The Marketing of Urban Regeneration

Rowena Mary Morris

University College London

MPhil Town & Country Planning
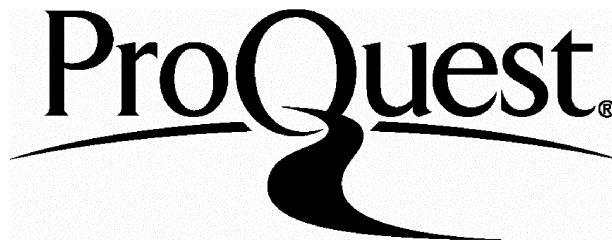
ProQuest Number: U644115

ProQuest U644115

Abstract

Place marketing, image enhancement and urban branding are all terms inextricably linked to regeneration initiatives today. The success of a regeneration project is essentially one of changing people's perceptions of an area whilst achieving physical, economic and social transformations. It involves the creation of places people want to live, work and invest in. Place marketing is widely judged as necessary to help improve an area's image and encourage inward investment.

The three case study areas are very different in nature and context. Bankside and King's Cross having a greater cross-section to satisfy in terms of businesses and residents. However they are all areas where the intention is to encourage investment with the aim of improving the local economy and steps are taken to ensure that the resident population reaps the benefits of any development in the area. All three areas have strategies in place to improve the physical environment as a means of changing or improving the image of the area. The focus of each programme has different emphasis, however, with Bankside the orientation is to culture and tourism, King's Cross increasingly tourism, physical renewal and social initiatives, whilst Cathall Road is a combination of immense physical change and a very pro-active social regeneration project.

In terms of the strategy employed by Bankside to "create an image where the city or place is perceived to be unknown" (Teedon 2001: 461) it can be judged to be a success but with recognition of the importance of the flagship development of the Tate Modern underpinning the process. King's Cross has come some way in its attempt to "refine an undesirable image" (ibid) but there is still a long way to go before a new quarter for London is realised. Negative perception may only be erased when the CTRL is fully operational and King's Cross Central and Regent's Quarter have been redeveloped. Cathall Road has managed to overcome its "undesirable image" to a large extent. However, the negative image associated with a stigmatised estate has not been fully countered. This may be a case of time healing, without the need to rebrand or implement an image enhancement strategy.

List Of Tables

CONTENTS

Chapter 1   Introduction

Place marketing, also referred to as place promotion and selling the city, can be defined as "the conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of specific geographical localities or areas to a target audience" (Ward & Gold 1994: 2). Place marketing, image enhancement and urban branding are all terms inextricably linked to regeneration initiatives today. The success of a regeneration project is essentially one of changing people's perceptions of an area whilst achieving physical and social transformations. It involves the creation of places people want to live, work and invest in, counteracting the often negative image or stigmatisation previously associated with the place.

The seminal work of Kevin Lynch "The Image of the City" is an important reference point for discussions on perception and the city and key to understanding the complexity of the issue.

"Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences...Most often, our perception of the city is not sustained, but rather partial, fragmentary, mixed with other concerns. Nearly every sense is in operation, and the image is the composite of them all." Lynch (1960: 1,2)

The task of changing people's perceptions of an area that has suffered decline and disinvestment is considered an important part of regeneration, improving internal and external views. But as Lynch states, perception is multi-layered, a person reacting to the interplay of numerous external factors and experiences. In order to change the image of an area and break the negative associations and stigmatisation, a strategy is required that is more than rhetoric and glossy brochures. Research by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation has highlighted this problem in a study of three heavily stigmatised estates in Birmingham, Newcastle and Edinburgh, which in spite of regeneration activity have still suffered a negative image (Dean & Hastings 2000).

Recent debates on place marketing and image enhancement have concentrated on key examples and initiatives in large cities, with Glasgow often being cited as the benchmark especially in terms of cultural strategies. The individual strategies are assessed and reference made to the transference of marketing theories and the transposition of practices from the United States. However it appears that many strategies develop ad hoc or even post hoc and with different agencies adopting differing angles to address the problem.

1.1 Focus of the Study

Place marketing strategies can take three forms according to Teedon (2001: 460-1) with the following objectives:

- To increase the profile of a (well) known city
- To redefine an undesirable image
- To create an image where the city or place is perceived to be unknown

This study will focus primarily on three distinct areas within London: Bankside, King's Cross and South Leytonstone (specifically Cathall Road). Both King's Cross and Cathall Road have suffered from a bad reputation and persistent negative perception. Bankside is an area which in the last couple of decades has changed from a 'backwater' to a tourist destination. All three areas are undergoing regeneration programmes. The relationship between place marketing and urban regeneration will be examined in the context of these three areas, the nature of the regeneration programme and the marketing strategies employed (if any) and their value in terms of changing people's perceptions.

1.2 Aims & Objectives

The purpose of this project is to evaluate the role of place marketing in connection with urban regeneration schemes and their value in changing people's perception of a place. A fundamental aim of this research is to evaluate the differing approaches of

regeneration schemes depending on the stated objectives of that scheme, whether the primary objectives are economic, social or physical regeneration. Obviously most schemes are a combination of all three of these objectives, although they have differing emphasis.

Current literature focuses on key examples of place marketing in cities. A central theme to this research is to attempt to evaluate how the theory is put into practice, the tools used and the processes undertaken. A fundamental question is why an area undergoing regeneration requires positive image projection and how this can be achieved. Regeneration is concerned with creating places people want to live, work and play in, overcoming problems of social exclusion, economic decline and negative stereotyping. How marketing strategies and image enhancement is linked into regeneration initiatives is to be investigated. The central aims are therefore as follows:

(1)   How place marketing is put into practice in regeneration initiatives

In order to achieve this aim, the focus of the enquiry will be regeneration bodies and local authorities, investigating their part in the process.

(2)   What are the tools of place marketing and how is success measured?

The strategic objectives of the regeneration programme and the inward investment strategy will be examined in relation to the desired outputs.

(3)   Does time heal?

Attempting to address the issue of whether a regeneration programme has changed people's perception of the area in question.

Other key questions regarding urban regeneration and place marketing to be considered are:

- The extent of place marketing - is it an integral part of the scheme from the scheme's inception?
- The importance of place marketing in changing people's perceptions, inside and outside view
- Is it a useful tool to encourage inward investment? Can place marketing strategies encourage inward investment or economic development by helping to change people's perceptions, changing how people think about an area?
- Is it a useful tool to help change people's perceptions? This is difficult to evaluate, people may subconsciously be responding to image projection which when questioned would be considered to be an irrelevant or unimportant factor affecting decisions
- Do areas undergoing regeneration require positive image projection in the form of place marketing and does it help to achieve the aims of regeneration? What are the best ways of achieving this?

It is important not only to change outsiders' perception of an area but also that of the residents. Improving the image of an area can have a profound impact on how outsiders view not only the location but also its inhabitants. It can be a way of engendering confidence, improving self-esteem and encouraging positive action.

The premise is one that economically-led regeneration schemes will use traditional marketing techniques to promote the area in question, whilst schemes with more of a social emphasis will not regard place marketing as a necessary part of the process. Most regeneration involves some form of physical transformation, however this varies greatly in degree. Is physical transformation enough to change people's view of a place or is there a 'time lag' before perception mirrors the reality?

1.3   Methodology

The survey element formed a central component of the research strategy requiring feedback from the key stakeholders in the regeneration process: local authorities, regeneration professionals, residents ("insiders") and "outsiders". Collection of primary data involved face to face interviews with key representatives involved in regeneration

8

from the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) programmes and the local authorities. There was an extensive range of secondary sources to support the primary data, SRB bid documents, promotional material, websites, annual reports etc. Given the qualitative nature of much of the information, much of the analysis will be descriptive, but that does not predispose quantitative analysis. When dealing with opinions or perceptions, they are neither right nor wrong, (though of course they can be misguided), it is an individual's response to the sum of experiences and externalities.

Evaluating inward investment in terms of one factor such as place marketing is problematic given the number of influences that govern decisions regarding re-location and investment in an area. With this in mind, the inward investment strategies were considered in terms of the stated targeted outputs by the SRB programme, referencing data if available. The form the strategies took and whether consultants were used in the delivery of the objectives were examined.

Following a pilot study testing the robustness of the questionnaire design and evaluating the best method regarding response, a face to face questionnaire survey was undertaken in each of the case study areas. Questionnaires were tailored to elicit responses from residents (insiders) and people working in the area (outsiders). Questions were a mixture of open-ended and multiple choice questions.

The questionnaire targeted at residents related primarily to change, awareness of and reaction to change. It was structured to make people think of where they lived and to think of how others viewed the area, to get "insiders' views". The final question asked whether they were aware of any publicity or marketing campaigns relating to the area. For non-residents and businesses based in the area but still considered "outsiders", the questionnaire was very similar to that for the residents with open questions on views of the area as opposed to feelings relating to living there. The sample size was averaged thirty five for the non-residents and twenty for the residents.

Three case studies were chosen each with an associated SRB funded programme of regeneration and because of the differing approaches, objectives and the stages of the regeneration programme. Comparative studies can be problematic because of "uniqueness of place"; factors exerted or influencing one area may not be apparent in

the other. Therefore the baseline conditions need to be recognised and commented upon. A key question to be addressed was: was there a strong marketing initiative from the inception of the regeneration programme or at what stage was a marketing strategy implemented, if at all?

Bankside is an area in the London Borough of Southwark, which has been the focus of much attention with the development and opening of the Tate Modern, a flagship project and also the Millennium Bridge. These are high profile projects that have attracted much media attention. The area is also part of Cross River Partnership's (CRP) SRB scheme. Bankside is part of an area of London that is being marketed as "London South Central".

King's Cross is an area of London, which in spite of locational advantages, in terms of connectivity has suffered from disinvestment and a negative image for some time. The delay in a decision regarding the Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL) has blighted the area. The King's Cross Partnership SRB has been working to bring improvements to the area and has just begun promoting the area as one of London's "most exciting and vibrant new quarters".

Waltham Forest Housing Action Trusts (WFHAT) was established to target the regeneration of four housing estates in Waltham Forest. The HAT received substantial funding for the transformation of these estates. The study focuses on one estate, Cathall Road in Leytonstone, which also falls into the SRB for South Leytonstone. There has been a physical transformation of the stigmatised estate that has been widely accredited as a significant success.

1.4   Outline

The following two chapters outline urban regeneration, perception of place and place marketing. Chapter 2 addresses the fundamental aims of urban regeneration and the form of Single Regeneration Budget programmes. Theory relating to perception and 'sense of place' will also be considered. Chapter 3 looks at place marketing theory and how it relates to urban regeneration. Flagship projects and cultural strategies are examined and the place marketing undertaken in Glasgow, Liverpool, Newcastle and

Dublin. Stigmatised estates face severe problems in changing perception. How this problem can be addressed in terms of place marketing is considered. Place marketing strategies and their evaluation are also considered. Chapters 4 to 6 look in turn at the case study areas of Bankside, King's Cross and Cathall Road. The focus of these chapters is the SRB programme and the place marketing strategies employed. Analysis of the questionnaire surveys is undertaken in Chapter 7 with Chapter 8 detailing conclusions elicited from the research.

Chapter 2   Urban Regeneration & Perception of Place

2.1   Introduction

The promotion of 'places', towns, cities, regions and countries has been occurring for centuries, from the original Olympic Games to competing Renaissance City states (Murray 2001). Over the last two decades however, there has been acceleration in the application of this practice. This has been a reaction to the globalisation of the market place with cities having to compete not only for tourist revenue but the relocation and retention of businesses and to secure the staging of high profile sports events, global conferences and titles such as the European Capital of Culture (ibid). Place promotion is not only used at this 'macro' level but also it has become a common feature of strategies to secure funding at a national and regional level. Competition for funding for urban regeneration projects has also evolved over the last decade and will be briefly considered and the role of perception and sense of place, given that "identity, sense of place and local distinctiveness are key features of the competitive success of places" (Murray 2001: 6).

2.2   Urban Regeneration

"Urban regeneration can be defined as: comprehensive and integrated vision and action that leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been, or is, subject to change" Roberts & Sykes (2000: 296). Camden (2002: 25) defines regeneration as "a joined-up approach to tackling and preventing the problems of social, economic and physical decline in areas and communities. It can take a variety of forms, ranging from tackling crime and unemployment to improving buildings and providing training."

Cities and towns are continually evolving and adapting to changing circumstances, changes which are not uniform within the urban environment. One part of a city may be declining whilst another is undergoing renewal and redevelopment. The city or town consists not only of the physical form but also social and economic activities occurring within it (Dalia Lichfield 1992: 20). However, it is frequently the physical fabric which is

perceived as the problem or objective of adaptation, being the most visible facet (ibid). People, business and other organisations all react to changing circumstances and must be considered as part of the whole. Dalia Lichfield (1992: 21) comment "there is little evidence that physical improvement on its own can turn the tide for deprived communities or failing businesses."

Urban regeneration programmes attempt to address the disparities within cities and towns to create an environment of more equitable opportunity, tackling problems of social polarisation and social exclusion. Deprivation can manifest itself in persistently high levels of unemployment, homelessness, high crime levels associated with an entrenched drugs culture, sub-standard housing and environmental conditions (Oatley 1988: ix). Deprived areas may become bound up in a cycle of under-investment (both materially and in terms of human resources), loss of confidence in the future and lack of initiative and therefore returning again to under-investment (Dalia Lichfield 1992: 56). Often the various indicators of deprivation are manifested in tangible, visible aspects. Both public and private buildings are run down and the public domain suffers, whether from a lack of investment, maintenance, vandalism or a combination of such factors, resulting in a poor physical environment. This then acts in turn as a disincentive to invest in the area, so helping to reinforce the cycle of decline. Such cycles serve to reinforce perceptions of decline. Urban regeneration, in order to be successful, needs to evaluate the foundations of this perception and to instigate a concerted approach at a variety of levels. Many factors interact leading to decline, such as the environment, business viability, income, education, housing (Dalia Lichfield 1992: 73), and all need to be addressed in turn as part of a holistic programme.

2.3   The Single Regeneration Budget

Problems of social polarisation and social exclusion in Britain's cities persist in spite of over twenty five years of urban policy. From 1991, there was a reorientation of regeneration policy in England, with City Challenge being the prototype for a plethora of initiatives based on a controversial competitive bidding process for regeneration funds (Oatley 1998: 10). In 1994 the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) was established by the Department of the Environment (DOE) and administered through the Government Offices for the Regions (GOR). This initiative was to bring together several programmes

13

run by a number of Government Departments with the intention of simplifying and streamlining the process. Since its inception, the regulatory structure has changed and the SRB is now overseen by the Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions (DTLR) and the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), which in the case of London is the London Development Agency (LDA). Local regeneration partnership initiatives in England are thus supported by SRB resources. The stated priority is "to enhance the quality of life of local people in areas of need by reducing the gap between deprived and other areas" (DTLR). Although the types of bid supported by SRB funding are different from place to place, the DTLR outlines common objectives (DTLR 2001):

- Improvement of employment prospects, education and skills of the local population
- Addressing of social exclusion and improvement of opportunities for the disadvantaged
- Promotion of sustainable regeneration, improvement and protection of the environment and infrastructure, including housing
- Support and promotion of growth in local economies and businesses
- Reduction of crime and drug abuse and improvement of community safety

A fundamental ethos of the SRB is the creation of partnerships whose management consists of a variety of local organisations with local businesses, the voluntary sector and the local community working together. In order to secure funds, local partnerships have to produce bid documents as part of a competitive bidding process. The bids have to follow a formula created by the DETR with the basic components being obligatory:

- Name of partnership
- Duration of bid
- Lead partner
- Other partners
- Objectives of the bid
- Coverage of the bid (geographical/functional area)
- Size of bid £

14

The bid must also include the following: strategic objectives, baseline position and the position at the end of the bid lifetime (outcome). Financial aspects must also be addressed in the bid such as:

- Funding profile
- Breakdown of funding
- SRB capital and revenue funds
- Private/non-public sector funding (cash or in kind) i.e. developers, local businesses, voluntary sector, churches, TECs etc
- Funding from other public sector contributors i.e. local authority, housing corporation, national lottery, European funds, other government departments

SRB partnerships are engaged in a contract culture whereby they bid for funds according to guidelines, outlining outputs and outcomes which if they secure the funding, would be committed to deliver. If successful, the SRB partnership assumes the role of a 'procurement manager', contracting with agents to deliver the outputs detailed, such as training providers, developers, local voluntary or community organisations, business support organisation and so on (Oatley 1998: 10).

There were numerous other programmes initiated in the 1990s such as Rural Challenge (1994), Regional Challenge (1993), City Pride (1993), Local Challenge (1996), Sector Challenge (1996), National Lottery (1996), Capital Challenge (1996), funds which had to be attained by a bidding process. As Oatley states (1998: 10) "collectively these initiatives radically altered the way in which policies aimed at tackling problems of urban decline and social disadvantage were formulated, funded and administered." Competition had been brought into the regeneration arena. The bid culture meant that deprived and disadvantaged areas were competing against each other for funds. The Urban Programme in 1968 had established needs-based allocation formulas based on measures of deprivation or cases of particular need (Oatley 1998: 10). However, this shift to competitive bidding meant that it was not necessarily the case that the most deprived or needy received support, it was those partnerships that presented the best argument or case, further reinforcing the importance of promotional and presentational skills.

