I mean the two have to come

together, cos clearly if you, if you don't display the technical expertise as well you, then you're just dismissed, you might be listened to politely, but you're dismissed. You've got to be, show you're positioning your comments within the discussion, and you're offering solutions in terms of the document that's under examination.

Appendix 8:   EiP programme

Date	Topic (Matter/Question No)
Tuesday 3rd March 2015 **10.00**	**Inspector's Introduction Legacy Corporation's Opening Statement** **Matter 1: LEGAL & PROCEDURAL**
14.00	**Matter 4: Built and Natural Environment**
Wednesday 4th March 2015 **10.00**	**Matter 2: Business Growth, Jobs and Lifelong Learning**
14.00	**Matter 2: Business Growth, Jobs and Lifelong Learning (continued)**
Thursday 5th March 2015 **10.00**	**Matter 3: Housing**
14.00	**Matter 3: Housing (continued)**
Tuesday 10th March 2015 **10.00**	**Matter 5: Infrastructure including transport, environment and sustainability (Matter 6)**
14.00	**Matter 5: Infrastructure including transport, environment and sustainability (Matter 6) (continued)**
Wednesday 11th March 2015 **9.30am**	**Matter 7: Sub-Area** **Policies: matters relating to all sub-areas.** *Timings of each Sub-area will be confirmed after 13 February 2015 statement* *deadline)* ****Matter 7: Agenda** **item on Policy BN10 will be added to this day.**** **General**
	Sub Area 1 Hackney Wick and Fish Island

	Sub Area 2 North Stratford & Eton Manor
14.00	**Sub areas** (continued)
Thursday **12th March** **2015** **9.30am**	**Sub Area 3 Central** **Stratford & Southern Queen Elizabeth Olympic** **Park**
	Sub Area 4 Bromley-by- Bow, Pudding Mill, Sugar House Lane and Mill Meads
14.00	Matter 8: Delivery and Implementation

Appendix 9: **Freedom of information request response from the LLDC highlighting weightings they have applied to factors involved in determining who should develop East Wick and Sweetwater**

LLDC - East Wick and Sweetwater

Evaluation of ISOS (Stage 2) Responses - April 2014

Instructions to evaluators

The evaluation sheet in the 'Eval Sheet' tab below has been designed to assist us with tracking our evaluation of the ISOS responses.

Please complete your relevant section of the evaluation sheet in the 'Eval Sheet' tab below.

Against the relevant criteria / sub-criteria please add the score in the corresponding shaded row. Please add further details and justification for your score in the box below this.

Please be as detailed as possible in your justification of the scoring as this will be used directly in the feedback to Bidders and will save revisiting your scores during the feedback period. In your evaluation comments please refer to each element of the award criteria as detailed in the evaluation guidance document.

If you have any questions, please contact X or X

Thank you

ISOS Evaluation Scoring Matrix	Section Weighting (%)	Sub- Section Weighting (%)
Requirements to be Addressed in the Outline Solution		
1. QUALITY AND DELIVERABILITY	60	
1.1 Scheme Proposals and Design	24	
1.1.1 Urban Design & Masterplanning Approach		12
1.1.2 Residential Typologies and Tenures		5
1.1.3 Inclusive Design		3
1.1.4 Sustainability		4
TOTAL FOR DESIGN SECTION		
1.2 Approach to Delivering Priority Themes:	9	
1.2.1 Community Engagement		3
1.2.2 Socio-Economic		6
TOTAL FOR SOCIO AND COMM ENGAGEMENT SECTION		
1.3 Delivery and Implementation	21	
1.3.1 Team Approach to Delivery and Implementation		18
1.3.2 Legal		3
TOTAL FOR DELIVERY AND IMPLEMENTATION		
1.4 Structure and Funding	6	
1.4.1 Structure and Funding		6
2. COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL	40	

2.1 Commercial Drivers	**12**	
2.1.1 Commercial Drivers, Approach to Sales, Lettings and Marketing and Risk Management		12
2.2 Financial (TO BE SCORED AT CFFT ONLY – FULL MARKS AWARDED AT ISOS)	**28**	
2.2.1 Share of Income to Contracting Authority (TO BE SCORED AT CFFT ONLY)		20
2.2.2 Infrastructure Price (TO BE SCORED AT CFFT ONLY)		8
1. QUALITY AND DELIVERABILITY (WEIGHTED)	**60**	
2. COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL (WEIGHTED)	**40**	
TOTAL SCORE (WEIGHTED)	**100**	
Stage 1 Evaluation Ranking		

Bibliography

Adam, S., Chandler, D., Hood, A. & Joyce, R. (2015) *Social Housing in England: A Survey,* Institute for Fiscal Studies [Online], Available: http://www.ifs.org.uk/uploads/publications/bns/BN178.pdf [Accessed: 3 June 2016].

Affordable Wick (2013) *Neptune Wharf Comments,* Affordable Wick [Online], Available: http://affordablewick.com/neptune-wharf-comments/ [Accessed: 5 October 2016].

Alkalimat, A. (1974) *A Scientific Approach to Black Liberation: Which Road against Racism and Imperialism for the Black Liberation Movement,* Peoples College.

Albrechts, L., Healey, P. and Kunzmann, K.R. (2003) 'Strategic Spatial Planning and Regional Governance in Europe', *Journal of the American Planning Association,* vol. 69, no. 2, pp. 113 – 129.

Allen, K. (2006) *Holding Back: The Issue of Infrastructure,* Inside Housing [Online], Available: http://www.insidehousing.co.uk/journals/insidehousing/legacydata/uploads/pdfs/IH.061117.028-030.pdf [Accessed: 20 January 2017].

Allmendinger, P. (2006) 'Zoning by Stealth? The Diminution of Discretionary Planning', *International Planning Studies,* vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 137 – 143.

Allmendinger, P. & Gunder, M. (2005) 'Applying Lacanian Insight and a Dash of Derridean Deconstruction to Planning's "Dark Side"', *Planning Theory,* vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 87 – 112.

Allmendinger, P. & Haughton, G. (2005) 'The Fluid Scales and Scope of UK Spatial Planning', *Environment and Planning A,* vol. 39, no. 6, pp. 1478 – 1496.

Allmendinger, P. & Haughton, G. (2009) 'Soft Spaces, Fuzzy Boundaries, and Metagovernance: The New Spatial Planning in the Thames Gateway', *Environment and Planning A,* vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 617 – 633.

Allmendinger, P. & Haughton, G. (2010) 'Spatial Planning, Devolution, and New Planning Spaces', *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy,* vol. 28, no. 5, pp. 803 – 818.

Allmendinger, P. & Haughton, G. (2012), 'Post-Political Spatial Planning in England: A Crisis of Consensus?', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 89 – 103.

Allmendinger, P. & Haughton, G. (2013) 'The Evolution and Trajectories of English Spatial Governance: "Neoliberal" Episodes in Planning', *Planning, Practice & Research,* vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 6 – 26.

Allmendinger, P. & Haughton, G. (2015) 'Post-political Regimes in English Planning: From Third Way to Big Society', in *Planning Against the Political: Democratic Deficits in European Territorial Governance,* J. Metzger, P. Allmendinger & S. Oosterlynck (eds), Routledge, pp. 29 – 54.

Ames, C. (2008) *The Thames Gateway? What a Washout,* Available: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/aug/01/london.regeneration [Accessed: 20 January 2017].

Andrews, K. (2016) *The Black Studies Movement in Britain,* The Black Scholar [Online], Available: http://www.theblackscholar.org/black-studies-movement-britain/ [Accessed 7 October 2016].

Arnstein, S. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners,* vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 216 – 224.

Arup Associates (2017) *Stratford City,* Arup Associates [Online], Available: http://www.arupassociates.com/en/projects/stratford-city/ [Accessed: 12 November 2017].

Auster, M. (1989) 'Construction of the Planning Idea: Britain, the USA and Australia 1929 – 1939', *Planning Perspectives,* vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 437 – 451.

BBC News (2005) *Olympic Land's Compulsory Orders,* British Broadcasting Corporation [Online], Available: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/london/4447652.stm [Accessed: 13 November 2017].

BBC News (2007) *Olympics Budget Rises to £9.3bn,* BBC [Online], Available: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/6453575.stm [Accessed: 13 November 2017].

BBC Sport (2005) *London Beats Paris to 2012 Games,* British Broadcasting Corporation [Online], Available: http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/front_page/4655555.stm [Accessed: 12 November 2017].

Beebeejaun, Y. (2004) 'What's in a Nation? Constructing Ethnicity in the British Planning System', *Planning Theory & Practice,* vol. 5, no. 4, pp 437 – 451.

Beebeejaun, Y. (2012) 'Including the Excluded? Changing the Understandings of Ethnicity in Contemporary English Planning', *Planning and Theory & Practice,* vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 529 – 548.

Bernstock, P. (2014) *Olympic Housing: A Critical Review of London 2012's Legacy,* Ashgate.

Bevir, M. (2013) *A Theory of Governance,* University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.

Birkwood, S. (2014) *Big Lottery Fund to Receive £60m from Winding-Up of the Olympic Lottery Distribution Fund,* Third Sector [Online], Available: http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/big-lottery-fund-receive-60m-winding-up-olympic-lottery-distribution-fund/finance/article/1305208 [Accessed: 9 March 2016].