There is a common objective for many of the urban initiatives to improve not only the competitiveness of businesses but also the cities themselves through support of local businesses and improving the physical, cultural or human resources of the area (Oatley 1998: 5). Cities now have to compete nationally and internationally for resources and private investment. The British Government, recognising the importance of being able to compete at the international level, has helped to gear urban regeneration funding towards the removal of obstacles to competitiveness and to promote multi-sector partnerships whose remit is to "realise the potential for economic growth by supporting businesses, overcoming dereliction, and tackling the various forms of social exclusion" (Oatley 1998: 18). Cities are now an integral part of the competitive climate and this has necessitated place marketing becoming omnipresent in economic development strategies. Place marketing focuses on the projection of a certain image of a place, perception and a sense of a place is of fundamental importance.

2.4   Perception & Sense of Place

Perception is a sweeping term with numerous definitions and meanings, it can refer to the actual process of perceiving or the end product of that process and is frequently implied rather than explicit (Pocock & Hudson 1978: 18). It relates to cognition, awareness and understanding. Image is the combination of "direct sensory interaction as interpreted through the observer's value system, and accommodated in the existing memory store where inputs from indirect sources may be of at least equal importance" (Pocock & Hudson 1978: 19). Environment can be considered as anything external to the perceiver which influences, or might influence, the perception process of mental filtering, coding, storing and retrieving (ibid).

In perceptual terms the relationship between man and his environment is a complex one. Within any environment, perception occurs, selectively, of certain information, using different senses and this information is added to a store of mental images (Goodey 1974: 8). Reality can be interpreted differently by different people and construed differently at different times by the same person (Pocock & Hudson 1978: 1). Past experience also exerts an influence on the interpretation of and attitude formed of a place, either from first hand experience or secondary sources of information. Secondary sources of information form an important part of image formation; sources of

communication from school, the mass media, arts, mean that an opinion or image can be formed of a place without actually having visited it. Tuan (1975: 211) termed this an imagination-image, a simpler image with more distortion than a memory-image. Secondary sources can therefore contribute to the creation of expectation or conditioning of a place prior to experience at first-hand. Images can be stereotypical (oversimplification), a myth (oversimplification without foundation) or prejudiced (oversimplification unresponsive to corrective, first-hand evidence) (Allport 1954).

Attitudes are also shaped by cultural characteristics, gender, age, social class, beliefs; for Pocock & Hudson (1978: 28) attitude can be "interpreted as the summary of past experiences or perceptions...nothing is approached in a state of innocence."

Perception is therefore a cultural and subjective process and not purely a mechanical response to an environment. Perception and image are inextricably linked to "sense of place". Goodey (1974: 110) outlines three definitions of sense of place, the first emphasising the sensory processes and stimuli with the accent on the 'sense'; the second relates to the relationship with the past, a historical association and lastly have to create something new, the creation of a sense of place. Lynch (1960) describes sense of place as "the join between the form of the environment and the human processes of perception and cognition. It cannot be analysed except as an interaction between person and place" stating that one "must look at place and person together" (Lynch 1960: 13). Davies & Herbert (1993) divided community character into two categories, content and context. The content category including conceptual identity relating to the attitudes people have to their areas. This can be further divided into a cognitive field, being the identification and relationships of physical features in areas and an effective field concerning the meaning and attitudes that people have about areas such as their sense of belonging.

Lynch (1960: 4) defines environmental image as "the generalised mental picture of the exterior physical world that is held by an individual". The creation of the environmental image is a two-way process between the observer and the observed, a product of both the present and the memory of past experience (Lynch 1960: 4). Different groups and different people have different environmental images of the same reality but that does not mean that one image is 'right' or the other 'wrong' (Pocock & Hudson 1978: 135).

Environmental images are the basis by which we interpret information and guide our actions in a place (Lynch 1960: 4).

Lynch (1960: 4) eloquently explains the relationship between the environment and the image that is created by an individual: "The environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer - with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes - selects, organises, and endows with meaning what is seen, while the image itself is being tested against the filtered perceptual input in a constant interacting process. Thus the image of a given reality may vary significantly between different observers." However, he also goes on to comment that whilst an individual formulates his own image, there also tends to be considerable conformity among members of the same group (groups according to age, gender, culture, occupation, temperament for example). Understanding these group images could be a useful tool, if of adequate consensus, for modelling an environment or even for modelling an image for promotion.

Place marketing raises the issue of how the desired image is to be formulated, who should make this decision and can consensus be achieved? A place may be promoted using a distorted image, but for the benefit of truth, "truth in this context is the correcting and replacing of prejudices by some positive qualities of place" (Pocock & Hudson 1978: 127). It is a process which serves to create an imagination-image, communicating its message to a potentially wide audience and shaping their perceptions of a place. Place-images are considered in relation to other place-images, their differences acknowledged. Place marketing needs to consider the spatial hierarchy of places, its past or 'shadow effects'; negative or positive images of other places, the region or nation overshadowing a particular place-image (Madsen 1992: 634). Place marketing is therefore a complex process, which cannot be considered in isolation and requires a contextual overview.

Nicholson in his work for LPAC concerning place and local identity focused on two central questions regarding sense of place and concepts of neighbourhood and community and how people respond to change in an area. North Southwark and North Kensington were the study areas both having undergone physical transformations, the difference being in resident population, Southwark's being relatively stable and Kensington's suffering constant upheaval (Nicholson 1995: 10). However, in spite of

their differences people in both areas displayed a strong sense of place, with notions of a spatial hierarchy and were highly sensitised to change (Nicholson 1995: 24).

The study also raised the question of 'inside' and 'outside' views, which is of fundamental importance to regeneration initiatives. Davies & Herbert (1993) observe that place-communities in cities create attitudes which may be very different in the eyes of 'insiders' compared to those of 'outsiders'. In considering the question of change, the negative and positive perceptions of residents were surveyed. Nicholson found that positive features "tended to be more fixed, integral or ingrained in the area, such as accessibility" with negative features "more temporary, less integral, such as cleanliness or crime" (1995:24). From this Nicholson comments that if a characteristic deemed positive is changed in an area it could effect permanent damage, with negative attributes having the potential to be improved by better management (1995: 24). This highlights the problem of inside/outside views and the importance of outside agencies appreciating how the residents value their environment and how their opinions and weighting of characteristics may be different from their perspective. Do regeneration agencies or practitioners use residents' opinions as a baseline for their strategy for change or do they decide what is required from a professional standpoint and previous experience?

It would seem for Nicholson's work and that of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, looking at how neighbourhoods cope with change, that the inside view is of fundamental importance. As the European Foundation concluded "one of the crucial elements to successful outside intervention is whether the way outside actors define the situation and the way local people define it correspond". Although regeneration programmes are increasingly working with the community, the extent to which they initially consult with residents and insiders and consider the sense of place and sense of identity as a starting point is questionable. However Nicholson (1995: 24) quotes the Department of the Environment as pointing out "the crux of a sense of identity is just those feelings which will not be represented by hard data". Assessment of perception is not without its difficulties.

"...we live in the world of the mind...In this realm of persuasion and stimulation, it is the image which assumes the key role, and, in consequence, it is the image makers - the authors, controllers and disseminators of information - who hold a special responsibility.

And it is the reasons and processes underlying the formation of particular interests and images that take on an especial significance" (Pocock & Hudson 1978: 127).

2.5 Conclusion

Whilst the importance of place marketing and image enhancement is appreciated in regeneration initiatives, the somewhat daunting task of addressing perceptual problems is recognised. Even campaigns deemed successful, such as "Glasgow's Miles Better" (which will be considered in more detail in the following chapter), have not been accredited with wholesale image improvement, peripheral stigmatised areas persist. It is not a question of a short-fix, but long-term objectives are required and recognition of the importance of changing the insider's view as well as that of the outsider.

Flagship developments were frequently a central tenet of many regeneration schemes, especially in the 1980s, high profile developments which aimed to attract inward investment, with the help of focused marketing and promotion. The question is whether such schemes address the wider problem, or if they serve their purpose as a facilitator encouraging further development and regeneration.

The discussions of different regeneration and marketing strategies in various cities highlight the problem of development of a universal set of guidelines. As Symth (1994: 3) recognises, "although a shared vision may involve a marketing approach, it must contain different strategies for different cities because each is unique." It is a problem associated with cross-policy transfer, the unique qualities making wholesale transposition inappropriate. However, if the fundamental differences are appreciated, central themes and issues should be able to be transferred successfully.

Place marketing and urban branding involve the interaction of numerous agencies and in many cities, with each agency or stakeholder often adopting its own strategy. This raises problems of a unified approach and whilst working for a common aim, their priorities will differ and the focus of their output will differ accordingly.

With an area as subjective as perception it proves very difficult to quantify. How is success measured? The number of people with a positive or improved image? The amount of inward investment? There is also the problem of comparison between cities, between localities within cities. Is there any value in comparing how theory is put into practice? The theoretical background to place marketing and its evolution and integration into urban regeneration will be considered in the next chapter.

Chapter 3   Place Marketing & Urban Regeneration

3.1   Introduction

"Place marketing is a term which encompasses the range of activities undertaken to assist local economic development by improving the competitive advantage of a locality" (SERG 1999). These activities can include alterations in the form and function of localities and the promotion of a new image of place (ibid). These activities are seen as a means of stimulating local economic development by attracting "key economic decision makers within and outside of the locality" (ibid). These decision makers include company directors, public-sector grant awarding bodies such as central government and the EU, tourists, consumers, professionals and skilled workers. According to Lash & Urry (1994: 215) there are "considerable interconnections between tourism, services and economic development strategies" with tourism now frequently a central tenet of economic development strategies.

City marketing or promotion originated in the United States, but became widely adopted in Europe in the 1980s. Initially being the domain of development agencies and the private sector, the importance and benefits of place marketing and image enhancement has been recognised by the public sector too. Given the increasing interaction and joint public/private ventures, it is not surprising that market-orientated approaches have been given more credence. Marketing consultants are now a common feature of city-based place marketing initiatives. Campaigns such as 'Bradford Bounces Back', 'Glasgow's Miles Better', and Birmingham's 'Highbury Initiative' have all been professionally designed and implemented strategies. Although the techniques employed may be more sophisticated, the concept in itself has been employed for decades and as Paddison (1993: 340) argues, "city marketing is little more than a new terminology for a set of techniques which have remained basically unchanged".

3.2 Place Marketing Theory

Ashworth & Voogd (1990: 32) developed a theory of place marketing by relating town planning to market theory, with the city as a market, the place being considered the product and users are customers. Thus the place marketing strategy consists of two elements, the first being product-development, whereby the physical resources of a place are improved, and secondly promotion or improving the place-image with images subjected to cultural codes (Madsen 1992: 633). Ashworth & Voogd (1990: 35) state that projected images are subject to interference and the end message will be different from the initial projection and link place marketing with persuasion theory and the processes of response-shaping, response-reinforcing and response-changing. It is the last element, response-changing that is the most difficult to achieve and the ultimate aim of any place marketing strategy.

Place marketing serves to treat places as if they were products. However, there cannot be a straight transference of marketing principles when a practice developed to promote "a tangible and clearly defined product" that can be sold to a clearly defined target base (consumers) (Ward & Gold 1994: 9). Places are not so readily compartmentalised and certainly not a tangible entity in the same way that a product is, problems lie in defining what the product actually is or how it is to be 'consumed' (ibid). Place marketing is a process by which a place become commodity but they are in reality "complex packages of goods, services and experiences that are consumed in many different ways" (ibid).

Marketing in general terms "draws upon a broad spectrum of concepts from economics, sociology and psychology, as well as from politics and biology" (Smyth 1994: 13). With the increasing involvement of the private sector in regeneration, marketing and promotion (which includes advertising and public relations) has become an integral feature of development strategies. A more holistic business approach is adopted to achieve goals and targets with the ultimate outcome being the improved perception of the city by means of generating confidence internally and creating a place where there is inward investment (Symth 1994: 13). Cities with a negative image have used place marketing strategies in an attempt to 're-image' the city (Ashworth & Voogd, 1990).

In the 1980s, it became increasingly common for local authorities to use consultants for place marketing purposes (Wilkinson 1992) with the result that strategies used for selling the city became akin to those utilised for the marketing of consumer products. As Ashworth & Voogd (1990: 156) comment "Cities are in fact being sold by those accustomed to selling soap flakes and are being promoted by public relations specialists whose past, and probably future, tasks are likely to have been the promotion of a brand of cigarettes or chain of hotels".

There is, however, a fundamental difference between marketing a product and marketing a place: cities are not a new entity and there are numerous contextual layers, such as history and culture, which combine to affect a person's perception. Opinions can prove to be very entrenched especially when so many factors are intertwined in creating someone's perception of a place.

The wholesale adoption of a marketing strategy is exemplified by Temple Bar Properties Ltd (TBPL) in Dublin. After thorough market research and place-making surveys and initiatives, TBPL identified the area's marketing 'unique selling proposition' (USP) as a combination of the following (Montgomery 1995: 163):
- Its unique identity - internationally as well as nationally
- Its alternative nature - culture, entertainment, shopping, architecture, public realm
- Its leading edge role - artistic quality, experimentation, new ideas and initiatives, the cultural industries.

TBPL have used a variety of means of conveying these messages, articles in airline magazines, information packs at Dublin airport, tourist promotion literature, leaflets, fliers, what's on guides and posters (ibid).

3.3   Place Marketing & The Post-Industrial City

The marketing of places is being increasingly acknowledged as being a vital component in local economic development and urban regeneration strategies by both public and private sector agencies (Wilkinson 1992: 174). The decline of the manufacturing industry has been a problem that has faced not only Britain but the United States and many European countries which has impacted greatly upon the urban environment. Cities

have had to reorientate their focus with the emphasis on the development and support of the service sector. Certainly service industries assumed a pre-eminent role for Britain's Conservative Government prescription for urban regeneration, with the property industry assuming a central role (Atkinson & Moon 1994: 100). Globalisation, internationalisation, increasing spatial mobility of capital are all factors which have increased competition for inward investment and cities have responded with city marketing strategies in an attempt to attract investment (McCarthy 2000: 24). Thus as Page & Hardyman observe (1996: 163) place marketing has become "one element of a strategic response to competitive threats". With the demise of 'traditional' locational factors and businesses becoming increasingly 'footloose' so the stakes for securing investment increased. Attracting businesses to locate in a city became increasingly important and place marketing was seen as a means to this end. However, as Pocock & Hudson state (1978: 126), "the key consideration in industrial and commercial decision making is the expected rate of return from capital invested, so that strictly economic considerations remain at the heart of such decisions".

3.4   Place Marketing & Urban Regeneration

Current literature cites numerous regeneration initiatives occurring in many of Britain's old industrial cities, programmes accompanied by image campaigns to assist in competition for funding, investment and prestige. Marketing was required to counter the "deeply entrenched perceptions of the older industrial cities amongst would be tourists, entrepreneurs or investors" (Ward 1998: 186). As far as Lawless & Dabinett (1995: 1043) are concerned "one of the most important developments in terms of urban regeneration in the late 1980s and early 1990s was the emergence of place marketing and image as a tool in urban regeneration". Place marketing and image enhancement frequently involves large capital expenditure in attempts to reposition areas. As Page & Hardyman state (1996: 163), place marketing can be used as part of strategy which appreciates the importance and threat of the increasingly competitive market, but "place marketing alone is unlikely to resolve the short-term economic concerns of many localities". Image enhancement is therefore only of value when part of a co-ordinated framework, in isolation it is largely ineffectual.

The concept of marketing of cities has become an increasing focus of attention and debate because of the associated means of enhancing competitiveness and thus attracting inward investment. Paddison (1993: 340) asserts that role of place marketing in British cities has tended to be closely confined to economic objectives, being more fully developed in cities "in which the economic effects of restructuring have been most severe". Marketing is therefore regarded as an essential component of a strategy to encourage investment in an increasingly competitive climate. There has been an increasing "politicalisation" of location and the emergence of "spatial politics" based upon competition between places for new investment (Agnes & Duncan 1989).

Marketing strategies for cities may not be linked directly with urban regeneration. Symth (1994: 2) cites the purpose of marketing a city is "to create strategies to promote an area or the entire city for certain activities and in some cases to 'sell' parts of the city for living, consuming and productive activities". These aims, if achieved, can be complementary to regeneration initiatives in the same city, if not directly associated with the promotional strategies. Developments deemed to have been influential in urban regeneration, notably in the 1980s, are flagship schemes, which invariably have focused marketing strategies.

3.5   Flagship Projects

Property-led regeneration came to the fore in the mid-1980s often with the emphasis being on flagship projects, luxury housing, waterfront development, high quality office complexes, retail centres, conference and hotel developments, concert halls (ibid). Such 'flagship projects' were encouraged by the Conservative Government, in its attempt to attract new economic activities and investment and help to change business and public perceptions in areas requiring regeneration (Loftman & Nevin 1996: 996). According to Loftman & Nevin (1996), the physical transformation by the construction of key prestige projects in part of the city centre of Birmingham was of primary importance to the elevation of the image of the city, on a national and international level.

Flagship schemes meant that place marketing was centred on a high profile project with the hope of having a catalytic role in urban regeneration and aspiring to attract inward

investment (Symth 1994). This process was once again transferred from the United States, the case of Baltimore providing the role model. New developments often by their very nature are high profile, certainly in visual terms. They can therefore have a notable impact upon the image of an area and assist in changing opinion, acting as a "declaration of intent and vote of confidence in the area" and encouraging other developments (Jeffrey & Pounder 2000: 94). The intention was to reduce the negative image and improve the run-down nature of the area thereby encouraging further investment.

London Docklands was a prominent flagship development in the 1980s and "marketing and place promotion became a key strand in the strategy to entice private sector-led regeneration to inner city areas" (Brownhill 1994: 133). As far as potential developers and investors, the Docklands had a very poor image representing "derelict docks, the East End underworld of criminality and gangs, isolation and poor transport links to the City, run-down council estates and bad-neighbour industries" (Brownhill 1994: 136). The task of the place promotion strategy was to transform this image into one which would attract investors and stimulate demand and "create that magic ingredient - market confidence" (ibid). Between 1982 and 1985, £6,574,000 was spent on promoting the Docklands, however Burgess & Wood (1988) found that only one director out of 62 interviewed (1.5% of the sample) stated that the advertising had been crucial to his decision-making behaviour. The highest profile campaign commenced in September 1992, questioning people whether they were 'a knocker' or 'a docker' with the intention of combating negative views of the area (Brownhill 1994). The example of the London Docklands Development Corporation illustrated how place marketing was "used as an integral part of a particular inner city strategy, designed not only to attract investors but also to change the image and perception of Docklands (Brownhill 1994: 150). It is has been judged to have been a success, having helped to counter negative images of the East End, decrease perceptions of risk amongst small businesses and also attracted businesses into the area (Burgess & Wood 1988). It may be judged to have been a success, but did the end justify the means given the level of finance invested in its promotion? Promotion at the expense of social infrastructure and social justice.

3.6 Cultural Strategies

There are many examples of re-imaging strategies in UK cities which focus on a co-ordinated approach, many with the arts and culture playing a central role combined with local heritage and physical renewal centred on the city centre, schemes in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester. Cultural regeneration strategies have been promoted as part of a 're-imaging' process. Mulgan (1989: 270) states that the failed Olympic bid of Birmingham partly attributed to a poor cultural image. Birmingham has since undergone marked changes and successful regeneration initiatives, improving the central area and strengthening the special character of various quarters such as the Jewellery Quarter and the positive transformation of Brindley Place.

In an attempt to address the perceived poor image of Dundee, marketing strategies have been employed to 're-image' the city following the lead of Glasgow. High-quality health and education sectors have been promoted along with proximity to remote countryside and an emphasis on cultural facilities and the formulation of an Arts Action Plan and creation of a contemporary arts centre (McCarthy 2000: 29). Temple Bar according to Montgomery is already being viewed across Europe as a model for culturally-led revitalisation (1995: 138). However, transposition of a strategy from one city to another does not guarantee success and the impact of 're-imaging' schemes has been questioned (McCarthy 2000; Montgomery 1995).

"Glasgow's Miles Better"

In Glasgow, city marketing has been implemented in the objective to restructure the image and economic base of the city. There was no master plan however and policies developed incrementally (Paddison 1993: 346) allowing for a flexible approach which can react to changing market opportunities. Referring to the experience of New York, Glasgow attempted to counteract the prolonged negative image which proved to be a "major disincentive to potential investors" (ibid). The aim was not only to improve the external image of the city, but also the internal view. It was generally accepted that it would be a slow process and the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign would only be the start of a programme of urban revival. This strategy has been widely regarded as a well-executed campaign "which successfully recreated awareness of a changing city" (Landry 2000). The cultural focus of its marketing campaign and inward investment strategy was

rewarded with the designation as the European Cultural Capital in 1990, a hallmark event which could be capitalised upon. This in turn helped to attract further talent to the city, "creating a virtuous circle of creativity" culminating in another city designation, that of 'City of Architecture and Design' in 1999 (ibid).

Paddison (ibid) notes that events and focused campaigning may result in a change in perception, with Glasgow being attributed as being an important cultural centre, but recognises that problems may persist with the overall image of city. Hallmark events are transient in nature and maintaining the momentum may prove problematic (Paddison 1993: 347). Paddison (1993: 348) also raises the issue of the "image-reality gap" whereby the "projection of the new Glasgow bore little relevance to the realities of social deprivation and poverty concentrated in the city's peripheral estates". Place marketing is not a panacea for a city's deep-rooted problems.

Liverpool

Like Glasgow, Liverpool was another city suffering from a negative image. Madsen applies the theoretical framework of place marketing to the case of Liverpool, which he asserts "probably has or has had one of the worst images in Britain, together with some of the worst dereliction" (1992: 633). Liverpool's promotion was undertaken by numerous agencies such as Liverpool City Council, Merseyside Development Corporation, Merseyside Tourism Board, producing their own material but with a co-ordinated approach. Its primary aim was to attract external capital investment. The difficulties of "response-changing" are apparent in the case of Liverpool, which still faces severe image problems. However, there was success in the simultaneous promotion and production development and overcoming of "the shadow-effect of the more recent past of political conflicts and industrial decline" (Madsen 1992: 639).

"New Era. New Attitude. Newcastle"

A central feature of urban regeneration and economic development strategy in Newcastle has been image-improvement and place marketing initiatives (Tavsanoglu & Healey 1992: 119). Place marketing has been undertaken by four main agencies, each adopting different approaches but with the common aim of breaking "the spiral of economic decline and to improve internal and external perceptions of the whole city or particular areas within it" (Tavsanoglu & Healey 1992: 120). Newcastle City Council,

Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, the Newcastle Initiative and the Northern Development Company are the agencies concerned with the re-imaging of Newcastle. Tavsanoglu & Healey in their editorial on Wilkinson's study of Newcastle, conclude that the strategies undertaken and images promoted by the different agencies resulted in a fragmented and unfocused approach and contributed to the fragmentation of the city (1992: 120), attracting a limited number of investors. They state that "urban regeneration therefore has been characterised by a series of entrepreneurial initiatives and speculative projects rather than by an integrated programme" (ibid). Wilkinson (1992: 210) comments that a potential problem of place marketing initiatives is to overpromise and underdeliver and "if image campaigns are to result in sustainable and sharable benefits, they must be both credible and backed up by substance".

However, flagship projects have been successful and inward investment has occurred and this has helped reassert Newcastle's position as a thriving northern city, but it is still not without its problems and areas of deprivation still exist where regeneration initiatives are struggling to change perception, where flagship projects have created "islands of affluence in seas of deprivation" (Bailey 1995: 35).

Dublin

Montgomery analysed the regeneration of Temple Bar in Dublin, which has been transformed from an area of dereliction to a place of "discovery, vitality and exchange" (1995: 137). The successful transformation of Temple Bar has been cited as an example to be replicated. However, as Montgomery appreciates, the format used in Temple Bar cannot just be transposed to anywhere without contextual reference and recognition of the "uniqueness of place" (1995: 137). Comparative study is undoubtedly of value, lessons can be learned with regard to principles applied, techniques and devices implemented in the process of regeneration.

3.7 Stigmatised Estates

City initiatives may prove to be successful, but are they isolated pockets of regeneration and do these strategies really tackle the most problematic and deprived areas most in need of positive reaffirmation? Research for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation has

focused on the problems faced by marginalised estates which have undergone major improvements. The results illustrate that in spite of intensive investment and regeneration, improving the image is not so easy to achieve, stating that in order to be successful in turning around these stigmatised estates, action is required to rebuild their image (Dean & Hastings 2000). The role of private and public sector agencies, such as estate agencies, local employers, schools, is seen to be important in either assisting in changing perceptions or reinforcing existing views (Dean & Hastings 2000). The study suggests numerous methods to help build on the physical improvements of regeneration initiatives and these include 'image managers' to spearhead the change in perception and harness the potential of local employers and agencies to counteract negative discrimination. It is primarily about dissemination of information and raising awareness of the improvements made and how long-term change can be effected. A poor image will not disappear on its own, image management is required and has proved successful if direct measures are taken. The full benefits of regeneration programmes cannot be realised without an integrated approach to image enhancement and overcoming stigmatisation. As Shaw & Robinson (1998: 59) comment "while the exact relevance of sophisticated 'place marketing' strategies - aimed at transforming the image of traditional urban areas - is open to some doubt, what is clear is that the existence of negative images of run-down, inner-city areas does serve to undermine regeneration efforts."

There have been examples where some stigmatised estates following regeneration investment have changed their name as part of a process of addressing the problem of negative perception. The Cardroom housing estate, in an area suffering high levels of crime and unemployment in East Manchester, is to be re-christened New Islington as part of its regeneration into a sustainable Millennium Community (Pybus & de Castella 2002: 1) Nigel Smith of Leicester's urban regeneration company agrees with the local people wishing to change the name of an area with a "tarnished image" (ibid). Clive Dutton of Gallagher Estates regeneration team was also in favour: "If you are going to turn around communities that have been deprived for several generations, such extraordinary problems require extraordinary solutions" adding that it was a prerequisite for community involvement (ibid). Changing the name of a stigmatised estate might help to a certain degree, but negative perceptions are difficult to overcome and people familiar with the area frequently continue to refer to the area by its previous name. It can only be successful as part of a holistic regeneration process.

3.8   Form of Place Marketing

The form that place marketing takes will have an impact upon whom the message reaches. Strategists should be very aware of their target audience and therefore the most effective ways of communicating this message.

When promoting a certain area or district as opposed to a city, it is important to establish a thematic unit. Lynch (1960: 68) when discussing the city, states that "a certain reinforcement of clues is needed to produce a strong image". It would appear to be important at some stage in the strategy to make apparent the reference area, without the creation of harsh boundaries or edges to delimit the district and help reinforce its identity. Place marketing is ultimately about the creation of a strong identity or brand, which is assisted by key landmarks, often unique, highly visible and memorable.

Imageability according to Lynch (1960: 9) is "that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer. It is that shape, color [sic], or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment". What is place marketing if it isn't about the creation of a strong image?

It should always be borne in mind however the limitations of place marketing and that if not part of a holistic regeneration programme it is unlikely to address the short-term economic problems of many localities (Page & Hardyman 1996: 163). There is also the problem of selling an image which does not relate to the reality manifest in the city, as Wilkinson comments (1992: 210) there "is the danger of a city or region overpromising and underdelivering".

Methods employed to convey the message decided upon by the place marketers can take a variety of forms: brochures, what's on guides, posters, websites, airline in-flight magazine articles aimed at the business traveller, press advertising etc. Frequently consultants are employed to create and then help sell the image.

Although cities may share the same vision, marketing approaches should have differing strategies for different cities because each is unique (Smyth 1994: 3). However although "city marketing is concerned with identity and distinctiveness" in practice the output of publicity is invariably formulaic (Landry 2000: 43) as illustrated in the following table:

Table 3.1: A sample of slogans used in local authority campaigns

1.	**Locational Advantages**	
A.	Claims to centrality	
	BEDFORD	"in the heart of England"
	BIRMINGHAM	"City at the centre"
	COVENTRY	"the positive centre"
	DERBY	"the new business centre of the Midlands"
	HARROGATE	"centre of Britain"
B.	Other	
	BARNSLEY	"the natural centre of attraction"
	LEICESTER	"the natural place to go"
	TELFORD	"all roads lead to Telford"
	WARRINGTON (aa)	"crossover at Warrington"
2.	**Business Opportunities**	
A.	Present opportunities	
	BASILDON	"Basildon means business"
	BIRMINGHAM	"Birmingham means business"
	GREAT YARMOUTH	"Great Yarmouth - Great industry"
	LINCOLN	"city of enterprise"
	WAKEFIELD	"Where industry gets down to business"
B.	Future political	
	GRIMSBY	"a town of dynamic growth and great potential
	LEICESTER	"the natural place to grow"
	PLYMOUTH	"growth point of the South West"
	SHEFFIELD	"building for a better tomorrow"
	WEST MIDLANDS	"the new county of business opportunities"
3.	**Quality of Life**	
A.	Environmental	
	CWMBRAN (aa)	"garden city of Wales"
	ISLE OF WIGHT	"a unique living and working environment"
	MILTON KEYNES (aa)	"the city of trees"
	OLDHAM	"a town in the countryside"
	SCUNTHORPE	"the industrial garden town"
B.	Social	
	BIRMINGHAM	"bright lights city" "it's got everything for everybody"
	KINGS LYNN	"a place to live and work and breathe"
	MILTON KEYNES (aa)	"a new way of life"
	NORTH TYNESIDE	"a great place to live, work and play"
	WAKEFIELD (aa)	"where people work as hard as they play"
C.	Heritage	
	PETERBOROUGH	"cathedral city - new town"
	PLYMOUTH	"ancient port - modern resort"
	CALDERDALE	"a bright future springs from a varied past"
	HULL	"a great British city"
	MANCHESTER	"capital city of the North West"

Source: Burgess (1982: 8-9)   (aa) - agency involvement in the campaign

Murray's (2001: 9) research into place marketing involved the study of tourism and marketing brochures which revealed "a strong and persistent tendency in UK place marketing literature to:

- Focus on the past and be generally backward-looking
- Represent places as culturally uniform
- Not to show diversity, but to promote a similar, bland mix of facilities and attractions for every area"

Rather emphasising differences and stressing uniqueness seeking similarities is more commonplace. There is general reliance on heritage as the focus of place marketing and according to Murray's assessment (2001: 111) "much current practice appears to randomly bag a limited set of facts about the heritage, geography and imagined culture of a place. It thus lacks authenticity and depth and in consequence is less effective." Landry (2000: 44) concurs with this view stating that "the place marketing world is dominated by product specialists, who have good tips or formulas, yet rarely understand the complexity of the city".

3.9   Evaluation of Place Marketing

Ashworth & Voogd (1990) state it is impossible to evaluate the effectiveness of marketing until at least ten years after the start of an individual campaign, as time is required for projected images to filter through to business community and to influence their location strategy. Any judgement of the impact of a marketing campaign must therefore be viewed cumulatively over a period of time.

Research projects in place marketing have included research into image promotion by UK local authorities with the assessment of the impact of place imagery on private sector company directors and place marketing as an entrepreneurial strategy in local governance. In the past most place marketing has been very supply-led, using broad promotional campaigns which aim to influence perceptions of a place by promoting the available assets of that place (SERG 1999). Local authorities rarely undertake market research however or evaluation of the success or otherwise of their promotional

activities. This may be because of the problems of assessing the success of a marketing strategy due to a variety of factors:

(1) Complex relationship of variables - so many factors are involved in the choice of location of firms, it is very difficult if not impossible to isolate place marketing as a variable in the decision-making process. Negative variables are rarely mentioned in marketing packages, but nonetheless are considered by decision-makers

(2) Surveys on relocation factors rarely contain questions about marketing

(3) Constantly changing methods of place marketing employed.

Although success of a place marketing strategy may be difficult to evaluate, failure can be quite apparent. Milan was unsuccessful in its marketing attempts in the mid-1990s because promotion of the city was not linked to actual changes and improvements. There was a failure to stimulate private-sector interest, especially in cultural tourism, with a subdued response to the increased accessibility of Linate airport, twinning and city networks as a means of marketing were not utilised and there was an inability to engender interest by the foreign press (Jensen-Butler 1997).

3.10   Conclusion

In 1977 New York State launched it's famous and subsequently much imitated campaign "I ♥ New York". According to Ward (1998: 191) "more than any previous marketing campaign it showed what advertising could do to create positive images of places that were perceived as tired, seedy and declining". Although there is lack of robust analysis as the value of place marketing and whether it is a cost-effective tool in regeneration programmes, as a strategy it has become a firmly entrenched feature of economic development and other projects.

Place marketing campaigns need to be substantiated by fact, based on reality rather than promoting an ideal. There is a tendency for initiatives to concentrate on a specific theme or location, this form of targeting potentially blinkers investors to alternatives within the city. As Wilkinson (1992: 211) comments, place marketing strategies can serve to "divert resources from mainstream economic development work", impacting

upon infrastructure investments and by their very nature tend to be partial and selective in what they promote. Loftman et al (1994: 9) also comment that "the importance of image has been used to justify a redistribution of resources away from basic services" and that place marketing "has had an important influence on the fracturing of the cities not only spatially but socially".

In spite of concerns regarding the effectiveness in place marketing achieving its objectives in terms of attracting investment and raising the profile of the designated scheme or locality, it continues to be an inherent part of many regeneration programmes. It has evolved considerably from the town guide approach to the use of world class cultural events acting as magnets to attract businesses and visitors to an area. Research is being undertaken by the Socio-economic Research Group into developing a demand-led place marketing strategy for use by local authorities and other organisations, to increase understanding of how companies would prefer to see place marketing undertaken (SERG 1999) and thus make it more effective.

The first case study, that of Bankside, has undergone a marked transformation from a backwater to a prime tourist location. An economically focused regeneration programme has actively promoted the area and helped to create a new identity for the area.

Chapter 4   Bankside - The New Heart of London

4.1   Introduction

In medieval times, Bankside was an area just outside the jurisdiction of the City of London but readily accessible to it. It became known as a cultural quarter with The Globe and Rose Theatres and by the 17th century it was thriving with wharves, breweries, foundries and glassworks. Its strategic importance was reduced in the 19th century with the advent of more bridges across the Thames and the advent of the railways served to dissect the area. From the early 20th century, urban de-industrialisation brought decline, the collapse of the docks after the Second World War having a great impact upon the area. The Bankside Power Station (BPS) was completed in 1963; an oil-fired power station, replacing an earlier coal-fired one. Its closure in 1981 reflected the general decline in the area. Bankside became a no-man's land of cheap warehouse accommodation, poor transport facilities and the area dropped off the developer's map (Minton 2000). In a survey of overseas visitors to London in the summer of 1992, the London Tourist Board found that 67% had not even heard of the South Bank let alone Bankside.[1]

.