Blowe, K. (2014) *Focus E15 Mothers Occupation,* Flickr [Online], Available: https://www.flickr.com/photos/copwatcher/with/15126343380/ [Accessed: 10 November 2016].

BNP Paribas (2013) *Local Plan Affordable Housing Viability Testing, 2013*, London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: https://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/local%20plan%20aug14/final%20affordable%20housing%20testing.pdf [Accessed: 27 September 2015].

BNP Paribas (2014a) *Community Infrastructure Levy: Viability Study,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/local%20plan%20examination%20documents/local%20evidence%20base%20documents/leb1%20community%20infrastructure%20levy%20viability%20study%20may%202013.pdf [Accessed: 9 August 2016].

BNP Paribas (2014b) *London Legacy Development Corporation Combined Policy Viability Study,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/local%20plan%20examination%20documents/local%20evidence%20base%20documents/leb14%20local%20plan%20viability%20testing%20report%20final%205june14.pdf [Accessed: 10 August 2016].

Braithwaite, J. (2005) *Neoliberalism or Regulatory Capitalism,* Regulatory Institutions Network [Online], Available: http://regnet.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/ROP5.pdf [Accessed: 11 June 2014].

Brecher, J., Costello, T. & Smith, B. (2002) *Globalization from Below: The Power of Solidarity,* South End Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Brenner, N. (2004) *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood,* Oxford University Press.

Brenner, N. & Theodore, N. (2002) 'Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism"', *Antipode,* vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 349 – 379.

British Property Federation (2013) *Investing in Residential Property: A British Property Federation Guide for Asset Allocators,* British Property Federation [Online], Available: http://www.bpf.org.uk/sites/default/files/resources/Investing%20in%20residential%20property%20%E2%80%93%20a%20BPF%20guide%20for%20asset%20allocators.pdf [Accessed: 3 June 2016].

Brown, R., Edwards, M. & Lee, R. (2014) 'Towards a Just, Sustainable London', in *Sustainable London? The Future of a Global City,* R. Imrie & L. Lees (eds), Policy Press, University of Bristol, pp. 43 – 66.

Brownill, S. (1990) *Developing London's Docklands: Another Great Planning Disaster?,* Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Brownill, S. (1999) 'Turning the East End into the West End: The Lessons and Legacies of the London Docklands Development Corporation', in *British Urban Policy: An Evaluation of the Urban Development Corporations,* Second Edition, R. Imrie & H. Thomas (eds), London, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, pp. 43 – 63.

Brownill, S. & Carpenter, J. (2007) 'Increasing Participation in Planning: Emergent Experiences of the Reformed Planning System in England', *Planning, Practice & Research,* vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 619 – 634.

Brownill, S. & Carpenter, J. (2009) 'Governance and "Integrated" Planning: The Case of Sustainable Communities in the Thames Gateway, England', *Urban Studies,* vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 251 – 274.

Brownill, S. & O'Hara, G. (2015) 'From Planning to Opportunism? Re-examining the Creation of the London Docklands Development Corporation', *Planning Perspectives,* Available: http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/arT9H9VkY6ZjFgcpAIwM/full [Accessed: 3 February 2015].

Brownill, S. & Parker, G. (2010) 'Why Bother with good Works? The Relevance of Public Participation(s) in Planning in a Post-Collaborative Era', *Planning Practice & Research,* vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 275 – 282.

Brownill, S. & Sharp, C. (1992) 'London's Housing Crisis', in *The Crisis of London*, A. Thornley (ed) London: Routledge, pp. 10 – 24.

Budish, D., Ralph, K., Scannapieco, L. & Triebner, M. (2010) *Hackney Wick: Stitch the Wick,* London School of Economics and Political Science Cities [Online], Available: http://www.lse.ac.uk/LSECities/citiesProgramme/pdf/Olympic%20Fringe/chapter_1.pdf [Accessed: 8 September 2016].

Burchell, G., Gordon, C., & Miller, P. (1991) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality,* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

C.A.R.P (2016) *About C.A.R.P,* Carpenters against Regeneration Plans [Online], Available: https://savecarpenters.wordpress.com/about/ [Accessed: 27 February 2015].

Caller, H. (2014) *Focus E15 Campaign Declares "Open House",* Revolutionary Communist Group [Online], Available:

http://www.revolutionarycommunist.org/index.php/britain/fight-the-cuts/3753-fe031014 [Accessed: 3 October 2014].

Carpenters Community (2013) *Carpenters Community Plan 2013,* London Tenants Federation [Online], Available:
http://www.londontenants.org/publications/other/Carpenters%20community%20plan%202013%20(final).pdf [Accessed: 26 September 2014].

Chakrabortty, A. (2014) *For Real Politics, don't Look to Parliament but to an Empty London Housing Estate,* The Guardian [Online], Available:
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/23/real-politics-empty-london-housing-estate [Accessed: 23 September 2014].

Chakrabortty, A. (2016) *Rob the Poor and Giver to the Rich – Housing Policy for 2016,* The Guardian [Online], Available:
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jan/05/rob-poor-give-rich-housing-policy-2016 [Accessed: 10 January 2016].

Clements, L. (1997) 'The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act and its Implications for Travellers', in *Gypsy Politics and Traveller Identity,* T. Acton (ed), University of Hertfordshire Press, pp. 61 – 70.

Clifford, J. & Marcus, G. E. (eds) (1986) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography,* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

CMA Planning (2015) *Planning Statement: Neptune Wharf,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available:
http://planningregister.londonlegacy.co.uk/swift/MediaTemp/5545-89458.pdf [Accessed: 9 November 2016].

Coaffee, J. (2012) 'Policy Transfer, Regeneration Legacy and the Summer Olympic Games: Lessons for London 2012 and Beyond', *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics,* vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 295 – 311.

Connor, D. M. (1988) 'A New Ladder of Citizen Participation', *National Civic Review,* vol. 77, no. 3, pp. 249 – 257.

Cooke, B. & Kothari, U. (2001) 'The Case for Participation as Tyranny', in *Participation the New Tyranny,* B. Cooke & U. Kothari (eds), London, New York, NY: Zed Books, pp. 1-15.

Cornwall, A. (2008) 'Unpacking "Participation" Models, Meanings and Practices', *Community Development Journal*, vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 269 – 283.

CPRE (2012) *CPRE's Initial Analysis of the National Planning Policy Framework,* Campaign to Protect Rural England [Online], Available:

http://www.cpre.org.uk/media-centre/latest-news-releases/item/2797-cpres-initial-analysis-of-the-national-planning-policy-framework [Accessed: 5 September 2016].

Crook, A. D. H. (1996) 'Affordable Housing and Planning Gain, Linkage Fees and the Regional Nexus: Using the Land Planning System in England and the USA to Deliver Housing Subsidies', *International Planning Studies,* vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 49 – 71.

Cullingworth, B. & Nadin, V. (2006) *Town and County Planning in the UK,* 14th Edition, London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Curran, W. (2007) '"From the Frying Pan to the Oven": Gentrification and the Experience of Industrial Displacement in Williamsburg, Brooklyn', *Urban Studies,* vol. 44, no. 8, pp. 1427 – 1440.

Dabinet, G. & Ramsden, P. (1999) 'Urban Policy in Sheffield: Regeneration, Partnerships and People', in *British Urban Policy: An Evaluation of the Urban Development Corporations,* Second edition, R. Imrie and H. Thomas (eds), SAGE, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, pp. 168 – 185.

Dalton, H. (1935) *Practical Socialism for Britain,* George Routledge & Sons, London.

Damer, S. and Hague, C. (1971) 'Participation in Planning: A Review', *Town Planning Review,* vol. 42, no. pp. 217 – 232.

Darcy, S. (2016) 'Paralympic Legacy – Learning from the Sydney 2000 to Prepare for Tokyo 2020', *Journal of the Nippon Foundation Paralympic Research,* vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 43 – 61.

Data.Gov (2010) *Spend Over £500 in London Thames Gateway Development Corporation,* Data.Gov [Online], Available: https://data.gov.uk/dataset/financial-transactions-data-ltgdc [Accessed: 15 November 2017].

Davies, C. A. (2008) *Reflexive Ethnography: A Guide to Researching Selves and Others,* 2nd Edition, New York, NY: Routledge.

Davies, L. E. (2011) 'Using Sports Infrastructure to Deliver Economic and Social Change: Lessons for London Beyond 2012', *Local Economy,* vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 227 – 231.

Davies, W. (2014a) 'Neoliberalism: A Bibliographic Review', *Theory, Culture & Society,* vol. 3, no. 7/8, pp. 309 – 317.

Davies, W. (2014b) *The Limits of Neoliberalism: Authority, Sovereignty and the Logic of Competition,* Los Angeles, CA, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC.

Davis, J. (2016) 'The Making and Remaking of Hackney Wick, 1870–2014: From Urban Edgeland to Olympic Fringe', *Planning Perspectives,* vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 425 – 457.

Davis, J. & Thornley, A. (2010) 'Urban Regeneration for the London 2012 Olympics: Issues of Land Acquisition and Legacy', *City, Culture and Society,* vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 89 – 98.

Davoudi, S. & Mandanipour, A. (2013) 'Localism and Neo-Liberal Governmentality', *Town Planning Review,* vol. 84, no. 5, pp. 551 – 562.

Dawson, M. C. & Sinwell, L. (2012) 'Ethical and Political Challenges of Participatory Action Research in the Academy: Reflections on Social Movements and Knowledge production in South Africa', *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest,* vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 177 – 191.

DCA (2009) *London Borough of Tower Hamlets Strategic Housing Market & Needs Assessment: Final Report August 2009,* London Borough of Tower Hamlets.

DCLG (2006) *Guidance on Changes to the Development Control System: Circular 01/2006,* Department for Communities and Local Government [Online], Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/guidance-on-changes-to-the-development-control-system-circular-01-2006 [Accessed: 7 June 2016].

DCLG (2011a) *Draft National Planning Policy Framework,* Department for Communities and Local Government [Online], Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/draft-national-planning-policy-framework [Accessed: 5 September 2016].

DCLG (2011b) *National Planning Policy Framework: Summary of Responses,* Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/117 92/2172233.pdf [Accessed: 5 September 2016].

DCLG (2012) *National Planning Policy Framework,* Department for Communities and Local Government.

DCLG (2014a) *Consultation and Pre-Decision Matters,* Department for Communities and Local Government [Online], Available: http://planningguidance.planningportal.gov.uk/blog/guidance/consultation-and-pre-decision-matters/public-consultation/ [Accessed: 27 July 2014].

DCLG (2014b) *National Planning Practice Guidance,* Department for Communities and Local Government [Online], Available: http://planningguidance.communities.gov.uk/blog/guidance/ [Accessed: 30 April 2015].

DCLG (2014c) *DCLG Affordable Housing Supply, Borough,* Department for Communities and Local Government [Online], Available: http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/dclg-affordable-housing-supply-borough [Accessed: 7 June 2016].

DCLG (2014d) *Duty to Cooperate,* Department for Communities and Local government [Online], Available: http://planningguidance.communities.gov.uk/blog/guidance/duty-to-cooperate/what-is-the-duty-to-cooperate-and-what-does-it-require/ [Accessed: 27 July 2016].

DCLG (2015a) *Plain English Guide to the Planning System*, Department for Communities and Local Government [Online], Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/391694/Plain_English_guide_to_the_planning_system.pdf [Accessed 11 February 2015].

DCLG (2015b) *Local Authority Housing Stock,* Department for Communities and Local Government [Online], Available: http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/local-authority-housing-stock [Accessed: 3 June 2016].

DCLG (2015c) *Planning Policy for Traveller Sites,* Department for Communities and Local Government.

DCLG (2016a) *Live Tables on Rents, Lettings and Tenancies*, Department for Communities and Local Government [Online], Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/live-tables-on-rents-lettings-and-tenancies [Accessed: 28 April 2016].

DCLG (2016b) *Registered Social Landlord Housing Stock,* Department for Communities and Local Government [Online], Available: http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/registered-social-landlord-housing-stock [Accessed: 3 June 2016].

deLisle, J. (2009) 'After the Gold Rush: The Beijing Olympics and China's Evolving International Roles', *Orbis,* vol. 53, no. 2, pp. 179 – 204.

Denzin, N. K. (2006) 'Analytic Autoethnography, or Déjà vu All Over Again', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 419 – 428.

Denzin, N. K. (2012) 'Triangulation 2.0', *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 80 – 88.

DeWalt, K. M. & DeWalt, B. R. (2011) *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers,* 2nd edition, AltaMira Press.

Dikeç, M. (2005) 'Space, Politics, and the Political', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 171 – 188.

DVS (2012) *Development Valuation Training for Cornwall County Council,* East Midlands Councils [Online], Available:

www.emcouncils.gov.uk/.../Valuation_od_development_land_-_Workbook_1.0.docx [Accessed: 11 May 2016].

Eagle, R., Jones, A. & Greig, A. (2017) 'Localism and the Environment: A Critical Review of UK Government Localism Strategy 2010 – 2015' *Local Economy,* vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 55 – 72.
Economic Development, Culture, Sport and Tourism Committee of the London Assembly (2010) *Legacy Limited? A Review of the Olympic Park Legacy Company's Role,* Greater London Authority.

Edwards, M. (2016) 'The Housing Crisis and London', *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action,* vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 222 – 237.

Ekers, M., Hart, G., Kipfer, S. & Loftus, A. (2013) *Gramsci: Space, Nature, Politics* (eds), John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Ekers, M. & Loftus, A. (2008) 'The Power of Water: Developing Dialogues between Foucault and Gramsci', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 698 – 718.

Elias, N. (1987) *Involvement and Detachment,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Ellis, C. S. & Bochner, A. P. (2006) 'Analyzing Analytic Autoethnography: An Autopsy', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 429 – 449.

Ellis, G. & McWhirter, C. (2008) 'Land-Use Planning and Traveller-Gypsies: Towards Non-Prejudicial Practice', *Planning, Practice & Research,* vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 77 – 99.

Elwood, S. (2010) 'Mixed Methods: Thinking, Doing and Asking in Multiple Ways', in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography,* D. DeLyser, S. Herbert, S. Aitken, M. Crang & L. McDowell (eds), SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 94 – 113.

Eversole, R. (2012) 'Remaking Participation: Challenges or Community Development Practice', *Community Development Journal,* vol. 47, no.1, pp. 29 – 41.

Fainstein, S. S. (2005) 'Planning Theory and the City', *Journal of Planning Education and Research,* vol. 25, no. , pp. 121 – 130.

Fainstein, S. S. (2009a) 'Planning and the Just City', in *Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice,* P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olivo, C. Potter & J. Steil (eds), London and NY: New York, pp. 19 – 39.

Fainstein, S. S. (2009b) 'Spatial Justice and Planning', *Justice Spatial | Spatial Justice,* no. 1, pp. 1 – 13.

Feldman, M. (1995) 'Regime and Regulation in Substantive Planning Theory', *Planning Theory,* vol. 14, pp. 65 – 95.

Ferguson, J. (2009) 'The Uses of Neoliberalism', *Antipode,* vol. 41, no. S1, pp. 166 – 184.

Ferm, J. & Jones, E. (2015) 'London's Industrial Land: Cause for Concern?' *Working Paper, February 2015,* Just Space [Online], Available: https://justspacelondon.files.wordpress.com/2015/02/ferm-jones-londons-industrial-land-working-paper-final1.pdf [Accessed: 24 August 2016].

Finkelstein, L. S. (1995) 'What is Global Governance?', *Global Governance,* vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 367 – 372.

Fischer, F. (2009) 'Discursive Planning: Social Justice as Discourse', in *Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice,* P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olivo, C. Potter & J. Steil (eds), London and NY: New York, pp. 52 – 71.

Fischer, F. & Forester, J. (1993) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning,* F. Fischer & J. Forester (eds), Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Flynn, J. (2016) 'Complete Control: Developers, Financial Viability and Regeneration at the Elephant Castle', *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action,* vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 278 – 286.

Flyvbjerg, B. (1996) 'The Dark Side of Planning: Rationality and "Realrationalitat"', in *Explorations in Planning Theory*, S. J. Mandelbaum, L. Mazza & R. W. Burchell (eds), New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, pp. 383 – 396.

Focus E15 (2014) *Press Show their Interest,* Focus E15 [Online], Available: https://focuse15.org/photos/dscf33181/ [Accessed: 10 November 2016].

Focus E15 (2016a) *About Us,* Focus E15 [Online], Available: https://focuse15.org/about/ [Accessed: 13 October 2016].

Focus E15 (2016b) *E15 Open House Occupation,* Focus E15 [Online], Available: https://focuse15.org/e15-open-house-occupation/ [Accessed: 13 October 2016].

Fordham Research (2008) *London Boroughs' Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment – Final Report: March 2008,* Fordham Research.
Fordham Research (2009) *London Borough of Hackney Housing Needs Assessment: Final Report July 2009,* London Borough of Hackney.

Forester, J. (2012) 'On the Theory and Practice of Critical Pragmatism: Deliberative Practice and Creative Negotiations', *Planning Theory,* vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 5 – 22.

Foster, J. (1992) 'Living with the Docklands' Redevelopment: Community View from the Isle of Dogs', *The London Journal,* vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 170 1- 183.

Foucault, M. (1982) 'The Subject and Power', *Critical Enquiry,* vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 777 – 795.

Foucault, M. (1991a) 'Questions of Method', in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault,* G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (eds), Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 73 – 86.

Foucault, M. (1991b) 'Governmentality', in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (eds), Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 87 – 104.

Foucault, M. (2008) [1979] '10 January 1979: Questions of Method' in *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at The Collège de France 1978-79,* Translated by G. Burchell, M. Senellart, F. Ewald & A. Fontana (eds), Basingstoke and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1 – 26.

Friedmann, J. (2008) 'The Uses of Planning Theory: A Bibliographic Essay', *Journal of Planning Education and Research,* vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 247 – 257.

Gallent, N. & Robinson, S. (2012) *Neighbourhood Planning: Communities, Networks and Governance,* The Policy Press.

Gardiner, J. (2014) *Funding Affordable Housing with Private Sales,* Building [Online], Available:
http://www.building.co.uk/funding-affordable-housing-with-private-sales/5066009.article [Accessed: 3 June 2016].

Gavron, N. (2016) *The Tories have made "Affordable Housing" a Meaningless Term,* The Guardian [Online], Available:
http://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/jan/07/tories-affordable-housing-meaningless-term-london [Accessed: 11 May 2016].

GCNF (2016a) *Cover Photos,* Facebook [Online], Available: https://www.facebook.com/gcnForum/photos/a.804992596211877.1073741827.8033 24093045394/1028381813872953/?type=1&theater [Accessed: 11 Jan 2017].