Tate Modern, Shakespeare's Globe and the Millennium Bridge have all contributed to raising Bankside's profile nationally and placed Bankside firmly on London's tourist map. The Jubilee Line Extension with new stations at Southwark and London Bridge have improved its connectivity. The area has developed a reputation for art and design. The urban fabric contributes to making it a distinct quarter of London. It is a mixed use area in a riverside location in the heart of London close to the City of London.

The regeneration programme that will be focused upon will be that of the Cross River Partnership. The importance of Tate Modern in the development of the area is undisputed and therefore a brief history of its development will be considered.

4.2 Baseline Analysis

The area known as Bankside is contained within Cathedral ward in the London Borough of Southwark (Southwark). The following statistics were obtained from the Government's Neighbourhood Statistics, unless otherwise indicated. The resident population of the ward in mid 1998 was 6,800 people accounting for 3% of the population of Southwark. Of this resident population, 21% were aged under 16, 59% were 16-59 years, with 20% aged 60 and over. In September 1998, there were 42,200 employee jobs in the ward which accounted for 32% of Southwark's total. In August 1998, Cathedral had 850 Income Support Claimants, representing 16% of the resident population 16 years or over compared to 15% for Southwark and 8% for Great Britain overall. The Indices of Deprivation 2000 is a local authority ward level index which combines six domain indices (income, employment, health and disability, education skills and training, housing and geographical access to services) to create an single deprivation score. This then enables wards to be ranked in comparison to others, the lowest ranked ward being the most deprived. Cathedral was ranked 550 out of a total of 8414 wards and thus in the top 10% most deprived.

The population of Southwark is currently 218,500 people with 61% of them aged between 18 and 65 years. Three-quarters of the total population are white and the remaining 25% comprised principally of black Caribbean and African people. The total number of jobs located in Southwark is nearly 100,000 with the largest number (about 30,000) in the banking, finance and insurance sector. Located at its 'bridgeheads' on Southwark, London and Blackfriars bridges are the offices of the Financial Times, HSBC, Lloyds Bank and Price Waterhouse Coopers. The second largest employment sector is public administration, education and health where some 29,000 people work. A quarter of all jobs in the borough are within the public sector while 12% are employed in the distribution, hotel and restaurant sectors.

At the time when the SRB bid was made, Southwark ranked second in the country of the most deprived districts as calculated in the Composite National Deprivation Scores from the Department of Environment. In June 1996, some 18,000 (or 17%) of the Southwark population were unemployed, compared with the Greater London rate of 9%. Further

---

[1] London Tourist Board 1996

research carried out by the bid indicated that 70% were categorised as long-term unemployed in the borough, meaning that nearly 12,600 of the unemployed had been out of work for more than twelve months. The resident community is relatively stable but with a low skills base; there are a number of community groups, often with a housing focus (MCA 1995: 48).

4.3   London Borough of Southwark

In the late 1980s, the London Borough of Southwark prepared a regeneration strategy the aim of which was to improve the accessibility of the area and immediate environment and to promote investment. It was envisaged that early, proactive work on the part of the Council would 'prime' the area for increased market intervention and investment. The redevelopment of the redundant BPS was identified as being the key to the regeneration of the area. Southwark decided in 1989 that its best chance of securing regeneration was to identify areas of the borough with economic potential and provide the infrastructure, supported by a progressive planning strategy (Garlick 1998). Southwark designated the Bankside area (the land south of the Thames between Blackfriars and London Bridge) as a major redevelopment site suitable for housing, employment, retail or commercial purposes or for a use of London-wide significance.

1989 also saw the formulation of a planning brief for the BPS, which informed potential developers of the type of use that would be favourably regarded by the Council. Savas Sivetidis, Head of Planning and Regeneration with Southwark, thought that this was a vital step in the regeneration of the area, along with the improvement of the area's riverside walkway which commenced at the same time (Garlick 1998). The ethos of the Council was therefore to encourage investment in the area with regenerative powers, economic development being Southwark planners' number one goal (ibid). The Council also hoped its regeneration strategy would alter people's perception of London, with central London stretching to Elephant & Castle as opposed to just to the north bank of the Thames.

Fred Manson, Director of Regeneration and Environment at the London Borough of Southwark, commented in July 1994 that there had been a shift in perceptions of

Bankside from the 1980s when it was seen as "on the fringe of the City to the 1990s when it is being seen as a potential 'pleasure garden'". The interest of the Tate Gallery in the BPS therefore received the enthusiastic backing of the Council. The Council recognised the potential of the area for further development of artists' studios, galleries, cafes and restaurants. It also appreciated the benefits that the location of the Tate would bring to the area:

- Put Bankside on the map
- Help shape future development towards a diverse artistic quarter
- Set a high standard for development
- Reinforce Bankside as a thriving local economy
- Add pleasure for users of the river walkway by staging outdoor exhibitions
- Increase attraction of the riverside walkway

The planning application by the Tate Gallery was welcomed by Southwark Council, the leader of the Council, Jeremy Fraser stating that the "re-use of the Bankside Power Station for a public art gallery fulfills Southwark Council's ambition for this site of national and international significance." The Council recognised that this initiative had the potential to contribute both to developing an arts presence in the borough, especially in Bankside, and to the vitality of the local economy.

The Tate Gallery of Modern Art (TGMA) was regarded as a highly significant element of both the Bankside Regeneration Strategy and the Cross River strategy, with the potential to deliver dramatic investment and job creation benefits. Southwark Council envisaged the predicted economic benefits of the gallery, along with the opening of the Jubilee Line Extension, would be a catalyst to the regeneration to this neglected part of the borough and have a beneficial impact on Southwark as a whole. The transformation of the power station into a modern art gallery would be part of the borough's aim to re-brand itself with culture and not industry to the fore (Glancey 2000).

London Borough Of Southwark and the Government Office for London commissioned a study of the Bankside Regeneration Area to assess the feasibility of the Council's infrastructure-driven regeneration strategy on Bankside. The objective was establish and maintain Bankside as a mixed development area for cultural, residential and

employment uses. The Council anticipated the impact of the location of the Tate Gallery of Modern Art and the completion of the Globe Theatre would result in a considerable change in Bankside. The objectives of the economic study were as follows:

- Encourage growth of residential use including affordable units
- Encourage the growth of uses associated with visitors and cultural activities such as studios, galleries, restaurants, shops and visitors' accommodation
- Promote the use of ground floor space for public access and uses
- Use the activity along the river to promote further development in the rest of the study area
- Related Bankside to continuous visitor interest uses along the river front from the South Bank to Butlers Wharf and across the bridges to the City's riverside
- Reduce vehicle penetration with speed reductions and promote pedestrian and cyclist priority of the core area
- Improve the environment for pedestrians and maintain interest along the main pedestrian routes linking points of interest clearly with public transport
- Attract the City's large working population to Bankside and the City's riverside as alternatives to the West End
- Build on Bankside's historic role as a centre of culture and leisure facilities
- What is the right balance between the permanent population and transient population?

The report by Martin Caldwell Associates (MCA) observes that Bankside has the potential "to serve as a new cultural quarter near the centre of London" (1995: 6,7), to be confirmed by the location of the TGMA which should contribute to the area's wider development and "act as the power house for Bankside's other visitor attractions". The report also highlights the importance of intervention in the external environment if visitors are to be attracted into Bankside from the TGMA, requiring investment in a linked good quality environment and signing, information and orientation (MCA 1995: 54). The report also recognised the need for Bankside to have a "clear overall destination identity" (MCA 1995: 55).

Bankside has achieved this, becoming a tourist destination, focusing not just on the riverside development of the Tate but with attractions such as the Globe Theatre,

Vinopolis, the Clink Museum, the Golden Hinde. Bramah's Tea & Coffee Museum has recently located in Southwark Street, moving from its previous location in the South Bank. Bankside and Tate Modern has even had its own edition of Time Out magazine, published in 2000.

4.4   Regeneration Programmes

There are currently twenty regeneration programmes delivering in Cathedral ward (see Appendix 1). The Circle Initiative (Bankside Circle Local Management Board), now known as Better Bankside is one of the regeneration partnerships working in Bankside. Central London Partnership (CLP) secured £4.6 million in SRB funding in July 2000 from the LDA and The Circle Initiative was launched and five private sector-led local management schemes were created, one of which was in Bankside, the Bankside Circle Local Management Board (BCLMB). The remit of The Circle Initiative is to encourage the involvement of businesses in their local area and to create Business Improvement Districts (BIDs). Key objectives of the initiative are:

- To raise the standard of public spaces
- To reduce crime and the fear of crime
- To improve public transport
- To generate commercial success and local jobs
- To achieve consultation with local community groups

The BCLMB involves large employers, small businesses, residents and Southwark Council. The area concerned is north of Union Street between Blackfriars and London Bridges. The Bankside Circle was launched in 2002 as "Better Bankside" by way of a 'visioning' event, supported by local bodies including Bankside Business Partnership, Bankside Marketing Group, Bankside Traders Association and Bankside Residents Forum. The aim is to address the needs of visitors, residents and businesses and to (inSE1 2002):

- Make Bankside more welcoming
- Ensure cleaner streets

- Promote a greener environment
- Improve access to attractions
- Communicate a better image

Nick Roberts, the current chair of Better Bankside, commented at the launch "We don't want to change the character of the area but we hope we can improve the area."[2]

Bankside Business Partnership is a body of major local employers which was established with the aim to "constructively participate in the regeneration of Bankside into one of Europe's most enjoyable places to work, live and visit."[3] London's Larder Regeneration Initiative is a Borough Market initiative that helps local food businesses, charities, schools and voluntary bodies obtain food safety qualifications by subsidising food hygiene and hazard analysis courses. Borough Market Improvements is a programme involved with the updating, improvement and change to the central market area of Borough Market with the Floral Hall portico (from Covent Garden) to be erected with new shops behind. The largest regeneration programme operating in Bankside, is however run by the Cross River Partnership.

4.4   Cross River Partnership

The Cross River Partnership was formed in 1995 and is an alliance of public and private sector organisations "bound together by common goals and a vision of positive change" (CRP 1995:1). The Partnership at that stage consisted of the following bodies:

- CENTEC
- Corporation of London
- London Borough of Lambeth
- London Borough of Southwark
- London Tourist Board
- London Transport
- Port of London Authority

---

[2] SBL 2002
[3] BBP 2002

43

- Railtrack plc
- South Bank Employers Group
- Westminster City Council

The Partnership's vision was to help "create a more balanced economy in the centre of the capital" (CRP 1995:1) through innovative regeneration projects based primarily upon the premise that the River Thames should be seen not as a barrier but as "a means to unify the centre of London" (ibid), enabling creation of new economic opportunities for the inhabitants. Given the number of successful bids for SRB funding by CRP, analysis will concentrate on SRB Round Three.

The Partnership was successful in SRB Rounds 1-3 in securing funding and attracted both public and private sector funding and interest to the area. By the time of the SRB Round Three bid work was coming to fruition on projects such as the South Bank Spine Route and Upper Ground, as well as improvements to the river walking access under Westminster, Blackfriars and Southwark Bridges. Studies and/or design work were already underway for co-ordinated area signage and improvements to Hungerford Bridge.

The Partnership's successful SRB Round Two bid had secured funding for further environmental, access and employment projects to bring social benefits to the area that had been targeted in Round One for primarily physical and infrastructure projects. SRB Round 3 Challenge Fund bid was submitted by the Cross River Partnership in 1996. This was an integrated regeneration bid and consisted of three programmes:

- Environmental projects
- Access and travel projects
- Social and employment projects

These support the strategic objectives of the bid (and the Partnership):

- To achieve a balance of economic and social opportunities north and south of the Thames, at London's heart
- To restore the Thames as a unifying feature for the centre of the capital

- To improve links across the Thames and to provide access for all to the whole Cross River area, north and south of the river
- To create new and exciting employment opportunities for its residents, by reinforcing London's status as an international centre for leisure, arts and business
- To raise the quality of the environment throughout the area to the highest Central London standards
- To improve the quality of life for all, whether they visit, work or live in the Cross River area

The environmental programmes included:

- Improvements to the River Walk
- Improvements to the River Walk in Southwark
- Coin Street Housing river frontage
- Improvements to the River Walk at the South Bank
- Improvements to the streetscape in the Cross River area
- Streets and access routes
- Links from Charing Cross to Waterloo
- CCTV in north Southwark

The access and travel programmes were:

- Innovative transport solutions (including new piers on the Thames)
- Solving existing problems
- Implementing the results of the Bankside coach management study and initiating a further study for Lambeth
- Improving cross river links
- Hungerford Bridge
- Bankside Bridge (now The Millennium Bridge)

The social and employment programme consisted of:

- Helping people respond to change
- Regenerating neighbourhood open space

- Bankside Arts Training Trust: pilot scheme
- The South Bank resource centre for young people
- Creating opportunities
- The River Thames Festival
- An investment strategy for Bankside
- A visitor strategy for South Bank and Bankside

The Cross River Partnership envisaged that the Bid would "seek to strengthen and give focus to the regeneration of London's heart, so that its effect and opportunities benefit those in greatest need", complementing the other regeneration initiatives in the area and "intervening where the private sector is least likely to act" (CRP 1995:2).

Part of CRP's strategy is the promotion of 'London South Central'. This comprises of north Lambeth and north Southwark, with a population of 45,000 people. The aim is to extend the success of developments along the riverside strip such as the London Eye, Globe Theatre, Millennium Bridge, Tate Modern and London Bridge City beyond the riverside; for the area to be considered part of central London. The regeneration scheme brings together many partnerships for integrated and co-ordinated partnership action, CRP, Elephant Links, Pool of London with more localised ones such as Borough Market, Vauxhall and Lambeth Walk. Four key regeneration nodes have been designated: Vauxhall, Waterloo, Elephant & Castle and London Bridge. Transport, community regeneration and environmental improvements are key themes. The scheme has been allocated £90 million SRB funding part of a total package of over £400 million to address the contention that "London South Central needs better transport connections, new mixed development, reduced social exclusion and a sustainable environment".[4] On its environmental remit, London South Central comments that: "The overwhelming public perception of the area however is of a poor quality environment fragmented by road and rail infrastructure disfigured by large scale insensitive planning and development. A key challenge is to replace this negative image, and emphasise and enhance its positive features and qualities."[5] It aims to do so by connecting "areas of vitality and quality"[4] and by way of initiatives at the major nodes and thoroughfares.

---

[4] London South Central: Restoring London's Hidden Quarter 2000: 5
[5] London South Central: Restoring London's Hidden Quarter 2000: 18

One constituent part of the Cross River Partnership SRB bid was a series of environmental improvement projects in the Bankside area. A number of these were explicitly designed to dovetail with the Tate project and maximise the benefits which could be brought to the area by the presence of the new gallery. A number of these projects were grouped together under the title of the Bankside Street Improvement Programme.

The Bankside Street Improvement Programme was a £7.9m project over four years (1997-2001) with the objective of upgrading key access routes throughout the area, such as the route from Southwark Street to the Tate and the pedestrian route along the south bank of the Thames from Blackfriars Bridge to New Globe Way. Innovative streetscapes were employed by the programme with the aim of helping to reinforce the area's identity, with landmark signs at key gateways to the area. The streetscape in the Bankside area was reviewed with the intention of improvement.

The work was carried out by Southwark Council on behalf of Cross River Partnership (as part of Southwark's Design Initiative SDI) with the remit of improving the environment and allowing greater access. Several different architectural practices were employed for the Bankside Street Improvement Programme for example East architects were responsible for the improvements to Borough High Street. Panels in the pavement outside shops with the shop's name on them and rubber mats placed outside some cash-point machines and telephone boxes with the aim of helping disabled people locate these facilities, are just some of the innovative improvements. In the opinion of Robert Coomber (Chief Executive Southwark Council) "Improvements to the streets and open spaces have created a high-quality public realm befitting this exciting new cultural quarter and ready to handle the influx of visitors to the expanding range of theatres, galleries and restaurants."[6]

These initiatives were an integral part of CRP and Southwark's strategy of rebranding and image creation, to reinforce the area's identity as Bankside. The effectiveness of this programme will be considered along with its inward investment strategy in more detail later. Fundamental to this process has been the development of the Tate, which will now be considered.

---

[6] Bankside Means Business

4.6   Tate Modern

In December 1992, the Trustees of Tate Gallery announced their decision to create two galleries in London, requiring more space for display than was currently available at its Millbank location. In December 1993 a number of potential sites were considered for the new gallery, the Trustees initially considering empty sites in order to build an entirely new building to house the Modern Art collection and mark the millennium. The potential sites were shortlisted and included the Bankside Power Station (BPS), although keen to commission a new building, the Tate's director, Nicholas Serota, recognised the potential of BPS. The Tate Report (1994) outlined why the site was considered favourable:

- Scale of opportunity
- Amount of space available, with sufficient room for expansion of the collection
- Central location
- Proposed improvements to public access, Jubilee Line Extension and proposed new bridge associated with other improvements to river and pedestrian access

In April 1994, the Trustees announced their intention to create a new Tate Gallery of Modern Art (TGMA) using the former Bankside Power Station opposite St Paul's, the most important investment in building for the arts in London since the construction of the National Theatre was completed in 1976.

Bankside Power Station, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott (also responsible for Waterloo Bridge, Battersea Power Station and the red telephone box), was built in two phases between 1947 and 1963. It closed in 1981 with the building remaining unoccupied apart from the operational London Electricity sub-station built into the south side of the building. It continued to dominate its riverside location, the building over 200 metres long on the north elevation, with a central chimney 99 metres high, specifically lower than St Paul's Cathedral.