GCNF (2016b) *Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Plan (Draft) – Version 5th September 2016,* Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood Forum [Online], Available: http://greater-carpenters.co.uk/calendar/greater-carpenters-neighbourhood-forum-planning-policy-meeting/ [Accessed: 10 November 2016].

Gibson-Graham, J.K. (2008) 'Diverse Economies: Performative Practices for "Other Worlds", *Progress in Human Geography,* vol. 32, no. 5, pp. 613 – 622.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge, Polity.

Gill, S. (2012) 'Introduction: Global Crises and the Crisis of Global Leadership', in *Global Crises and the Crisis of Global Leadership,* S. Gill (ed), Cambridge University Press, pp. 1 – 20.

Gillian, K. & Pickerill, J. (2012) 'The Difficult and Hopeful Ethics of Research on, and with, Social Movements', *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest,* vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 133 – 143.

GLA (2012) *The Greater London Authority Consolidated Budget and Component Budgets for 2012 – 2013,* Greater London Authority.

GLA (2013) *The Greater London Authority Consolidated Budget and Component Budgets for 2013 – 2014,* Greater London Authority.

GLA (2014a) *The Greater London Authority Consolidated Budget and Component Budgets for 2014 – 2015,* Greater London Authority.

GLA (2014b) *East Wick and Sweetwater Development Agreement,* Greater London Authority [Online], Available: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/gla_migrate_files_destination/ADD273 %20East%20Wick%20%20Sweetwater%20Lease_part_1%20PDF.pdf [Accessed: 29 September 2016].

GLA (2016) *ADD393 Disposal of Land at Chobham Manor by LLDC,* Greater London Authority [Online], Available: https://www.london.gov.uk/decisions/add393-disposal-land-chobham-manor-lldc [Accessed: 28 September 2016].

GLA, LDA & London Borough of Hackney (2004) *Lower Lea Valley Joint Area Action Plan & Opportunity Area Planning Framework,* London Borough of Hackney [Online], Available: https://www.hackney.gov.uk/Assets/Documents/k-planning-policy-llvspg.pdf [Accessed: 12 November 2017].

Gold, J.R. & Gold, M.M. (2008) 'Olympic Cities: Regeneration, City Rebranding and Changing Urban Agendas', *Geography Compass,* vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 300-318.

Goodwin, M. (2001) 'Regulation as Process: Regulation Theory and Comparative Urban and Regional Research', *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment,* vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 71 – 87.

Gordon, C. (1991) 'Governmental Rationality: An Introduction', in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault,* G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (eds), Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 1 – 52.

Gray, L. (2011) *How Could the Draft Planning Laws be Changed?,* The Telegraph [Online], Available: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/earth/hands-off-our-land/8761056/How-could-the-draft-planning-laws-be-changed.html [Accessed: 5 September 2016].

Gray, L. & Hope, C. (2011) *Planning Reforms: Greg Clark Admits Changes "Could Have Been Clearer",* The Telegraph [Online], Available: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/earth/hands-off-our-land/8781362/Planning-reforms-Greg-Clark-admits-changes-could-have-been-clearer.html [Accessed: 5 September 2016].

Gunder, M. (2003) 'Passionate Planning for the Others' Desire: An Agonistic Response to the Dark Side of Planning', *Progress in Planning*, vol. 60, no. 3, pp. 235 – 319.

Habermas, J. (1984) *The Theory of Communicative Action: Vol. 1, Reason and the Rationalization of Society,* London: Heinemann Education.

Hall, S. & O'Shea, A. (2013) 'Common-Sense Neoliberalism', *Soundings,* no. 55, pp. 9 – 25.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (2003) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice,* 3rd edition, London, New York, NY: Routledge.

Hancox, D. (2014) A "Regeneration Supernova" is About to Destroy East London as We Know it, Vice [Online], Available: http://www.vice.com/en_uk/read/dan-hancox-regeneration-supernove [Accessed: 8 September 2016].

Hart, T., Vigar, G. & Davoudi, S. (2015) 'The Nature of Planning', in *Town and Country Planning in the UK,* 15th edition, B. Cullingworth, V. Nadin, T. Hart, S. Davoudi, J. Pendlebury, G. Vigar, D. Webb & T. Townsend (eds), London, New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 1 – 16.

Hart, W. O. (1948) 'New Town Development Corporations', *Public Administration,* vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 147 – 155.

Haughton, G., Allmendinger, P. & Oosterlynck, S. (2013) 'Spaces of Neoliberal Experimentation: Soft Spaces, Postpolitics, and Neoliberal Governmentality', *Environment and Planning A,* vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 217 – 234.

Healey, P. (1996) 'The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory and its Implications for Spatial Strategy Formation', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design,* vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 217 – 234.

Healey, P. (1997) *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies,* Macmillan, London.

Healey, P. (2003) 'Collaborative Planning in Perspective', *Planning Theory,* vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 101 – 123.

Healey, P. (2006) *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies,* 2nd edition, Palgrave, Macmillan.

Healey, P., Doak, A., McNamara, P. & Elson, M. (1988) *Land Use Planning and the Mediation of Urban Change: The British Planning System in Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hill, C. R. (1997) *Olympic Politics: Athens to Atlanta, 1896 – 1996,* 2nd Edition, Manchester University Press.

Hill, D. (2009) *Olympic Park Legacy Board Announced,* The Guardian [Online], Available: https://www.theguardian.com/uk/davehillblog/2009/nov/12/olympic-park-legacy-company-board-members-named [Accessed: 14 November 2017].

HM Government and Mayor of London (2013) *Inspired by 2012: The Legacy from the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games,* Gov.Uk [Online], Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/224148/2901179_OlympicLegacy_acc.pdf [Accessed: 7 June 2016].

Hodkinson, S. (2011) "Housing Regeneration and the Private Finance Initiative in England: Unstitching the Neoliberal Straitjacket", Antipode, vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 358-383.

Hodkinson, S. & Robbins, G. (2013) 'The Return of Class War Conservatism? Housing under the UK Coalition Government', *Critical Social Policy,* vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 55 – 77.

Hodkinson, S., Watt, P. & Mooney. G. (2013) 'Introduction: Neoliberal Housing Policy – Time for a Critical Re-appraisal', *Critical Social Policy,* vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 3 – 16.

Homes and Communities Agency (2015) *Development Appraisal Tool: User Manual, Version 4,* Homes and Communities Agency [Online], Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/373365/DAT_user_guide_v4.pdf [Accessed: 11 May 2016].

Hooghe, L. & Marks, G. (2001) 'Types of Multi-Level Governance', *European Integration Online Papers*, vol. 5, no. 11, Available: http://eiop.or.at/eiop/pdf/2001-011.pdf [Accessed: 10 October 2014].

Host Boroughs Unit (2011) *Convergence Framework and Action Plan 2011 – 2015,* Host Boroughs Unit.

Housing and Planning Act 2016, Chapter 22, Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2016/22/pdfs/ukpga_20160022_en.pdf [Accessed: 26 May 2015].

Howard, E. (1898) *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform,* Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

Imrie, R. & Raco, M. (1999) 'How New is the New Local Governance? Lessons from the United Kingdom', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 45 – 63.

Imrie, R. & Thomas, H. (1995) 'Changes in Local Governance and their Implications for Urban Policy Evaluation', in *Urban Policy Evaluation: Challenge and Change,* R. Hambleton & H. Thomas (eds), London: Paul Chapman, pp. 123 – 138.

Imrie, R. & Thomas, H. (1999a) 'Urban Development Corporations in Context', in *British Urban Policy: An Evaluation of the Urban Development Corporations,* Second edition, R. Imrie and H. Thomas (eds), London, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, pp. 3 – 39.

Imrie, R. & Thomas, H. (1999b) *British Urban Policy: An Evaluation of the Urban Development Corporations,* Second edition, R. Imrie & H. Thomas (eds), London, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Intelligent Plans and Examinations (2016) *IPe Team,* Intelligent Plans and Examinations [Online], Available: http://www.intelligentplans.co.uk/ipe-team?id=135343 [Accessed: 22 November 2016].

Jacobs, J. M. (1993) 'The City Unbound: Qualitative Approaches to the City', *Urban Studies,* vol. 30, no. 4 – 5, pp. 827 – 848.

Jessop, B. (1997a) 'Capitalism and its Future: Remarks on Regulation, Government and Governance', *Review of International Political Economy,* vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 561 – 581.

Jessop, B. (1997b) 'A Neo-Gramscian Approach to the Regulation of Urban Regimes', in *Reconstructing Urban Regime Theory,* M. Lauria, (ed), London: Sage, pp. 51 – 73.

Jessop, B. (2002) 'Liberalism, Neoliberalism and urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective', *Antipode,* vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 452 – 472.

Jessop, B. (2004) 'Multi-level governance and multi-level meta-governance: Change in the European Union as Integral Moments in the Transformation and Reorientation of Contemporary Statehood', in the *Multi-Level Governance,* I. Bache & M. Flinders (eds), Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 49 – 74.

Jessop, B. (2005a) 'Gramsci as a Spatial Theorist', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy,* vo. 8, no. 4, pp. 421 – 437.

Jessop, B. (2005b) 'Critical Realism and the Strategic-Relational Approach', *New Formations: A Journal of Culture, Theory and Politics,* vol. 56, pp. 40 – 53.