London Planning Advisory Committee's (LPAC) Executive Sub-Committee welcomed the application by the Tate Gallery for the change of use of the former Bankside Power

Station to a museum to house its collection of modern art, complying with its strategic planning policy terms.[7]

The Tate Gallery commissioned a study in October 1994 to assess the degree of economic impact the location of the Tate Gallery of Modern Art (TGMA) in Bankside would have in Southwark and in London. The McKinsey Study, working on the assumption that there would be a working total of 1.5 million visitors per annum, it calculated that the TGMA could generate an average of £26 million within Southwark, with the creation of an estimated 715 jobs in the borough. It would also contribute to the continuing revitalisation of the south bank, acting as a major attraction encouraging visitors across the river. According to the report, art galleries contribute to regeneration by encouraging public investment, encouraging businesses to locate and attracting new residents. In the mid-1990s, only the South Bank Centre and the London Dungeons were attracting more than 500,000 visitors per annum south of the River Thames, with tourism in London being concentrated north of the Thames and in the West End in particular. The TGMA was anticipated to act as a trigger for other arts-related developments in the area, mutually reinforcing developments and the creation of tourist clusters.[8] It would therefore contribute to the establishment of a critical mass of tourist attractions.

The Tate Modern (as the TGMA was rebranded) has been an enormous success, generating 4.5 million visitors in the first twelve months from opening in May 2000. The building houses not only the art gallery but also an auditorium, café and shops as well as special exhibition space to host multimedia and external events. Tate Director Nicholas Serota has commented "in one sense, simply being a museum is probably not quite enough any more. The question now is: how can the Tate use its resources in this broader sense, whether its in collaboration with broadcasters, or working with the universities, or working with the education system, to further promote understanding and knowledge?" (Sabbagh 2000: 338). This does have implications for the opportunities for regeneration in the localities surrounding such institutions, as the more and varied activities and 'linkages' such a body has, the more diverse the range of activities which may result.

---

[7] LPAC: Summary of Decisions No. 33, 31st January 1995
[8] McKinsey Study 1994

Not only has the Tate had an immense impact on the area, but it is actively involved in developing Bankside's future. The Richard Rogers Partnership was commissioned by the Tate Modern to develop a Bankside Urban Study, which was published in May 2001, with the intention of initiating public debate and consultation on their vision of Bankside's development. Recommendations made by the study include the improvement of access to the area and the enhancement of existing open spaces, with a car-free public square behind the Tate Modern being its prime suggestion. According to the report, "Tate Modern has been central in the ongoing transformation of Bankside and is one of London's major landmarks. However, Tate sees this as just the beginning of a regeneration process in which they have a central role to play."[9]

Bankside now contains numerous art galleries as well as the Tate, some of them predating the Tate's inception. They include Bankside Gallery, Delfina, SE1 Gallery, New City Gallery, RK Burt Gallery and Print Space. They are mutually reinforcing clusters of cultural activities, which along with the Tate, the Globe Theatre, the Clink Museum have aided the re-establishment of a cultural quarter in Bankside which was evident in Elizabethan times. Bankside is now actively promoted as a tourist destination. CRP and Southwark have also been heavily involved in an Inward Investment programme.

4.7   Inward Investment & Place Marketing

The Inward Investment strategy for the SRB Round Three bid had the following stated aims:

"The aim is to support and facilitate inward investment into the Cross River Partnership area of Southwark and to encourage positive investment in vacant or under used sites which will generate employment, enhance the developing character of Bankside and attract businesses which will benefit from the Central London location" (CRP 1996).

More general aims were to raise awareness of the area and encourage residents and workers to make use of the facilities available. The main sectors to be targeted were:

- Hospitality and visitor services
- Electronic media
- Cultural institutions
- Creative industries
- Financial services
- Retail

The target audiences were both internal and external and included residents, workers in existing businesses, and potential investors.

To achieve the targets set out below, the project envisaged the use of a marketing and communications plan. The most important elements of this plan were to include:

- A comprehensive forward plan to maximise publicity opportunities through advance notice of appropriate milestones and/or events in council publications. This would include targeting specialist and trade publications and television programmes which can have long lead times
- Media coverage targeted at key audiences, including opinion formers and potential investors from the target sectors
- Establishing a Millennium Bridge/Tate Modern Media Briefing Centre to be staffed during May 1997. This was designed to provide visiting journalists and film crew with a one-stop centre containing information and advice on the history of the Bankside area and contact opportunities with local community activists. It was also intended as an information point on relocation opportunities in Bankside for media companies
- A newsletter intended to raise awareness of the increasing number of cultural and culinary attractions of the area. It was also aimed at supporting new businesses by "encouraging the transient daytime population to socialise in the area after work and encouraging residents to patronise local businesses" (CRP 1996)
- A annual brochure entitled 'Bankside Means Business' to promote the area as a place to conduct business and to be used to respond to enquiries in the area and present a 'professional' image to potential investors
- Establishing a quarterly Bankside Business Briefing to attract potential investors to breakfast briefings given by high profile speakers. Speakers were to provide

---

[9] Bankside Urban Study: 2001: 1

information and opinion on relevant topics to sectors such as electronic media, financial services, hotels and restaurants, and to give tours of the area

- A web-page specifically targeted at business containing information on the Cross River and Bankside areas. Contents were to include maps, transport links, rental and business rates, training opportunities, a property database and links to useful websites
- A portable exhibition for display at Business Briefings, events and trade fairs

The funding breakdown detailed anticipated spending of £109,000 on a number of outputs, including a dedicated officer, production costs for publicity material and for the Bankside Business Briefings.

The project commenced in 1997 and is due to complete in 2002. Like all SRB projects the Inward Investment Marketing Strategy was required to conform to the outputs and milestones set by central government. For this particular project the SRB outputs were:

- 200 jobs created - output 1A(i) (full-time employees in businesses that move into the area or expand as a result of marketing activities)
- 20 new business starts – output 2A
- 10 buildings improved – output 6C

There were also a number of non-SRB outputs to be funded by private-sector sources:

- Tour/briefing for 20 key journalists – output 11
- Production of four newsletters per annum (total 20) – output 12a
- Make contact with and involve two businesses per issue of the newsletter (total 40) – output 12b
- Produce Bankside Means Business brochure and supporting material – output 12b
- Organise 11 Bankside Business Briefings – output 13b
- Launch new web page – output 13c
- Identify 28 potential investment sites and properties – output 13d

By the end of quarter 2 of the project year 2001/2002 (the final year of the project) the following had been achieved:

- 49 jobs created – output 1A(i)
- 6 new businesses started – output 2A
- 2 buildings improved – output 6C

These figures indicate that none of the SRB objectives have been met despite £133,055 of SRB funds being spent (Appendix 2). However, reliance on figures alone does not portray the whole picture of the project and there are a number of reasons why factors other than funding and statutory outputs should be examined before reaching conclusions on the scheme. Even before the project commenced, officers in the Council and the Partnership were aware of the potential difficulty in measuring some of the benefits that such a strategy may bring. For example, there are varying 'hard' and 'soft' factors that come into play when a company assesses relocating to a new area, such as physical location, local amenities, transport access (hard factors), and local character, suitability to business type, vibrancy and 'buzz' (soft factors). This was especially important in the case of Bankside and the Inward Investment Marketing Strategy where many of the targeted sectors, like architecture and media companies, would be particularly receptive to soft as well as hard factors.

However, such qualities are hard to gauge and not measurable in the rigid structure of SRB outputs. It was also recognised that a 'gestation' period was likely where interest and awareness levels may be raised but practical constraints and considerations led to company relocations taking some considerable time. It was also entirely possible that companies would relocate and jobs be created after some input from the strategy, but without any notification reaching the project team. The figures that were recorded therefore represent only those relocations, job creations and building refurbishments that were made known to the Strategy team.

The SRB project appraisal for the Strategy describes a number of non-SRB outputs (where SRB funding is not utilised to bring about their production). These targets were consistently met and the actions pursued were significant in raising media and business awareness of the area. Indeed the Bankside Means Business brochure won a property marketing award in Estates Gazette, creating substantial interest in other similar publications and the trade press. Similarly, briefings given by the Strategy team and

property company Chelsfield were gauged to be creating considerable interest among the property sector and helped to portray both the area and Southwark Council as having a 'serious' business image.

The brochure Bankside Means Business details the support, information and services available to businesses, the Business Desk offering "a first stop information point for business"[10] and the potential for securing a low interest loan of up to £10,000 from the Small Business Loan Fund. The South Central Business Advice Service (SCBAS) is a service provided by the CRP offering business advice and training to those starting up new businesses in the Partnership area. The service on offer ranges from one-to-one consultations to tailor made courses for individuals in areas such as business plan advice, marketing and book-keeping.

Bankside Business Partnership works in partnership with the London Borough of Southwark in the implementation of the inward investment strategy providing an advisory steering group for the London Borough of Southwark/CRP inward investment programme and has facilitated in the provision of venues and speakers for events linked to this programme.

In addition to the publication Bankside Means Business there a variety of other brochures, guides and websites which promote the area:

- River walk: Millennium Mile
- Riverbus (CRP transport scheme)
- Perspective: Quarterly magazine for CRP, 5000 copies produced distributed to strategic partners and all people involved in the Partnership, community and residents group, tourist attractions etc.
- Bankside Open Spaces Programme Leaflet: "Working together on a vision of pleasure gardens in Bankside"
- Bankside Traders Association: Guide to great shopping and eating in Historic Bankside which declares that "Bankside is on the map"
- www.bankside.org Bankside - The New Heart of London
- www.southbanklondon.com Bankside & South Bank

---

[10] Bankside Means Business 1999: 18

- www.inSE1.co.uk Weekly email guide, also paper output weekly

CRP and Southwark also support events such as the Bankside Information Day, which was held in September 2001, offering visitors the chance to learn about new developments planned for the area. Representatives were there from Bankside Residents Forum, Bankside Traders Association, Bankside Open Spaces Trust, business training agencies, other community support organisations, local developers, regeneration partnerships Pool of London, Circle Initiative and CRP. Events such as these go a long way to informing the public about an area and the development opportunities.

4.8 Conclusion

Whilst it has to be acknowledged that SRB outputs for the Inward Investment Marketing Strategy were not met, the other less tangible results of the Strategy input should be registered. SRB spend may not have produced the projected results outlined in the project appraisal and delivery plan but a glance at various trade press and non-SRB output material indicates the amount of work carried out and interest instigated in the Bankside area. Whilst there have been shortcomings and shortfalls in targets and results, it is right to assume that the steps taken under these SRB Round 3 projects have played a pivotal role in preparing Bankside for continued investment into the future. A visit to the area will also reveal the transformation that has occurred since the mid-1990s, where once stood empty property are now renovated buildings housing numerous small businesses, especially in the creative industries. Continued disinterest and disinvestment in the area is replaced by a 'buzz' and a local, thriving identity.

Southwark Council has been instrumental in many of these developments in Bankside. In the past, however, they were not proponents of tourist development and did not support projects such as the development of the Globe Theatre. In the 1980s their priority was seen as being with the local community. From the mid-1990s, there was a re-focusing of their policies and the Council actively courted the Tate Gallery to promote Bankside Power Station as the ideal venue for the new gallery of Modern Art. Southwark has even exhibited at the annual MIPIM International Property Market in Cannes.

The development of the Tate and the Globe were important in the creation of a critical mass which in turn generates demand for other projects, such as Vinopolis, restaurants, bars, hotels etc. The Millennium Bridge is an important link to the north of the Thames and the linking of the two areas serves to prolong visits to the area and the associated "secondary spend".

The Council's investment in the public domain has also helped create the conditions necessary to attract external investment and interest in a previously isolated area of Central London. The impact of the investment in the streetscape is debatable, although the use of large 'Bankside' signs at key gateways to the area have helped to identify the area.

That the marketing and promotion of the area has been successful is undeniable. As Savas Sivetidis commented "Who knew Bankside ten years ago?" Prior to the regeneration and the arrival of the Tate, Bankside was a semi-derelict area whereas now it is up and coming. The Tate is a 'flagship' development without which Bankside would probably still be struggling to put itself on the map and be considered part of central London. The primary focus of the regeneration programmes has been economic and the marketing of the area devoted to brand recognition, as "Bankside the new heart of London".

Chapter 5   King's Cross - A New Quarter for London

5.1   Introduction

King's Cross station, designed by Lewis Cubitt and built in 1851-2, was the terminus of the Great Northern Railway, and at that time, the largest station in England. Today it is a major transport interchange with thousands of people passing through every day served by six Underground lines in addition to Thameslink and other mainline railway services. However the area has been blighted by the stalling of a decision on the Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL) and has suffered a poor reputation because of the high incidence of crime, drugs and prostitution. The area has been undergoing change however and new restaurants, bars and theatres have opened. The area has five theatres the Almeida (temporary location), Shaw Theatre, the Place, the Courtyard and Theatro Technis. There has also been a boom in hotel development with a 100% increase in bed spaces since 1996, hotels include the four star Shaw Park Plaza, Travel Inn Euston, YHA St Pancras, Jury's Inn and a Travelodge is currently under construction on Grays Inn Road.[1]

There has been a huge investment in regeneration terms and with construction having commenced on the CTRL and other redevelopment underway, the area is set for a massive reconstruction which is long overdue. As Andrew Martin recently reported "King's Cross, for so long a flagrant example of urban lowlife, awaits a massive programme of regeneration...Around the junction of Pentonville Road and Caledonian Road, it is the heart of darkness. Every facet of urban demonology was - still is, for the time being - represented on the streets.....the down-at-heel, downright scary streets around Caledonian and Pentonville Road..."[2] A further reflection of the poor image of King's Cross is made by William Edgerley, managing director of P&O Developments who states "Nobody wants to retain the current character of the area".[3]

The area of King's Cross falls within the boundaries of two London Boroughs, those of Camden and Islington. King's Cross currently has one of the largest regeneration

---

[1] www.kingscrosslondon.com KXL 2001a
[2] The Daily Telegraph, 12 February 2002
[3] Ibid

programmes in the UK under the direction of King's Cross Partnership (KXP) and between 2002-2015 an additional £3 billion of investment will be ploughed into the area. The Channel Tunnel Rail Link is scheduled to open in 2007 and following completion of the construction, the redevelopment of 55 acres of land behind King's Cross and St Pancras will commence. This area, formerly known as the Railway Lands, will be the largest brownfield development in Europe and will become "King's Cross Central".

5.2 Baseline Analysis

King's Cross and the area adjoining the station falls into several wards and the London Borough of Camden and the London Borough of Islington. For the purposes of comparison with the other two case studies, the baseline statistics for only one ward will be considered, that of Somers Town in the London Borough of Camden. The following statistics were obtained from the Government's Neighbourhood Statistics, unless otherwise indicated.

The resident population of Somers Town in the middle of 1998 was 7,300 people, 4% of the Camden's total at 188,600. The majority of Somers Town's population in 1998 were aged between 16 and 59 (59%), with 25% under 16 years and 17% aged 16 and over. In September 1998, there were a total of 15,100 employee jobs in Somers Town, 6% of the total for the borough. Somers Town had 1405 Income Support claimants in August 1998, representing 26% of the resident population 16 years or older, compared to Camden's figure of 13% and for Great Britain overall the average is 8%. In terms of Indices of Deprivation 2000, Somers Town ranks 239 out of a total of 8414 wards.

King's Cross has seen the decline of its manufacturing and distribution employment sector. Camden as a whole, saw a decrease by 40% of manufacturing employment from 1981-1987 and 200,000 square metres of industrial floorspace from 1971-1986,[4] but there has been an accompanying increase in service sector employment. Employment by sector in King's Cross, of all employed, 24% were in the business service sector, 11% in retailing and 11% in community, social and person activities, 10% in hotels and

---

[4] Parkes 1990: 28

restaurants, 10% health and social work and 9% in education.[5] Since 1995, unemployment has fallen by 50%, 1400 new jobs have been created in the area and major housing improvements have occurred.[6]

King's Cross has a particular reputation for drug offences, street prostitution and robbery and along with anti-social behaviour are significant local problems. Although their incidence has fallen in recent years, as a result of concerted and targeted operations by the police, the problems still persist as does the area's negative image.

5.3   London Borough of Camden

Camden's stated objectives for King's Cross include creating safer neighbourhoods, increasing tourism, providing support to local businesses and building stronger communities.[7] Camden adopted its Unitary Development Plan (UDP) for the borough in March 2000 and has a chapter devoted to the King's Cross 'Opportunity Area' (Chapter 13). This chapter focuses on King's Cross and St Pancras stations and the railway lands and is currently under review and is at the draft deposit stage with anticipated adoption in the summer 2002.