Johnson, P. C. (2011) 'Beyond Displacement: Gentrification of Racialized Spaces as Violence—Harlem, New York, and New Orleans, Louisiana', in *Accumulating Insecurity: Violence and Dispossession in the Making of Everyday Life,* S. Feldman, C. Geisler & G. A. Menon (eds), GA: University of Georgia Press, pp. 79 – 103.

Jones, J. S. (2010a) 'Origins and Ancestors: A Brief History of Ethnography', in *Ethnography in Social Science Practice,* J. S. Scott & S. Watt (eds), New York, NY and London: Routledge, pp. 13 – 27.

Jones, J. S. (2010b) 'Introductions', in *Ethnography in Social Science Practice,* J. S. Scott & S. Watt (eds), New York, NY and London: Routledge, pp. 3 – 12.

Just Space (2016a) *About Us,* Just Space [Online], Available: https://justspace.org.uk/about/ [Accessed: 10 October 2016].

Just Space (2016b) *Members,* Just Space [Online], Available: https://justspace.org.uk/about/members/ [Accessed: 11 January 2017].

Just Space (2016c) *Towards a Community-led London Plan: Policy Directions and Proposals,* Just Space [Online], Available: https://justspacelondon.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/just-space-a4-community-led-london-plan.pdf [Accessed: 10 October 2016].

Just Space (2016d) *Londoners Demand a Social Compact with the Next Mayor at Launch of Ideas for a Community-led London Plan*, Available: https://justspace.org.uk/2016/02/06/londoners-demand-a-social-compact/ [Accessed: 12 October 2016].

Just Space (2016e) *Towards a Community-led London Plan: Ideas for Discussion and Debate,* Just Space [Online], Available: https://justspacelondon.files.wordpress.com/2016/01/towardse280a6final.pdf [Accessed: 12 October 2016].

Just Space (2016f) *Closing Plenary – Q & A* [Online Video], Available: https://vimeo.com/156817484 [Accessed: 12 October 2016].

Just Space (2017) *Protocol on Research Collaboration between Community/Activist Groups and University Staff and Students on Housing and Planning Issues,* Just Space

[Online], Available: https://justspace2010.files.wordpress.com/2011/06/jsn-research-protocol-draft3-2017.pdf [Accessed: 10 April 2017].

Kindon, S., Pain, R. & Kesby, M. (2007a) 'Introduction: Connecting People, Participation and Place', in *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place,* S. Kindon, R. Pain & M. Kesby (eds), London, New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 1 – 6.

Kindon, S., Pain, R. & Kesby, M. (2007b) 'Participatory Action Research: Origins, Approaches and Methods', in *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place,* S. Kindon, R. Pain & M. Kesby (eds), London, New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 9 – 18.

Kingaby, J. (2015) *Report to London Legacy Development Corporation,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/local%20plan%20examination%20documents/local%20plan%20examination%20report%209%20july%202015%20%20version%202.pdf [Accessed: 18 March 2016].

Klettner, A. (2013) *UCL Scraps Plans for £1bn Campus at Carpenters Estate*, BD Online*,* Available: http://www.bdonline.co.uk/ucl-scraps-plans-for-%C2%A31bn-campus-at-carpenters-estate/5054347.article [Accessed: 22 February 2015].

Kothari, U. (2001) 'Power, Knowledge and Social Control in Participatory Development', in *Participation the New Tyranny,* B. Cooke & U. Kothari (eds), London, New York, NY: Zed Books, pp. 139 – 152.

Krishnarayan, V. & Thomas, H. (1993) *Ethnic Minorities and the planning System,* London, The Royal Town Planning Institute.

Larson, J. F. & Park, H. (1993) *Global Television and the Politics of the Seoul Olympics,* Westview Press.

Lawless, P. (1988) 'Urban Development Corporations and their Alternatives', *Cities,* vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 277 – 289.

LDA (2009) *Employment and Skills Benefits from the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games,* Greater London Authority [Online], Available: https://www.london.gov.uk/moderngov/Data/Economic%20Development,%20Culture,%20Sport%20and%20Tourism%20Committee/20091021/Agenda/12a%20Appendix%20A%20PDF.pdf [Accessed: 116 December 2017].

LDDC (1997) *Starting from Scratch – The Development of Transport in London Docklands,* London Docklands Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://www.lddc-history.org.uk/transport/ [Accessed: 14 April 2015].

LDDC (1998) *Housing in the Renewed London Docklands,* London Docklands Development Corporation [Online], Available:
http://www.lddc-history.org.uk/housing/#Deals [Accessed: 26 January 2015].

LDDC (2009) *About LDDC – A Brief Overview,* London Dockland Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://www.lddc-history.org.uk/lddcachieve/index.html [Accessed: 15 November2017].

Lees, L., Butler, T. & Bridge, G. (2012) 'Introduction: Gentrification, Social Mix/ing and Mixed Communities', in *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?,* G. Bridge, T. Butler & L. Lees (eds), The Policy Press, pp. 1 – 16.

Leiva, F. (2008) 'Toward a critique of Latin American Neostructuralism', *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 50, no. 4, pp. 1 – 25.

Lemke, T. (2001) '"The Birth of Bio-politics": Michel Foucault's Lecture at the Collège de France on Neo-Liberal Governmentality', *Economy and Society,* vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 190 – 207.

Lemke, T. (2007) 'An Indigestible Meal? Foucault, Governmentality and State Theory', *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory,* vol. 8, no. 2, p. 43 – 64.

Leo, C. (1997) 'City Politics in an Era of Globalization', in *Reconstructing Urban Regime Theory: Regulating Urban Politics in a Global Economy,* M. Lauria (ed), Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, pp. 77 – 98.

Levi-Faur, D. (2005) 'The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Capitalism', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* vol. 598, no. 1, pp. 12 – 32.

Ley, D. (2012) 'Social Mixing and the Historical Geography of Gentrification', in *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?,* G. Bridge, T. Butler & L. Lees (eds), The Policy Press, pp. 53 – 68.

LGiU (2011) *Update – Draft National Planning Policy Framework,* LGiU [Online], Available: http://www.lgiu.org.uk/2011/10/04/update-draft-national-planning-policy-framework/ [Accessed: 5 September 2016].

LGTU (2009) *Response to the Consultation Document: A New Plan for London Proposals for the Mayor's London Plan*, London Gypsy and Traveller Unit [Online], Available: http://www.lgtu.org.uk/London%20Plan%20Preliminary%20Proposals%20response.pdf [Accessed: 7 September 2016].

LGTU (2016a) *Our Purpose,* London Gypsy and Traveller Unit [Online], Available: http://www.lgtu.org.uk/index.php [Accessed: 1 August 2016].

LGTU (2016b) *We are Londoners Too: Gypsy and Traveller Engagement in the Mayor's London Plan,* London Gypsy and Traveller Unit [Online], Available: http://www.lgtu.org.uk/traveller-campaigns.php [Accessed: 7 September 2016].

Lipietz, B., Lee, R. & Hayward, S. (2014) 'Just Space: Building a Community-Based Voice for London Planning', *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action,* vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 214 – 225.

LLDC (2012) *Chobham Manor Disposal Process Update Including Community Land Trust Update*, London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/committee%20minutes/commit tees/investment/3%20july%202012/report1chobhammanorandcltupdate.pdf [Accessed: 28 September 2016].

LLDC (2013a) *Three Year Business Plan: 2014/15 – 2016/17 – Budget Submission Draft for GLA Budget Process, Approved by LLDC Board: November 2013,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: https://www.london.gov.uk/moderngov/documents/s31470/Appendix%202b%20LLDC %20Draft%20Business%20Plan.pdf [Accessed: 1 December 2015].

LLDC (2013b) *Draft Local Plan Consultation Document: December 2013,* London Legacy Development Corporation (Online), Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/qeop/files/public/misc%20documen ts/lldc_localplanconsultationdocument2.pdf [Accessed: 5 April 2015].

LLDC (2013c) *Appendix 1: Draft Local Plan Consultation Document – 9th October 2013,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/committee%20minutes/commit tees/board/29%20october%202013/09a_local_plan_appendices_17_finalpublic.pdf [Accessed: 21 July 2016].

LLDC (2013d) *Minutes of the Meeting of the London Legacy Development Corporation Planning Decisions Committee: Tuesday 22 October 2013 – Public Reports Pack,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://www.london.gov.uk/LLDC/documents/g4746/Public%20reports%20pack%20Tu esday%2022-Oct-2013%2018.00%20Planning%20Decisions%20Committee.pdf?T=10 [Accessed: 23 October 2015].

LLDC (2013e) *Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of the London Legacy Development Corporation: Tuesday 26 November 2013,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/committee%20minutes/commit tees/board/20131126lldc%20boardminutes%20public.pdf [Accessed: 21 July 2016].

LLDC (2013f) *Statement of Community Involvement,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available:

https://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/statementofcommunityinvolve
mentmarch2013.pdf [Accessed: 11 August 2016].

LLDC (2013g) *Neptune Wharf – 12/00210/OUT,* London Legacy Development
Corporation [Online], Available:
http://www.london.gov.uk/moderngovlldc/documents/s30834/Neptune%20Wharf.pd
f [Accessed: 5 October 2016].

LLDC (2014a) *Local Plan 2015 to 2031: Publication Version,* London Legacy Development
Corporation.