Camden published a draft Regeneration Strategy in June 2001 and this outlines key themes:

- Tackling social exclusion
- New initiatives targeted at the interfaces between education, training and employment
- New business support initiatives
- Regenerating King's Cross

Camden Council has also committed to a Community Strategy called 'Our Camden, Our Future'. Its vision is one of:

---

[5] Edwards & Mutale 2001: 24
[6] King's Cross Camden's Vision 2002: 12
[7] Ibid

- Reduced inequalities in Camden's population
- Stronger communities
- A safer place
- A healthier place
- An economically successful place
- An attractive and environmentally friendly place
- A place with excellent services

London Borough of Islington

Islington adopted its UDP in 1994 and its new plan was due to be adopted in January 2002, but following a 'Direction' from the GOL requiring further amendments, the new plan is still in a further period of public consultation. Islington Council's Regeneration Strategy stated vision is that of "a place where all people, communities and enterprise can flourish and be enabled to take advantage of the changing opportunities in a world city."[8] The Council's vision is:

- Young people: a safe place with access to high quality facilities and services, to help them become employable, ambitious, healthy and self-confident
- People of working age: a place which provides the opportunity, ability and knowledge to make real choices and where there are real economic opportunities
- Older people: a place which they feel is worth living in and worth contributing to; where people are empowered to shape their lifestyles in good health and without anxiety
- Local communities: a place where people are supported and empowered, and given the tools and confidence to respond to change and opportunities
- Businesses and voluntary organisations: a place which creates an enterprise culture for all and where enterprises recognise their social responsibilities[9]

5.4 Regeneration Programmes

Within the King's Cross area there are several area-based partnerships including:

---

[8] Argent St George 2001: 53-54

- King's Cross Partnership
- Camden Central
- West Euston Partnership
- Finsbury New Deal for Communities

The Camden Central SRB (1999-2006) has secured £7 million of funding from the London Development Agency (LDA). The bid area includes St Pancras ward, most of Somers Town ward and parts of Regents Park and Camden wards. Projects are to target improving the quality of life for people living in the area and are to be social or 'people-based' projects and initiatives. Other initiatives in the area include the King's Cross Community Development Trust, Camden & Islington Health Action Zone, King's Cross Education Zone and Sure Start. The Boulevard Project is a major initiative of Camden Council to make the borough's streets more attractive.

King's Cross Partnership (KXP) is a partnership between Islington and Camden Councils, London and Continental Railways, Railtrack, NatWest Bank, ITN, Exel, the Metropolitan Police, the Health Authority and local residents. Formed in 1995, KXP secured £37.5 million of funding from the Government's SRB to regenerate King's Cross over a seven year period (1996-2003) which in turn has attracted a further £250 million of investment. The bid area covers a two-mile radius around King's Cross Station and the programme of work commenced in April 1996. The work and strategies of the KXP are to be the focus of the next section.

5.5 King's Cross Partnership - A New Quarter for London

The vision of this SRB bid is to "create a New Quarter for London" which "will create a sense of place with a positive identity".[10] The programme has set out to regenerate the King's Cross area by "encouraging the creation of jobs, improving public sector housing, and improving educational attainment particularly among the ethnic communities."[11] The Challenge Bid Document outlines the seven main objectives with the intention of

---

[9] Ibid
[10] King's Cross SRB Challenge Fund Bid 1995: 5
[11] KXP Delivery Plan

achieving "a lasting and permanent transformation of the area" by tackling economic, social and environmental problems manifest in the area.[12] These objectives are:

1. A sense of place
2. A place for work
3. A place for business
4. A better place to live
5. A place for local people
6. A place for all communities
7. No place for crime

Within its objectives there are certain issues which are pertinent to marketing and perception:

"A Sense of Place: Our partnership will set the framework for the area within which the New Quarter and gateway will be created. We will target investment to open up key sites for development. We will attract private investment by creating a clear and positive identity for the area".[13]

Two of the challenges within "A sense of place" are the history of blight in the area and lack of identity, the bid stating that "the area lacks a clear identity and much of the public area, building frontages and streetscape need improvement".[14] The programme solution is "to create a New Quarter and unlock the investment needed to deliver it...We will create a high quality gateway to London through comprehensive programmes to enhance London's image for visitors and residents alike."[15]

---

[12] Ibid
[13] King's Cross SRB Challenge Fund Bid 1995: 1
[14] King's Cross SRB Challenge Fund Bid 1995: 13
[15] King's Cross SRB Challenge Fund Bid 1995: 5

Table 5.1: Strategic Objectives - A sense of place

KEY PROJECTS	KEY OUTPUTS
Railway Lands Access Programme & Improvements	20 hectares of land reclaimed for development; 3.2 km of road built or improved; 1,400 residents accessing employment; 18,000 construction weeks; 92,000 m^2 of new commercial floorspace
P&O Owned Site	46,000 m^2 new or improved commercial space; retail facilities opened; 50 jobs created; 3 hectares of land serviced for development
St Pancras Chambers	Bring1,500 m^2 of space into use
Hotel & Chalton Street	New hotel; 16,830 m^2 of new or improved floorspace; 200 new jobs created; 0.8 hectares of land reclaimed for open space; lively street market created; 0.4 km of road improved
King's Cross concourse & St Pancras landscaped area	1 new landscaped area and 1 new concourse created; 1.41 hectares of land improved
Boulevard & gateway improvements	5.2 km of roads improved; 175 trees planted; 23 buildings improved
Total Programme Value Challenge Fund: £15,563,000 Private: £143,663,000 Public: £12,661,000	

Source: King's Cross SRB Challenge Fund Bid September 1995

Under the title "A place for business" the partnership stated aims are to "stimulate business investment and establish support programmes to ensure the successful development of the New Quarter. This will enable business to take full advantage of the area's strategic location for transport and the London economy. It will also ensure that maximum advantage is taken of the area's cultural, entertainment and tourism potential."[16] The bid states that the area "is not attractive as a business location as demonstrated by the low rental value" and there is a "poor tourist and entertainment sector within the bid area".[17]

---

[16] King's Cross SRB Challenge Fund Bid 1995: 2
[17] King's Cross SRB Challenge Fund Bid 1995: 13

Key projects include the implementation of an inward investment strategy with the aim of attracting key sectors and businesses and the development of the cultural, entertainment and tourism potential of the area.[18]

Table 5.2: Strategic Objectives - A sense of business

KEY PROJECTS	KEY OUTPUTS
Inward Investment	620 businesses advised; 300 jobs created
Business Link Customised	250 jobs safeguarded; 475 business advised
Tourism Promotion	New visitor centre - 400,000 visitors benefiting; 300 jobs safeguarded; 364 m^2 of new commercial space; 300 businesses advised; 55 hotels improved
Business Start-up	330 jobs created; 180 new business start-ups
Business Loans	132 jobs created, 66 jobs safeguarded; 100 businesses advised; 50 buildings improved; 3,000 m^2 of new business floorspace
Local Purchasing	400 jobs safeguarded; 200 businesses advised; 35 new business start-ups
Total Programme Value Challenge Fund: £2,633,000 Private: £7,435,000 Public: £1,501,000	

Source: King's Cross SRB Challenge Fund Bid September 1995

When the bid was originally conceived, a decision on the CTRL was thought to be imminent and many of the strategies were developed on this assumption. However the delay in the decision until six years later meant that many of the objectives were not possible in terms of development of the railway lands, station improvements etc and the area suffered from 'blight' affecting inward investment and development. A certain amount of reorientation of some of the regeneration programmes was required and identified in the Year Four Delivery Plan. But as stated in this plan "the Partnership remains confident that the majority of funding, outputs and outcomes identified in the original bid will still be achieved."[19]

New strategic projects outlined in the Year Four Delivery Plan included the regeneration of buildings around King's Cross and St Pancras stations in an attempt to "make a

---

[18] Ibid
[19] KXP Delivery Plan 1999/2000: 3

difference in this highly visible area".[20] There was also a renewed focusing of the cultural development and it was stated that this was " to the SRB programme if the original aspirations to create a new cultural quarter for London are to be realised."[21]

Completed projects under the 'sense of place' objective include improvements to Edward Square and St Pancras Gardens, Regent's Canal Towpath, Somers Town Regeneration Environmental Package and implementation of a Streetscape Design Strategy. Ongoing projects include the Building Facades Improvements Programme and the Development Opportunities Fund which provides assistance to physical projects.

'A place for business' completed projects include Hotel 200 which provided assistance to small hotels in the area and helping them to meet the requirements of the tourist market in King's Cross. Business Start Up Grants of up to £2,000 are still available through CENTA, to support new and early stage businesses in the area with less than 20 employees. A Business Loan Fund provides loans of up to £25,000 for SMEs which have been trading for over a year in the King's Cross area, also through Centa.

KXP also works with consultants Urban Explorers, a specialist company established in 2001. Its founders managed the tourism services and promotion for the London Borough of Islington through the agency Discover Islington. Their area of expertise includes destination marketing and PR, publishing, research, network building, visitor information management and communications. Their mission is to enable "visitors and residents to discover and enjoy urban environments".[22] Urban Explorers are involved in the delivery of the Business Tourism Partnership which aims to facilitate the development of the local visitor economy by creating a network of arts and entertainment venues, working in partnership to promote King's Cross.

As previously mentioned, there are a number of development schemes which are occurring in the King's Cross area which will have a major impact on its revitalisation. Schemes such as King's Cross Central, the London Underground Works, St Pancras Chambers, Thameslink 2000 will all serve to complement the work of the Partnership. The KXP regeneration programme aims to tackle physical, social and environmental

---

[20] KXP Delivery Plan 1999/2000: 4
[21] Ibid
[22] www.urbanexplorers.co.uk 2001

issues within its bid boundary, with physical regeneration initiatives gaining priority funding at 42% of the total.[23] "The central objective to the regeneration programme in King's Cross is to reverse the economic decline of the area and to attract new investment by improving the environment, upgrading the transport system and tackling crime."[24]

5.6   King's Cross Central & Channel Tunnel Rail Link

It was not until April 2001 that a decision was finally made approving the second stage of the CTRL to St Pancras. London and Continental Railways (LCR), the Government and Railtrack confirmed the financial agreement for Section 2 of the CTRL, with the high speed line from North Kent to a new international station at London St Pancras. Work commenced in July 2001.

Whilst Judy Sugg of KXP recognised that the CTRL will a tremendous boost to the local economy and result in substantial job creation, "one of the Partnership's roles is to ensure that local people get those jobs. Over the coming years we [will] focus on working with the surrounding neighbourhoods to ensure that the benefits of this development reach all sectors of the local population."[25]

Argent St George was selected as the developer for King's Cross Central in 2000 by the landowners London and Continental Railways (LCR) and Exel plc. Argent St George published in July 2001 its "Principles for a human city" detailing its vision for the King's Cross Central development. This document stated Argent's objective to "devise and then deliver, over the next 15 or so years, an exciting and successful mixed use development; one that will shape a dense, vibrant and distinctive urban quarter, bring local benefits and make a lasting contribution to London."[26] Argent's ten principles are:[27]

- A robust urban framework
- A lasting new place

[23] Edwards & Mutale 2001: 14
[24] Edwards & Mutale 2001: 26
[25] www.kingscrosslondon.com 2001c
[26] Principles for a human city 2001
[27] Ibid

- Promote accessibility

- A vibrant mix of uses

- Harness the value of heritage

- Work for King's Cross, work for London

- Commit to long-term success

- Engage and inspire

- Secure delivery

- Communicate clearly and openly

Argent St George are undertaking a consensus-building programme of consultation with the key stakeholders in the area prior to the development of their masterplan. It published its "Parameters for Regeneration" in December 2001 which sets out to identify the "principle challenges and opportunities" of the development.[28] The developers are intending to submit planning applications in autumn 2002. Argent St George sees King's Cross as having a vital role to play within London's role as a world city and states that the "challenge and opportunity is to fashion a dense, vibrant urban quarter, a place with distinctive identity and which:

- accommodates world city functions and contributes to local needs

- blends and balances these functions successfully

- assimilates the very significant new elements of transport provision which are about to be introduced."[29]

The MP for Holborn and St Pancras, Frank Dobson recently commented that "the whole area behind King's Cross and St Pancras station has been a disgraceful dump for years". He views the development, however, as a great chance to regenerate a run-down area, reduce unemployment and provide social housing for low income families. "This project is a wonderful opportunity to bring a massive amount of investment in. There will be a lot of money flooding in via the people coming in to work in the new buildings and at the new station."[30]

---

[28] Parameters for regeneration 2001: 1
[29] www.argentstgeorge.co.uk King's Cross: The challenge and opportunity
[30] www.regentquarter.co.uk/presscuttings.htm 2002

London Borough of Camden's main objective with regard to King's Cross Central is to "create firm links between the development and the local area so that it is a relevant and positive addition to this part of London."[31] The redevelopment of the railway lands has the potential to dramatically change the face of King's Cross, something which the development known as 'Regent Quarter' is in the process of starting.

5.7   Regent Quarter

P&O Developments and P&O Properties are substantial landowners in the King's Cross area and are proposing a major redevelopment of four key blocks. P&O's stated aim is "to achieve a high quality mixed-use regeneration" with the outcome being "an exciting new urban quarter for living, working and relaxation, which enjoys the distinctive identity of its historic past."[32] The mixed use redevelopment is to comprise of shops, a metro supermarket, restaurants and bars, offices, a hotel, gallery, health club and other leisure facilities and a residential component of which 25% is to be social and key worker housing. The Courtyard Theatre is the only unit within Block B which is not owned by P&O.

The blocks extend from Grays Inn Road in the south to Wharfdale Road in the north with York Way forming its western boundary and Caledonian/Balfe Street its eastern one and are bisected by Pentonville Road, Caledonia Street and Railway Street. Three of the four blocks (B to D) within the London Borough of Islington have gained planning consent and work has commenced. Block A, known as the Lighthouse Block, between Pentonville Road and Grays Inn Road comes under the jurisdiction of the London Borough of Camden, and is still awaiting final approval. Work is anticipated to take three years. According to research undertaken by P&O in June 2001 by Outlook Research, the vast majority of households and businesses within the King's Cross SRB responded favourably to the proposed development plans.[33]

---

[31] King's Cross Camden's Vision 2002: 21
[32] www.regentquarter.co.uk/exhibition/consultation.htm RQ 2001
[33] Ibid

P&O in detailing its masterplan concept does not ignore the area's notorious reputation:[34] "The district is also, unfortunately, associated with crime, particularly drugs and prostitution. As far as it is possible, through design and planning, these proposals have sought to deter such activities by the incorporation of a mix of active uses giving round the clock activity and watchfulness from the public." They also remark upon the "opportunities and tensions" that the opening up of the blocks will bring with new pedestrian routes and courtyards which whilst they "allow access to a greater range of uses but also give the opportunity for criminal activity if not managed effectively."

According to the King's Cross Partnership, this redevelopment will provide inward investment of £100 million and approximately 1500 new jobs. Sir Bob Reid, Chair of KXP has commented that the "redevelopment of this site will complement the major London Underground works currently underway at King's Cross and St Pancras Station, the CTRL and the eventual redevelopment of King's Cross Central. Together these schemes will transform King's Cross into a new Gateway to Europe and form a key element in London's 'world city' status."[35]

5.8   Inward Investment & Place Marketing

The main strategy objectives for the KXP were to raise the profile of KXP and King's Cross as an area, to highlight the positive aspects and diversity of the area in terms of people, places and activities.

The inward investment strategy of the KXP is integral to its regeneration programme and all staff are involved, directly or indirectly in its delivery. Centa for Business (Camden Enterprises Ltd) is responsible for delivery of certain of the 'sense of business' objectives. Centa deals with start-up businesses offering advice and support and provides health checks and other services for existing businesses, operating London-wide but loans and grants are available through the SRB programme for businesses in the bid area. Centa works in conjunction with Business Link. Businesses trading over a year with a set of audited business accounts can qualify for loans of up to £25,000. In order to receive grants or loans, however, businesses have to meet certain eligibility

---

[34] Ibid

criteria in line with the general aims of the SRB programme. Businesses may be set outputs that they have to attempt to reach, create an audit trail for the positive impact of King's Cross regeneration including unemployed people into work etc. The schemes were set up to attract business into the area. While grants do not have to be repaid, loans are "soft" with an interest rate 1% above base rate and a 2% arrangement fee.[36]

List of objectives for grant scheme:

- Jobs created
- Residents accessing employment
- Unemployed people starting/entering self employment
- New business start ups
- Business surviving 52 weeks
- Business surviving 78 weeks
- Actual number given business advice to (not just after loan)

List of objectives for loan scheme (as above plus):

- Jobs preserved
- Area improved/refurbished business space (help improve aesthetics)

The construction work associated with the CTRL is already beginning to impact upon businesses in the King's Cross area. Of Centa's clients, 39 with loan assistance, have been affected by development work or been given notice to quit because of the development. Construction work can significantly impact upon retail businesses which rely on 'foot flow' and thus affects income streams. These developments will undoubtedly have an immense impact upon the business structure of the area, with the demise of many micro businesses (less than five people) that are in abundance at present.

The publicity role within KXP has two strands, one being publicity and communications, the other tourism. A steering group consisting of community representatives, officers of Camden and Islington and KXP staff ensure that everyone is involved in the image

---

[35] www.kingscrosslondon.com KXL 2001

promotion work. Although they have different remits there are several common objectives and they do overlap. The publicity of work of KXP is through newsletters and business letters, informing community and businesses of the work and objectives of the KXP. There is also a community forum/consultation with businesses to keep them up to date with the work of KXP. Originally publicity of the KXP's activities was through the KXP News, produced four times a year with distribution to every household within the SRB area and with a production of 23,000 copies. In the third year of the SRB programme (1998-1999) a publication aimed at the 1,500 businesses in the area was developed, Business Matters, which provides information on the SRB enterprise support programme and articles about regeneration initiatives of relevance to the business community. Year Four (1999-2000) saw the creation of the post responsible for Publicity and Communications "in order to maximise the co-ordination of this key area of work".[37] A member of staff dedicated to publicity was in recognition by the Partnership that "publicity provides the dynamic link between the Partnership, the local community, businesses and Partners".[38] KXP currently has two Publicity & Communications staff, unusual for a regeneration partnership. In 2001/2002 the emphasis shifted to publicising and promoting King's Cross itself.