LLDC (2014b) *Consultation Report: August 2014,* London Legacy Development
Corporation [Online], Available:
https://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/local%20plan%2
0aug14/consultation%20report%202014.pdf [Accessed: 20 July 2015].

LLDC (2014c) *Local Plan Background Paper: Housing,* London Legacy Development
Corporation [Online], Available:
http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/local%20plan%20
aug14/housing%20background%20paper.pdf [Accessed: 25 April 2016].

LLDC (2014d) *Appendix 1 – Draft Publication Local Plan,* London Legacy Development
Corporation [Online], Available:
http://www.london.gov.uk/moderngovlldc/documents/s37089/Appendix%201%20-
%20Draft%20Publication%20Local%20Plan.pdf [Accessed: 5 August 2016].

LLDC (2014e) *Agenda and Minutes: Planning Decisions Committee – Tuesday 24 June
2014,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available:
http://www.london.gov.uk/moderngovlldc/documents/g5190/Public%20minutes%20T
uesday%2024-Jun-2014%2019.00%20Planning%20Decisions%20Committee.pdf?T=11
[Accessed: 6 August 2016].

LLDC (2014f) *Meeting of the Board of the London Legacy Development Corporation:
Agenda and Papers – Tuesday 22 July 2014,* London Legacy Development Corporation
[Online], Available:
http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/committee%20minutes/commit
tees/board/20140722lldc%20board%20agenda%20public.pdf [Accessed: 6 August
2016].
LLDC (2014g) *All Combined Consultation Responses – 21 November 2014,* London Legacy
Development Corporation [Online], Available:
http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/numbered%20co
nsultation%20responses%20oct%20to%20nov%202014/all%20combined%20consultati
on%20responses%20%2021%20november%2014.pdf [Accessed: 8 August 2016].

LLDC (2014h) *Table of Minor Amendments and Corrections,* London Legacy Development
Corporation [Online], Available: http://www.queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/-

/media/lldc/local-plan/local-plan-examination-documents/local-documents/ld26-minor-amendments-and-corrections_october-2014.ashx?la=en [Accessed: 8 August 2016].

LLDC (2015a) *Local Plan 2015 – 2031: Adopted Version,* London Legacy Development Corporation.

LLDC (2015b) *Planning Area Map,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/planning-authority/planning-area-map [Accessed: 12 October 2015].

LLDC (2015c) *Land at Marshgate Lane, Pudding Mill, Stratford, London E15 2NH, Reference 14/00422/FUL,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://www.london.gov.uk/moderngovlldc/documents/s52774/Marshgate%20Lane%20Report.pdf [Accessed: 9 September 2016].

LLDC (2015d) *LD/31 Cumulative Table of Major and Minor Modifications,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/local%20plan%20examination%20documents/modifications%20consultation%202015/ld31%20final%20for%20consultationupdated%20010415%201.pdf [Accessed: 18 March 2016].

LLDC (2015e) *M/17 – LLDC Response to Further Proposed Changes to Policy BN.10,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/local%20plan%20examination%20documents/inspectors%20issues%20and%20matters/m17%20%20lldc%20response%20to%20further%20proposed%20changes%20to%20policy%20bn%2010%20130315.pdf [Accessed: 12 August 2016].

LLDC (2015f) *Main and Other Minor Modifications: All Representations Received - 1 April 2015 – 13 May 2015*, London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/local%20plan%20examination%20documents/modifications%20consultation%202015/ld36%20modifications%20responses%20%20v3.pdf [Accessed 11 August 2016].

LLDC (2015g) *London Legacy Development Corporation Planning Decision Committee: Tuesday 26 May 2015 – Agenda Reports Pack,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://www.london.gov.uk/moderngovlldc/ieListDocuments.aspx?CId=273&MId=5535&Ver=4 [Accessed: 7 November 2016].

LLDC (2015h) *Mayor Announces 1,500 New Homes on Olympic Park Six Years Earlier than Planned,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/media/press-releases/mayor-announces-1500-new-homes-on-olympic-park-six-years-earlier-than-planned [Accessed: 29 September 2016].

LLDC (2016a) *Our Board,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/our-story/the-legacy-corporation/the-board [Accessed: 19 July 2016].

LLDC (2016b) *Planning Decisions Committee,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/our-story/the-legacy-corporation/our-committees/planning-decision-committee [Accessed: 19 July 2016].

LLDC (2016c) *A Walk Around Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/qeop/files/public/a%20walk%20aro und%20queen%20elizabeth%20olympic%20park.pdf [Accessed: 29 May 2016].

LLDC (2016d) *Examination of the Legacy Corporation Local Plan,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/our-story/transforming-east-london/local-plan/examination-of-the-legacy-corporation-local-plan [Accessed: 20 July 2016].

LLDC (2016e) *Representation Form Guidance Note,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/consultation%20r esponse%20form%20and%20guidence%20note.pdf [Accessed: 8 August 2016].

LLDC (2016f) *Site Allocation SA3.4: Response to Inspector, 31st March 2015,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/31%20march/site %20allocation%20sa34%20response%20to%20inspector%2031st%20march%202015.p df [Accessed: 16 August 2016].

Localism Act 2011, Chapter 20, Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/20/contents/enacted [Accessed 25 September 2015].

Locality (2014) 'The Power of Neighbourhood Planning', *Locality* [Online], Available: http://mycommunity.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/The-Power-of-NP1.pdf [Accessed: 10 February 2015].

Loftman, P & Beazley, M. (1998) *Race, Equality and Planning,* London: Local Government Association.

London Assembly Housing Committee (2015) *Knock it Down or Do it Up? The Challenge of Estate Regeneration,* Greater London Authority [Online], Available: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/gla_migrate_files_destination/KnockItD ownOrDoItUp_0.pdf [Accessed: 10 November 2016].

London Borough of Greenwich, London Borough of Hackney, London Borough of Newham, London Borough of Tower Hamlets and London Borough of Waltham Forest (2009) *Strategic Regeneration Framework: An Olympic Legacy for the Host Boroughs,* London Borough of Greenwich, London Borough of Hackney, London Borough of Newham, London Borough of Tower Hamlets and London Borough of Waltham Forest.

London Borough of Hackney (2010) *Core Strategy: Hackney's Strategic Planning Policies for 2010 – 2025*, London Borough of Hackney.

London Borough of Hackney (2012) *Hackney Wick Area Action Plan,* London Borough of Hackney.

London Borough of Hackney (2015) *Hackney Wick Ward Profile,* London Borough of Hackney [Online], Available: http://www.hackney.gov.uk/media/2685/Hackney-Wick-ward-profile/pdf/hackney-wick-ward-profile [Accessed: 4 October 2016].

London Borough of Newham (2006) *Casino Advisory Panel: Formal Proposal Cover Sheet,* The National Archives [Online], Available: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090204070306/http://www.culture.gov.uk/cap/proposals/Newham.pdf [Accessed: 12 November 2016].

London Borough of Newham (2011) *Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan: Development Framework,* London Borough of Newham.

London Borough of Newham (2012) *Newham 2027: Newham's Local Plan – The Core Strategy,* London Borough of Newham.

London Borough of Newham (2015a) *Agenda and Minutes: Cabinet – Thursday 19th November 2015,* London Borough of Newham [Online], Available: https://mgov.newham.gov.uk/documents/g10820/Printed%20minutes%2019th-Nov-2015%2017.00%20Cabinet.pdf?T=1 [Accessed: 9 September 2016].

London Borough of Newham (2015b) *Appendix B – Options Appraisal for Delivery: Cabinet Report – November 19th 2015, Carpenters Estate Redevelopment*, London Borough of Newham [Online], Available: https://mgov.newham.gov.uk/documents/s100755/Appendix%20B%20-%20Decant%20Update.pdf [Accessed: 16 August 2016].

London Borough of Newham (2016) *The Challenge we Face,* London Borough of Newham [Online], Available: https://www.newham.gov.uk/Pages/Services/budget-challenge.aspx [Accessed: 13 June 2016].

London Borough of Southwark (2011) *Core Strategy,* London Borough of Southwark.

London Borough of Tower Hamlets (2010) *Core Strategy Development Plan Document 2025,* London Borough of Tower Hamlets.

London First, London Communications Agency & DCLG (2015) *London Neighbourhood Forums – June 2015,* London First [Online], Available: http://londonfirst.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/lnd_neighbourhood_forums_v3.15.05.19.pdf [Accessed: 11 September 2015].

London Olympic and Paralympic Games Act 2006, Chapter 12, Available: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/12/pdfs/ukpga_20060012_en.pdf [Accessed: 13 November 2017].

London Tenants Federation (2011) *The Affordable Housing Con,* London Tenants Federation [Online], Available: http://www.londontenants.org/publications/other/theafordablehousingconf.pdf [Accessed: 11 May 2016].

London Tenants Federation, Lees, L., Just Space & Southwark Notes Archive Group (2014) *Staying Put: An Anti-Gentrification Handbook for Council Estates in London,* London: Calverts Co-operative.

Lorde, A. (1984) *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches by Audre Lorde,* Freedom, CA: Crossing Press.

Low, S. J. M. (1904) *The Governance of England,* T. Fisher Unwin.

Lynch, T. (2014) *Writing up your PhD (Qualitative Research): Independent Study Version,* The University of Edinburgh [Online], Available: http://www.ed.ac.uk/files/atoms/files/writing_up_your_phd_qualitative_research.pdf [Accessed: 10 January 2017].

Manzo, L. C. & Brightbill, N. (2007) 'Toward a Participatory Ethics', in *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place,* S. Kindon, R. Pain & M. Kesby (eds), London, New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 33 – 40.

Marcus, G. E. & Cushman, D. (1982) 'Ethnographies as Texts', *Annul Review of Anthropology,* vol. 11, pp. 25 – 69.

Marcuse, P. (2009a) 'From Justice Planning to Commons Planning', in *Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice,* P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olivo, C. Potter & J. Steil (eds), London and NY: New York, pp. 91 – 102.
Marcuse, P. (2009b) 'Spatial Justice: Derivative but Causal of Social Injustice', *Justice Spatial | Spatial Justice,* no. 1, pp. 1 – 6.

Marks, G. (1993) 'Structural Policy and Multi-Level Governance in the EC', in *The State of the European Community: The Maastricht Debate and Beyond*, A. Cafruny and G. Rosenthal (eds), Boulder, pp. 391 – 411.

Mayor of London (2004) *The London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London,* Greater London Authority.

Mayor of London (2007) *Lower Lea Valley Opportunity Area Planning Framework,* Greater London Authority and London Development Agency.

Mayor of London (2008) *The London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London: Consolidated with Alterations since 2004,* Greater London Authority.

Mayor of London (2011) *The London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London,* Greater London Authority.

Mayor of London (2013) *The London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London – Revised Early Minor Alterations: Consistency with the National Planning Policy Framework,* Greater London Authority.

Mayor of London (2014a) *The 2013 London Strategic Housing Market Assessment,* Greater London Authority [Online], Available: https://www.london.gov.uk/file/15571/download?token=q4aeX4g [Accessed: 14 September 2015].

Mayor of London (2014b) *The London Strategic Housing Land Availability Assessment 2013,* Greater London Authority [Online], Available: https://www.london.gov.uk/file/15569/download?token=M9dckY12 [Accessed: 20 September 2015].

Mayor of London (2014c) *Homes for London: The London Housing Strategy June 2014,* Greater London Authority [Online], Available: https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/housing-and-land/housing-strategy/mayors-housing-strategy [Accessed: 1 October 2015].

Mayor of London (2015) *The London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London – Consolidated with Alterations since 2011,* Greater London Authority.

McAllister, P., Street, E. & Wyatt, P. (2013) 'Inside the Black Box: Unravelling the Development Viability Appraisal Process', *Working Papers in Real Estate & Planning,* no. 12/13, pp. 1 – 35.

McAllister, P., Street, E. & Wyatt, P. (2016) 'Governing Calculative Practices: An Investigation of Development Viability Modelling in the English Planning System', *Urban Studies,* vol. 53, no. 11, pp. 2363 – 2379.

McChesney, R. W. (1999) 'Noam Chomsky and the Struggle against Neoliberalism', *Monthly Review,* vol. 50, no. 11, pp. 40 – 47.

McWeigh, R. (1997) 'Theorising Sedentarism: The Roots of Anti-Nomadism', in *Gypsy Politics and Traveller Identity,* T. Acton (ed), University of Hertfordshire Press, pp. 7 – 25.

Ministry of Housing and Local Government (1969) *People and Planning: Report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning,* The National Archives (TNA): Public Records Office (PRO), CAB 151/65, London, The National Archives.

Mohan, G. (2001) 'Beyond Participation: Strategies for Deeper Empowerment', in *Participation the New Tyranny,* B. Cooke & U. Kothari (eds), London, New York, NY: Zed Books, pp. 153-167

Murray, W. E. & Overton, J. D. (2011) 'Neoliberalism is Dead, Long Live Neoliberalism? Neostructuralism and the International Aid Regime of the 2000s', *Progress in Development Studies,* vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 307 – 319.

Naples, N. A. (2003) *Feminism and Method: Ethnography, Discourse Analysis, and Activist Research,* New York, NY and London: Routledge.

Neptune Group (2012) *Neptune Submits Olympic Fringe Plan,* Neptune Group [Online], Available: http://www.neptunegroup.com/news/neptune-submits-olympic-fringe-plan.html [Accessed: 9 November 2016].

Newman, P. & Thornley, A. (1996) 'Fragmentation and Centralisation in the Governance of London: Influencing the Urban Policy and Planning Agenda', *Urban Studies,* vol. 34, no. 7, pp. 967 – 988.

Niner, P. (2002) *The Provision and Condition of Local Authority Gypsy/Traveller Sites in England: A Report to Office of the Deputy Prime Minister on a Programme of Research,* Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Niner, P. (2004) 'Accommodating Nomadism? An Examination of Accommodation Options for Gypsies and Travellers in England', *Housing Studies,* vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 141 – 159.

Nussbaum, M. (2002) 'Capabilities and Social Justice', *International Studies Review,* vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 123 -135.

Nye, J. S. (1988) 'Neorealism and Neoliberalism'*, World Politics*, vol. 40, no. 2, pp. 235 – 251.
ODA (2014) *About Us,* Gov.Uk [Online], Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/olympic-delivery-authority/about [Accessed: 13 November 2016].

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2005) *Diversity and Equality in Planning: A Good Practice Guide,* The National Archives [Online], Available:

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http:/www.communities.gov.uk/docume nts/planningandbuilding/pdf/324051 [Accessed: 26 May 2015].

OPLC (2012a) *Legacy Communities Scheme Planning Application: Volume1 – Executive Summary,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available: http://planningregister.londonlegacy.co.uk/swift/MediaTemp/3697-54922.pdf [Accessed: 30 May 2016].

OPLC (2012b) *S106 Agreement – Part 1,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available:
http://planningregister.londonlegacy.co.uk/swift/MediaTemp/3697-54913.pdf [Accessed: 13 June 2016].

OPLC (2012c) *Volume 2 – Main Report,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available:
http://planningregister.londonlegacy.co.uk/swift/MediaTemp/3697-54928.pdf [Accessed: 25 April 2016].
ORS (2009) *Greater London Strategic Housing Market Assessment 2008: Report of Study Findings April 2009,* Greater London Authority.

ORS (2010a) *East London Strategic Housing Market Assessment 2009 – 2010: Report of Study Findings September 2010,* East London Housing Partnership.

ORS (2010b) *Newham Strategic Housing Market Assessment: Main Report of Study Findings August 2010,* London Borough of Newham.

ORS (2010c) *Waltham Forest Housing Needs Survey and Strategic Housing Market Assessment: September 2012,* London Borough of Waltham Forest.

ORS (2013) *London Legacy Corporation: Assessing the Legacy Corporation's Housing Needs,* Opinion Research Services.

ORS (2014) *London Legacy Development Corporation: Gypsy, Traveller and Travelling Showpeople Accommodation Assessment,* London Legacy Development Corporation [Online], Available:
http://queenelizabetholympicpark.co.uk/~/media/lldc/local%20plan/local%20plan%20 aug14/gypsy%20and%20traveller%20accommodation%20assessment.pdf [Accessed: 8 June 2016].

ORS (2016) *Newham Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment – Final Report: February 2016,* Opinion Research Services.

Otero, G. S. (1993) 'Neoliberalism and its Discontents', *Reports on the Americas,* vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 18 – 21.

Painter, J. (1991) 'Regulation Theory and Local Government', *Local Government Studies,* vol. 17, no. 6, pp. 23 – 44.

Painter, J. & Goodwin, M. (2000) 'Local Government after Fordism: A Regulationist Perspective', in *The New Politics of British Local Governance,* G. Stoker (ed), Macmillan Press Ltd, pp. 33 – 53.

Parker, G. (2012) *Neighbourhood Planning: Precursors, Lessons and Prospects,* Quadrilect Conferences and Training [Online], Available: http://www.quadrilect.co.uk/Gavin%20Parker.pdf [Accessed: 12 February 2015].

Parker, G., Lynn, T. & Wargent, M. (2015) 'Sticking to the Script? The Co-Production of Neighbourhood Planning in England', *Town Planning Review,* vol. 86, no. 5, pp. 519 – 536.

Peck, J. (2010) *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason,* Oxford University Press.

Peck, J. & Theodore, N. (2012) 'Reanimating Neoliberalism: Process Geographies of Neoliberalisation', *Social Anthropology,* vol. 20, no.2, pp. 177 – 185.

Peck, J., Theodore, N. & Brenner, N. (2010) 'Postneoliberalism and its Malcontents', *Antipode,* vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 94 – 116.

Peck, J. & Tickell, A. (1994) 'Jungle Law Breaks Out: Neoliberalism and Global-Local Disorder', *Area,* vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 317 – 326.

Peterman, W. (2000) *Neighborhood Planning and Community-Based Development: The Potential and Limits of Grassroots Action*, London, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Pink, S. (2008) 'An Urban Tour: The Sensory Sociality of Ethnographic Place-Making', *Ethnography,* vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 175 – 196.

Planning and Compensation Act 1991, Chapter 34, Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1991/34/pdfs/ukpga_19910034_en.pdf [Accessed: 30 June 2015].

Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004, Chapter 5, Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2004/5/pdfs/ukpga_20040005_en.pdf [Accessed: 7 July 2016].

Prus, R. (1996) *Symbolic Interaction and Ethnographic Research: Intersubjectivity and the Study of Human Lived Experience,* Albany, UK: Suny Press.

Public Accounts Committee (2011) *Written Evidence from the Olympic Park Legacy Company,* Available: https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect /cmpubacc/1716/1716we03.htm [Accessed: 14 November 2017].