The tourism project focused on promoting King's Cross as a place, encouraging people to stop, stay and make use of the facilities and what King's Cross has to offer. The aim was to encourage greater exploration of the area and its potential by people working in the area, or for example people going from Thameslink station in Pentonville Road to King's Cross station and vice versa. There is a very large workforce in area and part of KXP's remit was to encourage them not just to use sandwich bars at lunchtime, but to promote King's Cross as a culturally rich area with venues, theatres, bars and restaurants. The Partnership produced an A5 guide in 1999 and Walk Trail guides. The tourism project works with local venues, with the guides and newsletters distributed to all hotels, theatres, restaurants etc. The stations have proved to be invaluable distribution points.

King's Cross Partnership launched its website www.kingscrosslondon.com in March 2001 detailing "everything you need to know about living, working and visiting King's

---

[36] Garner 2002
[37] KXP Delivery Plan 1999/2000: 7
[38] Ibid

Cross"[39] as part of a strategy to raise the profile of the area. The website describes King's Cross as "one of the most up and coming parts of London". The Press Release by KXP on 9th May 2001 stated "If you are looking for a restaurant for dinner or thinking of taking in a show, King's Cross is not the first place that would spring to mind. A new website launched this month might help challenge your thinking on an area of London that for many years has been synonymous with drugs and prostitution."[40] The website has information on restaurants, bars, where to stay, shopping, business, leisure, health and tourist attractions in the area.

The website was initially promoted using an advertising campaign in King's Cross Underground Station 'King's Cross.....Take another look'. Bold blocks of colour have been used together with images which you would not necessarily associate with the area. The intention was "to help challenge perceptions and encourage people to explore King's Cross in more detail."[41] Judy Sugg, Communications Manager at the King's Cross Partnership commented "King's Cross has far more to offer than people think. For the many thousands of people living and working here this site is invaluable. www.kingscrosslondon.com is packed with information and has been designed so that you can find what you are looking for quickly and easily."[42]

In January 2002, KXP organised a "Celebration of King's Cross' Finest", an event demonstrating what King's Cross has to offer in terms of cultural and leisure amenities. Over 100 representatives from local employers were able to find out what the area has to offer their employees in and around King's Cross and the opportunity to establish contacts. The event was facilitated by Urban Explorers and King's Cross Culture Leisure & Tourism Network, which was established in 2001. The network includes the Place, the Almeida, British Library, Courtyard Theatre, Teatro Theatre, Scala, Pizza Hut and the large hotels and has regular meetings. The aim is to work together to promote King's Cross and create incentives such as joint packages (food and theatre offers etc). As KXP states, "the networking forms part of wider strategy which aims to regenerate and raise the profile of King's Cross. These connections have the effect of strengthening the

---

[39] www.kingscrosslondon.com KXL 2001a
[40] www.kingscrosslondon.com KXL 2001b
[41] Ibid
[42] Ibid

local economy and boosting the identity of an area which is now regenerating at speed."[43]

Camden have recently published 'King's Cross Camden's Vision' which sets out Camden's objectives for King's Cross with particular reference to the King's Cross Central development. Leader of Islington Council writes "This document outlines the vision and framework that will guide the creation of an entire new city quarter. It is this development that will complete the regeneration of King's Cross, the gateway to London, to Britain and shortly to Europe direct."[44] Camden at present do not have an Inward Investment team or strategy specifically relating to King's Cross. According to Robert West, King's Cross Team Manager at Camden, there is "no strategy, brochures, etc on the Camden side, which is pragmatic given that for the next few years there is an ongoing loss of business floorspace due to CTRL construction."

5.8 Conclusion

The progress of regeneration King's Cross has suffered because of the blight associated with the CTRL and the railway lands. It is also an area which suffers from entrenched negative views because of its history of drugs, prostitution and crime. As Shaw & Robinson state (1998: 59) "It is particularly hard to change the image of areas which have become known for their high levels of crime. Indeed, the poor reputation of an area (and the fear of crime among residents) often persist, even if reported crime is falling." Stereotypes are often compounded in the media and within local folklore and "contribute to the maintenance of out-of-date images of run-down areas even when community-based regeneration is improving the quality of life of local residents" (ibid). Shaw & Robinson (1998: 60) stress that the community should be involved in any marketing strategies as a way of questioning their own perceptions of the locality and to help improve the image of the area to a wider target within the city and region. "But any improvement of the 'image' has be based on changes and improvements to the 'reality'."

---

[43] www.kingscrosslondon.com KXL 2002
[44] King's Cross Camden's Vision 2002: 6

KXP Publicity Projects Manger Anne Rooney gave five ways of how a regeneration programme and marketing strategy can help to change people's negative perception of an area:

1. Highlight positive aspects
2. Get local businesses involved in promotion
3. Tackle negative press coverage
4. Produce products e.g. Guide/Walks to encourage people to explore the unknown side of King's Cross
5. Keep King's Cross in the media spotlight with positive stories

Although 42% of its funding having been spent on physical regeneration projects, the central part of King's Cross has not changed to any great degree. KXP undertaken area improvements by placing hoardings on buildings awaiting redevelopment, shop-front improvement schemes and streetscape development programmes. However, until such time that key projects such as the CTRL and King's Cross station improvements and the Regent Quarter redevelopment get under way, it will be very difficult to change 'outsiders'' views. The place is beginning to look better and people believe that it is going to be better.

Improvements to the physical environment are important not only to outsiders but also more importantly to residents. From the household survey undertaken in 2000 by monitoring and evaluation study in King's Cross by UCL, 30% of the households stated an intention to move, of which 56% gave a preference to remain within King's Cross compared to 44% who wished to move elsewhere.[45] Of the reasons given for wishing to move, the general physical environment (the poor environmental quality of the area) was a prime concern, followed by family, health and social reasons and lastly economic issues.[46] The survey also included a question about the attractiveness of the area, 41% of the sample of households thought the area had improved, 17% considered it had deteriorated and 36% stating that it had remained unchanged (6% had no opinion).

The survey also questioned people's awareness of the KXP and its work. Of those interviewed, 41% were aware of the SRB prior to questioning with 59% unaware and

[45] Edwards & Mutale 2001: 12-13

revealed a greater knowledge about the existence of the KXP at 44% compared with 56% who did not know about it.[47] Even though the KXP newsletter is delivered to every household, 50% replied that they had not seen it, with 16% having seen it and 34% had read it.[48] The response from households regarding the newsletter is not encouraging in terms of attempting to inform the residents of programmes and initiatives from which they may benefit.

King's Cross is now being heavily promoted, the strategy developing in earnest half way through the SRB programme. The marketing asks of us to take another look, that is to see if our opinion is based on reality or if it is in fact the result of an assimilation of past experience or negative portrayal by the media, tainting the view. Pocock & Hudson (1978: 24) comment upon the "disproportionate influence on the image of the first encounter with a place - an event which can never be repeated". They also go on to state that after repeated encounters with the same environment, "we see in effect what we want to see, having turned a blind eye to much that is present. Only a change of involvement or a period or absence followed by a revisit can reactivate a heightened perception of the same scene". By telling people to take another look, they are building on the premise that peoples' views become entrenched and unquestioned unless prompted to re-evaluate. KXP asks you to "Take another look" at King's Cross, wanting people to question their perceptions and reassess what the area has to offer in the way of leisure and cultural activities. If the Partnership's dream of a new quarter of London comes to fruition, then the negative perception that has so long been associated to the area may well become a thing of the past. To date, however, as Matt Garner of Centa comments, it has been "very hard to shake off the negative image of King's Cross".

---

[46] Ibid
[47] Edwards & Mutale 2001: 39
[48] Ibid

Chapter 6   Cathall Road - From Stigmatised Estate to Neighbourhood

6.1   Introduction

In contrast to the other two case studies, Cathall Road, South Leytonstone in the London Borough of Waltham Forest (LBWF) is located on the periphery of London. However, "Waltham Forest's economy is linked inextricably to the economy of London and the sub-region".[1] Not only does it fall within LDA's area but also it is included in the sub-regional Thames Gateway London Partnership (TGLP) strategy "Going East" which aims to become "the hub of Europe"[2]. The Thames Gateway area is predicted to be, in the words of Ken Livingstone, London's Mayor, "a major engine for growth" and is seen as a "national priority" area for the Government.[3] The TGLP has identified Leytonstone as one of the "significant District Centres which would benefit from targeted improvement programmes"[4].

Cathall Road is also different from the previous case studies in terms of main regeneration programme, being one of four estates regenerated by the Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust (WFHAT), although it also lies within an SRB boundary. Similar to King's Cross is an area that has suffered from negative perceptions, the estate being stigmatised and a 'no-go' area. There has been a tremendous amount of physical regeneration but not to the detriment of social regeneration initiatives. Cathall Road neighbourhood was selected as the venue for the launch by John Prescott of the Government's National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal in April 2000.

6.2   Baseline Analysis

Waltham Forest has a population of approximately 221,000.[5] In 1998 the resident population of Cathall was 11800 people, 5% of the LBWF.[5] The GLAs Research Section

---

[1] LBWF 2002, para 4.1
[2] LBWF 2002, para 4.3.2
[3] LBWF 2002, para. 4.3.1
[4] LBWF 2002, para. 4.3.5
[5] Neighourhood Statistics

produces annual population projections for the London boroughs with the projections made in 1999 for 2001 being rounded up to the nearest 100. For Waltham Forest as a whole and Cathall ward in particular, the age group with the largest proportion of people is the 30-39 years with 16.3% and 18.9% respectively.[5] A third of Cathall ward's population is under the age of 19 years (34.4%). The population of Waltham Forest is also culturally diverse with over 40% of the total population in the south of the borough, where Cathall is located, are from black and ethnic minority communities.

There were 1300 employee jobs in Cathall at September 1998, which was 3% of the borough's total. Income support claimants in Cathall in August 1998 totalled 1340 representing 15% of the resident population aged 16 years or over, compared to 12% for Waltham Forest and an average of 8% for Great Britain overall.[2] In January 2002, the total number of persons claiming unemployment benefits in Waltham Forest was 5785 or 5.4%, the figure for Cathall ward being higher still at 5.7% compared to the average for Greater London (4.8%) and Great Britain (3.7%).

Table 6.1: Table of ward level employment January 2002

Ward	Number Unemployed			Unemployment Rate		
	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	All
Cathall	225	80	305	7.5	3.4	5.7
Waltham Forest	4,260	1,525	5,785	7.1	3.3	5.4

Source: ONS/GLA Research Section/LBWF

Although the unemployment rate for men is more than double that of women for the borough and Cathall ward, it should be noted that a significant proportion of women who are unemployed do not claim unemployment benefit[1]. They are therefore not represented in the claimant count figures used to calculate these rates.

The age group with the highest rate of unemployment is the 16-19 year olds, 10.1% for Cathall and 7.7% for Waltham Forest, with the band 35-44 year olds being the next highest for both Cathall (7.1%) and Waltham Forest (6.2%).

According to the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000, Cathall ward in which the Cathall Road estate is located, falls within the most deprived 10% nationally. The index of multiple deprivation score for Cathall is 45.68 with a ranking of 778 out of 8414 wards in

England. In the DOE Index of local conditions published based on the 1991 census, wards were ranked on an improving scale from 1:782 and Cathall was number 14.

6.3   London Borough of Waltham Forest

Waltham Forest adopted its UDP in 1996 and in February 2002 its First Deposit Draft was placed on deposit. In September 1999, Waltham Forest published its Regeneration Strategy. This strategy identified seven priority areas:[6]

1. Improving educational performance and employability
2. Improving access to jobs
3. Creating a stronger local economy
4. Improving the physical and social environment
5. Improving local health and reducing inequalities in health
6. Creating an promoting a positive image for the borough
7. Developing the capacity and involvement of local community

Priority 6 states in more detail that "the perception of Waltham Forest by its residents and by potential outside investors may be more negative than is justified in reality. The Council is seeking to address this in terms of residents' perceptions in a range of ways, including through the re-launching and higher profile of 'Waltham Forest Today', the civic newspaper."[7] The strategy comments on the projects in Walthamstow Town Centre and North Leytonstone, with environmental improvements and the promotion of business opportunities and stresses the need for a "much more vigorous programme of promotion of inward investment".[8] The borough's Inward Investment will be considered in more detail later, however first the regeneration programmes relating to the case study area will be examined.

---

[6] Waltham Forest Urban Regeneration Statement 1999
[7] Ibid
[8] Ibid

6.4   Regeneration Programmes

The area of Cathall Road estate is in South Leytonstone and is included in the target area, or peripheral to, several Government funded regeneration schemes. Two of these are SRB programmes, one a Housing Action Trust and a City Challenge Bid. Current SRB programmes are "New Dimensions for Stratford & Temple Mills" and "Leytonstone Life".

The main focus of the Stratford & Temple Mills programme (1995-2002) is to encourage and further economic growth and development within the Stratford and Temple Mills area whilst ensuring that local communities and businesses benefit.[9] The overall value of the programme is £66,715,200 of which £14,575,000 is SRB funded.

The LBWF was successful in its bid for Capital Challenge funding with £7.9 million being made available over a three year period matched by £8.3 million from other sources (1996-1999). The objectives are to assist in the revitalisation of Leytonstone town centre and the area affected by the M11 Link Road. The programme includes highway and pedestrian improvements to High Road Leytonstone and other nearby roads, environmental enhancements and a shop front improvement scheme.[10] The focus of work is predominantly North Leytonstone and does not extend to the locale of Cathall Road.

The Leytonstone Life SRB (1996-2003) was originally known "A Contract for Change" for South Leytonstone. The overall value of the programme is £39,843,521 of which £9,966,900 is from SRB monies. Its has four main themes: urban renewal, social inclusion, community development and economic. It is a regeneration programme associated with Cathall Road and will therefore be considered in more detail.

6.5   Leytonstone Life: A Contract for Change

The SRB area is centred on South Leytonstone, extending south down High Road Leytonstone and including Maryland Point. It is an area of dense population and in a

---

[9] LBWF 2002 (para.10.1.1)

wider area of high deprivation. The Bid Document comments that the population "generally feel marginalised and overlooked by the initiatives in the region"[11] and looks to engage the residents and community groups, encouraging their input. There is a limited amount of 'green space', the area being a dense mixture of residential and retail properties, thus constraining available recreational activities. The area covers Cathall ward (11,662 people) and part of the Cann Hall ward (10,367 people), with up to 25,000 people in the bid area and its environs being affected by the programme. The SRB Bid Document highlights the importance of regeneration initiatives targeted in this area of high deprivation and states that "without the right support there is a very real danger of this area becoming not just an isolated pocket of deprivation but the suppository of deprivation for the wider area".[12]

The programme has been formulated to arrest the social and economic decline of the area and has three strategic objectives:

1. Quality of life

Initiatives under this objective included the creation of an urban park on the Langthorne Hospital site for recreational purposes in conjunction with a community building for IT training facilities and a cyber café, the "Click". The expansion of the Cathall Leisure Centre, development of a nursery and play barn, health promotion and crime prevention programmes assist in the targeting of the increasing youth and ethnic minority population who are the most disadvantaged group for this area.[13]

2. Housing

There are two areas where improvements to housing are focused. At the Avenue Estate the intention is to demolish the remaining unimproved dwellings and replace with low rise homes with a range of tenure options. SRB funds will facilitate securing the HAT programme for the Cathall Road extension. The aim is for the housing initiatives to increase the quality and range of housing available, linking with the quality of life objective to improve the local environment, the quality of people's lives and their engagement in the management of the area.[5]

---

[10] Community News Sheet 1997
[11] South Leytonstone Partnership: A Contract for Change, p.8
[12] South Leytonstone Community Parntership: A Contract for Change, p.6

3. Economic competitiveness

This objective is to increase business confidence in the area by way of an environmental enhancement programme to encourage inward investment into the High Road Leytonstone shopping area and Maryland gateway. The aim of economically focused initiatives, such as the Business Competitiveness Scheme, is to increase to survival rate of businesses, increase the availability of jobs and assist people in obtaining skills to facilitate job procurement in the surrounding area. The development of marketing strategies aims to encourage local businesses to capitalize on the local transport infrastructure.

The Contract for Change SRB programme was initially overseen by the Stratford and Temple Mills Partnership and managed for the Partnership by the Stratford Development Partnership Ltd (SDP). The SDP were responsible for the Stratford City Challenge and delivery of the Stratford and Temple Mills SRB Programmes. The LBWF has ultimate responsibility for the delivery of the programme, the SDP contracting with the LBWF to implement the programme. The task of monitoring the programme was assigned to the Centre for Institutional Studies, University of East London (UEL).

Of their stated strategic objectives there are two with specific relevance to inward investment and marketing of the area. In the initial Bid Document, the expenditure figures were not provided. They were as follows:

Table 6.2: SRB Strategic Objectives

Strategic Objective	Baseline Position	Position at end of programme
SO2: Encourage sustainable economic growth & wealth creation by improving the competitiveness of the local economy, including business support	Annual Inward Investment into area £#m Value of development land - £# per acre Number of new business start ups - # p.a. Survival rate of new/incoming businesses - #%	Annual Inward Investment into area £#m Value of development land - £# per acre Number of new business start ups - # p.a. Survival rate of new/incoming businesses - #%
SO6: Protect and improve the environment and infrastructure and promote good design	Levels of vacant/derelict land - acres Annual Inward Investment into area £m Value of development land - £# per acre	Levels of vacant/derelict land - acres Annual Inward Investment into area £m. Value of development land - £# per acre

Numbers to be supplied   #% Percentages to be supplied[14]

---

[13] South Leytonstone Community Partnership: A Contract for Change
[14] South Leytonstone Community Partnership: A Contract for Change, Annex A: Strategic Objectives, p.1

Quality of Life Objective Outputs: Following two years consultation with residents and several local organisations, approval was gained for the design of the "New People's Park" in 1998. Work commenced on derelict hospital site in Spring 1999 and in 2000 Langthorne Park was opened. The creation of a 4.5 acre leisure area, includes a pavilion, car park, floodlight games area, children's play area, landscaping and gardens and an ecology area. The Click Centre was officially opened in March 2000 and cost £800,000 and is located adjacent to Langthorne Park on Leytonstone High Road. The Click is an IT learning centre offering a range of training courses available to local residents, small businesses and community groups. Facilities include an internet café, employment and training advice for unemployed, free computer training, free email addresses, IT help for small businesses and a café.