Qpzm (2015) *Newham Census Demographics United Kingdom,* Local Stats [Online], Available: http://localstats.co.uk/census-demographics/england/london/newham [Accessed: 9 March 2015].

Raco, M. (2005) 'Sustainable Development, Rolled-out Neoliberalism and Sustainable Communities', *Antipode,* vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 324 – 347.

Raco, M. (2012) 'The Privatisation of Urban Development and the London Olympics 2012', *City,* vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 452 – 460.

Raco, M. (2013) 'Governance as Legacy: Project Management, the Olympic Games and the Creation of a London Model', *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development,* vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 172 – 173.

Raco, M. (2014) 'Delivering Flagship Projects in an Era of Regulatory Capitalism: State-Led Privatization and the London Olympics 2012', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 176 – 197.

Raco, M. & Henderson, S. (2006) 'Sustainable Urban Planning and the Brownfield Development Process in the United Kingdom: Lessons from the Thames Gateway', *Local Environment,* vol. 11, no. 5, pp. 499 – 513.

RCG (2012) *About,* Revolutionary Communist Group [Online], Available: http://www.revolutionarycommunist.org/about [Accessed: 13 October 2016].

Renaisi Limited and ANCER SPA (2003) *Work Space Supply and Demand in the City Fringe: A Study for the City Fringe Partnership,* Renaisi Limited and ANCER SPA.

RICS (2012) *Financial Viability in Planning: RICS Guidance Note,* 1st edition, Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors.

Robinson, J. (2011) '2010 Urban Geography Plenary Lecture—The Travels of Urban Neoliberalism: Taking Stock of the Internationalization of Urban Theory', *Urban Geography,* vol. 32, no. 8, pp. 1087 – 1109.

Rose, N. (1999) *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self,* 2nd edition, Free Association Books, London, New York.

Rose, D. M. H. (2006) *Report to the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry: Application by The London Development Agency for Confirmation of The London Development Agency (Lower Lea Valley, Olympic and Legacy) Compulsory Purchase Order 2005— Public Inquiry opened on 9 May 2006,* Games Monitor [Online], Available:

http://www.gamesmonitor.org.uk/files/Inspectors%20recommendation%20to%20Secr
etary%20of%20State-3875798-1.pdf [Accessed: 12 November 2017].

Rosenau, J. N. (1992) 'Governance, Order and Change in World Politics', in *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics,* J. N. Rosenau & E. Czempiel (eds), Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-29.

Rosenau, J. N. (1995) 'Governance in the Twenty-First Century, *Global Governance,* vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 13 – 43.

Rosol, M. (2015) 'Governing Cities Through Participation—A Foucauldian Analysis of CityPlan Vancouver', *Urban Geography,* vo. 35, no. 2, pp. 256 – 276.

Roy, A. (2005) 'Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, vol. 71, no. 2, pp. 147 – 158.

Roy, A. (2009) 'Civic Governmentality: The Politics of Inclusion in Beirut and Mumbai', *Antipode,* vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 159 – 179.

Rustin, M. & Cohen, P. (2008) *London's Turning: The Making of the Thames Gateway (Design and the Built Environment),* M. Rustin & P. Cohen (eds), Ashgate.

Sagoe, C. (2016) 'One Tool Amongst Many: Considering the Political Potential of Neighbourhood Planning for the Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood, London' *Architecture, Media, Politics, Society,* vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 1 - 20.

Savitch, H. V. (1998) 'The Ecology of Public-Private Partnerships: Europe', in *Partnerships in Urban Governance: European and American Experiences,* Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 175 – 186.

Scott, C. (2004) 'Regulation in the Age of Governance: The Rise of the Post-Regulatory State', in *The Politics of Regulation: Institutions and Regulatory Reforms for the Age of Governance,* J. Jordana & D. Levi-Faur (eds), Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 145 – 174.

Shaw, D. & Lord, A. (2009) 'From Land-Use to "Spatial Planning": Reflections on the Reform of the English Planning System', *Town Planning Review,* vol. 80, no. 4 – 5, pp. 415 – 435.

Short, N. (2012) 'Leadership, Neoliberal Governance and Global Economic Crisis: A Gramscian Analysis', in *Global Crises and the Crisis of Global Leadership,* S. Gill (ed), Cambridge University Press, pp. 38 – 55.

Silverman, D. (2000) *Doing Qualitative Research,* Fourth edition, SAGE, London.

Smith, A. (2014) '"De-Risking" East-London: Olympic Regeneration Planning 2000-2012', *European Planning Studies,* vol. 22, no. 9, pp. 1919 – 1939.

Springer, S. (2010) 'Neoliberalism and Geography: Expansions, Variegations, Formations', *Geography Compass,* vol. 4, no. 8, pp. 1025 – 1038.

Stocking, G. W. (1993) (ed) *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge,* Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Stoker, G. (1989) 'Creating a Local Government for a Post-Fordist Society: The Thatcherite Project', in *The Future of Local Government,* J. Stewart & G. Stoker (eds), Macmillan, pp. 123 – 170.

Stone, J. (2014) *Why I'm Occupying a Boarded-up East London Council House,* The Guardian [Online], Available:
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/23/why-occupying-boarded-up-east-london-council-house-social-housing [Accessed: 23 September 2014].

Syrett, S. & Baldock, R. (2003) 'Reshaping London's Economic Governance: The Role of the London Development Agency', *European Urban and Regional Studies,* vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 69 – 86.

Tandon, R. (2008) 'Participation, Citizenship and Democracy: Reflections on 25 Years of PRIA', *Community Development Journal*, vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 284 – 296.

The Oxford Institute for Sustainable Development (2009) *Thames Gateway Map,* The Oxford Institute for Sustainable Development [Online], Available: http://oisd.brookes.ac.uk/researchfindings/06-06.html [12 December 2015].

Thomas, H. (2000) *Race and Planning: The UK Experience,* UCL Press, London, New York.

Thomas, H. (2008) 'Race Equality and Planning: A Changing Agenda', *Planning, Practice & Research,* vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 1 – 17.

Thornley, A. (1993) *Urban Planning Under Thatcherism: The Challenge of the Market,* Routledge, Chapman and Hall, London.

Three Dragons (2016) *Using the Three Dragons Toolkit to Demonstrate the Viability of Individual Schemes,* Three Dragons [Online], Available:
http://three-dragons.co.uk/ThreeDragonsToolkit.pdf [Accessed: 11 May 2016].

Town and Country Planning Act 1947, Chapter 51, Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1947/51/pdfs/ukpga_19470051_en.pdf [Accessed: 6 June 2015].
Town and Country Planning Act 1954, Chapter 72, Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1954/72/pdfs/ukpga_19540072_en.pdf [Accessed: 14 June 2015].

Town and Country Planning Act 1971, Chapter 78, Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1971/78/pdfs/ukpga_19710078_en.pdf [Accessed: 15 November 2017].

Town and Country Planning Act 1990, Chapter 8, Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1990/8/pdfs/ukpga_19900008_en.pdf [Accessed: 17 June 2015].

Tufts, S. (2004) 'Building the 'Competitive City': Labour and Toronto's Bid to Host the Olympic Games', *Geoforum,* vol. 35, no.1, p. 47 – 58.

UCLU (2016) *Save Carpenters Estate,* University College London Union [Online], Available: http://uclu.org/campaigns/save-carpenters-estate [Accessed: 11 April 2017].

Unger, R. M. (2007) *The Self Awakened: Pragmatism Unbound,* Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

Vidali, D. S. (2014) 'The Ethnography of Process: Excavating and Re-generating Civic Engagement and Political Subjectivity', *Ethnography,* vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 12 – 31.

von Mises, L. (1936) *Socialism: An Economic and Sociological Analysis,* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Wacquant, L. (2012) 'Three Steps to a Historical Anthropology of Actually Exiting Neoliberalism', *Social Anthropology,* vol. 20, no.1, pp. 66 – 79.

Watt, P. (2013) '"It's not for us" Regeneration, the 2012 Olympics and the Gentrification of East London', *City,* vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 99 – 118.

Watt, P. (2016) 'A Nomadic War Machine in the Metropolis', *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action,* vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 297 – 320.

Watt, P. & Minton, A. (2016) 'London's Housing Crisis and its Activisms', *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action,* vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 204 – 221.

Wiles, C. (2014) *Affordable Housing does not mean what you think it means,* The Guardian [Online], Available: http://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2014/feb/03/affordable-housing-meaning-rent-social-housing [Accessed: 11 May 2016].

Williams, A., Cloke, P. & Thomas, S. (2012) 'Co-constituting Neoliberalism; Faith-Based Organisations, Co-option, and Resistance in the UK', *Environment and Planning A,* vol. 44, no. 6, pp. 1479 – 1501.

Wills, J. (2015) 'Populism, Localism and the Geography of Democracy', *Geoforum,* vol. 62, pp. 188 – 189.

Wills, J. (2016) 'Emerging Geographies of English Localism: The Case of Neighbourhood Planning', *Political Geography,* vol. 53, pp. 43 – 53.

Yiftachel, O. (1994) 'The Dark Side of Modernism: Planning as Control of an Ethnic Minority', in *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, S. Watson & K. Gibson (eds), Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 216 – 242.

Zhang, L. & Zhao, S.B. (2009) 'City Branding and the Olympic Effect: A Case Study of Beijing', *Cities,* vol. 26, no. 5, p. 245 – 254.