Physical Enhancement Objective Outputs: Investment in the physical enhancement of High Road Leytonstone has concentrated upon North Leytonstone. Although traffic calming measures have extended into South Leytonstone, the restructuring of the High Street in terms of street furniture improvements does not continue further south. In fact the railway bridge for Leytonstone High Road railway station has a prominent painting "Welcome to Leytonstone" in its own way exclusive and by inference South Leytonstone is not part of the "real" Leytonstone. It may be considered an insignificant sign to many, however, it serves to reinforce the perceptual division between North and South Leytonstone.

Economic Competitiveness Objective Outputs: Different projects within the SRB Programme may be tendered for. The tender for the South Leytonstone Business Competitive Scheme was secured by a joint bid under Artistic Licence and included The Training Pack and Chris Profit Associates. Artistic Licence is a Marketing Consultancy specialising in business advice, copy writing, journalism and training with experience working with local authorities and regeneration bodies assisting long-term unemployed setting up their own enterprises and helping struggling businesses do better. Chris Profit Associates is also an Advertising and Marketing Consultancy. The Training Pack offers business services specialising in training, people management, communication and retail. The aim of their project within the SRB programme was to assist existing businesses to become more competitive and to encourage new and start up businesses

into the area.[15] According to the Training Pack, there are approximately 470 businesses operating at any one time in South Leytonstone and most are very small.[8] There is a diverse business community with catering establishments being the greatest in number. One to one business support is offered and in four years 300 businesses have received this service. Seminars and workshops are run on a variety of subjects and an Inter-trading Directory has been distributed to businesses in the area to raise awareness of products and services offered by other businesses in the vicinity. Newsletters sent to all local businesses, other organisations and interested residents, publicise events and services, business updates and topics of interest and include several free advertisements for local businesses.

Helping businesses promote their services and encouraging investment in the area in turn promotes the area itself and helps to raise its profile. As the Training Pack states "Publicity is vital to every organisation whether it be a commercial enterprise, charity, or community interest group".[8] Artistic Licence has also been involved with the WFHAT whose work will now be considered.

6.6   Waltham Forest HAT

Before considering the WFHAT in detail, the history of the Housing Action Trusts will be briefly outlined. The Department of Environment (DOE), under the Housing Act 1988, enabled the creation of non-departmental public bodies known as HATs. These were to be pilot projects with a limited life span of 10 years funded by grant-in-aid from central government. The HATs were given lifetime budgets and a holistic remit, spending across traditional departmental budget areas.[16] According to Dearle & Henderson's appraisal of the HATs, their work has been at the cutting edge of evolving regeneration policy with joined-up strategies, neighbourhood focus, holistic approaches and high levels of resident involvement being integral to their regeneration strategies and the acknowledgement that sustainable regeneration takes at least 15-20 years.[9] When the 1988 Housing Act was being drafted, it was widely appreciated that to solve the problems of the 'sink estates' would require more than simply rebuilding the estates, reconstruction without the support of other measures having failed in the past. Section

---

[15] The Training Pack website 2002

63(d) of the Act therefore required the HATs 'generally to secure or facilitate the improvement of living conditions in the area and the social conditions and general environment of the area.'[17] The HATs statutory objectives under the Act were:[18]

- To repair or improve the housing they own and manage
- To make sure the housing is efficiently and effectively managed
- To encourage tenants to choose from a range of different landlords and forms of tenure
- To improve the living conditions, social conditions and general environment of the area

Fundamental to the HAT ethos is tenant empowerment, participation in policy formulation and decision-making being key to the process and working with the tenants to bring long-lasting improvements in their quality of life.

In 1985 the DOE instructed Local Authorities to survey all of their large panel construction (LPC) housing. Waltham Forest had four large estates of LPC construction, Cathall Road, Oliver Close, Boundary Road and Chingford Hall. According to the estimates of the council's surveyors, refurbishment of these estates would cost £110 million and involve the temporary relocation of tenants whilst the work was undertaken. Redevelopment was considered to be a more viable option. Following the initial surveys, the council's Estates Improvement Team consulted tenants' associations on each estate, newsletters and leaflets being produced to keep everyone informed. Tenants became more proactive, forming Estate Steering Groups (ESGs) and Design Panels which conferred with the architects Hunt Thompson Associates, who had been commissioned in 1987 to produce a 'feasibility masterplan'.

The LBWF, with the sanction of the tenants associations, proposed that the estates should be transferred to a tenant-controlled housing association. The DOE however refused the proposal. After demonstrations and lobbying, the Minister of Housing and Planning, Michael Howard, met representatives and offered to consider the creation of a HAT to deal with the problems of the four estates. The four Estate Steering Groups

---

[16] Dearle & Henderson Regeneration WFHAT Brochure
[17] History of WFHAT 1991-2002
[18] Wheeler 1998

combined to form a Joint Steering Group to discuss the possibility of the creation of a HAT with the LBWF and the DOE. These discussions were set in the context of estates elsewhere in the country being sceptical about the proposed HATs and voting against them. The Joint Steering Group wrote a detailed account of what the residents expected of the HAT covering issues such as amount of tenant consultation and influence, tenancy agreements and rents, redevelopment, community and economic development, options at the end of the HAT's lifetime. The detailed discussion of these points between the DOE, LBWF and the Chairman-designate, John Chumrow (appointed by the Secretary of State in February 1991) was formalised in the Tenants Expectation Document (TED). This document informed residents about the proposed HAT and was the basis upon which they voted. Of those tenants eligible to vote there was a turnout of 75% with 81% voting in favour of the HAT. After six years involving discussions, demonstrations and consultation, the efforts of the council and residents culminated on 9th December 1991 with the establishment of the Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust (WFHAT). The management board was to consist of eleven members including tenants' representatives, a councillor and consultants.

The WFHAT was the second of six HATs created to regenerate deprived neighbourhoods. The WFHAT covered 2422 homes in four geographically distinct estates, each estate comprising of a mix of high and medium rise blocks, underground parking being beneath podiums. These estates "were classic examples of alienating and monolithic late 1960's slab construction development with residents scoring high on all the indices of deprivation and social exclusion"[19]. The WFHAT accepted from the outset the importance of tackling the underlying causes of neighbourhood decline: poverty, unemployment, crime, ill health, neglect and low self-esteem and intended to 'maximise the number of residents in employment' and 'to improve the social and community infrastructure'.[20]

The estates had been constructed in the 1960s and were initially popular however by the 1980s a combination of poor construction and inadequate maintenance resulting in declining physical conditions, such as leaking roofs, damp dwellings and inoperable lifts. Physical deterioration was matched by social decline, vandalism, underground car parks being a prime location for drug dealing and torching of cars by joyriders. These estates

---

[19] Dearle & Henderson WFHAT Brochure

soon became a no-go zone for pizza deliveries, minicabs, the milkman and even buses. It even got to the stage where hiring a video was not possible for most people, if you said you lived at Boundary Road, Cathall Road, Chingford Hall or Oliver Close a £50 deposit was demanded.[21]

Of the four estates, Cathall Road had the largest number of households (842) and residents (2105). Its housing consisted of 8 bed-sitters, 369 one-bedroom flats, 109 two-bedroom flats and 356 three-bedroom flats divided between two 21-storey towers, the Redwood and Hornbeam Towers and 14 linked four, five and eight-storey slab blocks. The amount of open land beside each of the estates enabled phased development with a rolling programme of construction of traditional street front houses and demolition whereby residents could move directly into their new homes. In 1994 the first houses started to go up and by 1995 the first tenants were moving into their new homes. New Home Centres on each estate were set up to provide tenants with information regarding the development and a focus for the "Tenants' Choice" exercise whereby tenants could choose colours, carpets, exterior doors etc, facilitating the involvement of the residents and making the houses 'belong' to the people.[22]

By March 2002, Cathall Road had 454 new homes and 49 have been bought under Right to Buy. Although the Redwood and Hornbeam Towers remain, their deconstruction is to be supervised by English Partnerships. Local residents and community groups have had a central role in the transformation of their neighbourhoods, with continual consultation about what they wanted and how they wanted it done. The replacement of high-rise blocks with low-rise housing dealt with the issue of appalling housing conditions, however tackling social and economic problems involved the investment in community buildings and the implementation of a comprehensive economic and community development programme.

The WFHAT's strategic statement concerning community and economic development stated "To work in partnership with tenants and residents, and other bodies involved in economic and social regeneration, to secure improvements in education, training and employment opportunities for estate residents, and to help them bring about

---

[20] WFHAT: History of WFHAT 1991-2002, p.34
[21] WFHAT: History of WFHAT 1991-2002, p.8
[22] WFHAT: History of WFHAT 1991-2002, p.18

improvements in the quality of life for tenants and residents."[23] Community programmes included employment and training, business support, youth, community development and health. Within the WFHAT's jurisdiction, 76 community and tenants groups have received grants totalling £1,660, 280 and £98,500 loans have been granted to 19 local small businesses.[24] The key elements of the community and development strategy have been:[25]

- Careers Advice and Placement Project (CAPP) with a worker based on each estate
- Trinity Business Skills Centre at Chingford Hall offering free training (and transport from the other estates)
- Colchester Construction Training Centre co-ordinating the liaison between redevelopment contractors and tenants for training and work
- Other HAT training courses many specifically targeting young people
- Child Care a key element of the HAT's ethos, provision of facilities and as a source of employment
- Tenant Businesses the HAT's Enterprise Initiative offered low cost business loads for tenant start-ups

The WFHAT's programmes for community and economic development have assisted over 4000 residents on the four estates into jobs or training since 1993.[26] According to the regeneration consultants, Dearle & Henderson "the key to success has been to combat the social and economic exclusion of the areas using the physical renewal investment as a catalyst, and by rebuilding community confidence and self-esteem through involving residents in policy and decision making. The community building at Cathall Road, the Epicentre cost £1.3 million to build. It provides a focus for community services and a base for a number of local community organisations and a dedicated Community Development Officer is located here.

Being a fixed term project, the establishment of successor bodies to continue their work was an important part of the HAT's remit. O-Regen is a community development charity set up by WFHAT to continue with the community and economic development programmes, not restricted to the four estates and has successfully tendered for other

---

[23] WFHAT: History of WFHAT 1991-2002, p.33
[24] Dearle & Henderson WFHAT brochure
[25] Wheeler 1998

initiatives within the borough such as Sure Start, New Deal for Lone Parents. The landlord-ship of the properties and any outstanding development issues has been passed onto the Community Based Housing Association (CBHA).

The WFHAT expenditure totalled £227 million with £64 million levered in private finance. That there has been a successful physical transformation of the estates is undeniable and given the level of investment this should be the case, but has this been replicated in the successful regeneration in economic and social terms? Have perceptions changed and has the issue of stigmatisation been addressed directly?

A summary of WFHAT objectives and achievements is detailed in the following table:[27]

Table 6.3: WFHAT Objectives & Achievements

WFHAT OBJECTIVES	ACHIEVEMENTS
Statutory objectives set out in the 1988 Housing Act	*Achievements against those objectives in summary*
To repair or improve the housing we own or manage	Completion of the redevelopment of the 4 housing estates taken over from the Council in April 1992. Demolition of the old blocks and construction of 1494 high quality 'homes for life' plus shops and community facilities
To make sure the housing is properly managed and used	The establishment in partnership with tenants of a successor body for housing management. WF CBHA is a tenant-led organisation which is now landlord to the majority of tenants in the new homes. CBHA is committed to providing an efficient, accountable and responsive service
To encourage tenants to choose from a range of different landlords and forms of ownership	Success in promoting diversity of tenure through a range of alternative rehousing options, such as cash incentives, and the Landlord Choice Ballot of 2001. In addition, 106 households have exercised their retained Right to Buy and purchased their new homes

---

[26] HAT Update (1) 2002:2
[27] HAT Update (1) 2002: 3

To improve the living conditions, social conditions and general environment of the area	Solutions to multiple deprivation and social exclusion through a wide-reaching programme of community and economic development. Our other successor body O-Regen a charitable development trust, will take this work forward after HAT closure

6.7 Inward Investment Strategy & Place marketing

Although no figures were available for the number of new business start-ups within the SRB bid area, the Training Pack by the end of March 2002 had advised 384 businesses and potentially new businesses. Since that date four more have received support from the service and Glenda Shawley was confident that the total will be over 400 by the end of the project. The services offered by the Training Pack were promoted by a bi-annual newsletter distributed to businesses in the area and was regularly featured in the Leytonstone Life magazine and also articles and adverts regarding workshops etc in the local press. Cold-calling was also an important part of their strategy, contacting businesses in the area, especially new businesses.

The work of the SRB is promoted in a variety of ways including a Community News Sheet produced to keep local people informed of progress on activities in the Leytonstone area and Leytonstone Life magazine, the first issue was in Winter 1998. Leytonstone Life is supported by The Government Challenge Fund, WF Council, South Leytonstone Community Partnership, WFHAT, Capital Challenge, Stratford Development Partnership Ltd, local residents and businesses.

First issue Winter 1998 was an article concerning promotion of Leytonstone.
"Leytonstone to be promoted actively.
After years of paralysis caused by the M11 Link Road, Leytonstone is emerging from a long sleep. It is now time for everyone - the Council, residents, businesses and other partners - to put their shoulders to the wheel and to market Leytonstone as an area of opportunity, and gateway to London. The campaign will target businesses, property owners and pension companies highlighting Leytonstone's excellent public transport and

motorway links. In addition there're opportunities for retail and housing developments. A key objective for the Council will be more jobs and better jobs. Local residents, businesses and Leytonstone 2000 will be involved to make sure that local people influence the plans."

Up until December 2001 the LBWF had an ERDF funded Inward Investment service based in a local Business centre. This centre was the location of LBWF Business Support, London East TEC and Business Link, the Asian Business Association and Black Business Association. This enabled the provision of a fairly comprehensive service to any potentially incoming SMEs (Small to Medium sized enterprises). Packages of specialist support for inward investors and local businesses seeking to relocate within the borough were available and included information on premises, finance, staff recruitment and training. Publications included the Waltham Forest Ambassador and Business Bulletin. The Ambassador programme is a network of key local entrepreneurs and business people wishing to contribute significantly to the regeneration and economic development of Waltham Forest.

The London Borough of Waltham Forest no longer has an Inward Investment Service as such, when the ERDF funding expired, it was not possible for the Council to continue the project. LBWF's priority now is to stimulate new SME start-ups and support the development of existing SMEs rather than attract new ones into the borough. This is partly because of the limited availability and quality of their industrial stock. A new borough-wide enterprise support service is being established to this effect. This may move into inward investment work over time.

SRB and private sector funds are now being contemplated for a range of improvements to this stock so that Waltham Forest can compete with other Lee Valley boroughs in attracting new investment. This may be supported by a new Inward Investment service. EU restrictions on public funding for privately owned sites ("Gap funding") is slowing down activity on the industrial sites. Consultants are currently looking at ways that it can be done. As part of this they may recommend that a new Inward Investment Service is set up. Questions such as how this would be delivered and where it will be located will have to be considered by the Council. The Council still produces an Industrial and

Commercial Property Register and an Office Accommodation Register through its Corporate Services available upon request.

LBWF has also produced a glossy brochure "Two Worlds One Borough" detailing what the borough has to offer and why Waltham Forest is a 'good place to live, work and and do businesses'.

The WFHAT did not have a marketing or promotional strategy with respect to image improvement. Orient Regeneration (O-Regen), established in 1997 and operational from 1998, is a registered charity. Given its charitable status, it has a dedicated Fundraising and Marketing Officer who is responsible for leaflets, the website, fundraising activities, press releases promoting O-Regen projects. Joe Slavin, O-Regen Community Development Officer based at the Epicentre and involved in the project from its inception, commented that as far as place marketing and promotion were concerned, it had been an 'almost invisible project' and had not been high profile, with the involvement of people directly affected.

As Tim Thurston of Dearle & Henderson Regeneration stated about the WFHAT in Cathall Road "Regeneration here is not just about physical change, it is driven by the community and community regeneration is the key. It is about empowerment and unlocking potential with training programmes, confidence building etc. The primary focus of the WFHAT was physical change but for the HAT, social and economic regeneration are of paramount importance. The people from the four communities suffered from postcode disincentive, couldn't get HP, no cabs, no milk or free paper deliveries etc. This has now significantly changed. The estates are now part of the wider community, neighbourhoods of Waltham Forest. This has not been the result of any structured place marketing but the process and the publicity the process [physical regeneration and community projects] attracted. The change of the physical environment has underpinned the process. The perception of outsiders has changed significantly. It can happen without the deliberate process of place marketing. However, with 20:20 hindsight, it would have been a good thing to have a structured process to accelerate the process and enabled greater change."

A resident of Cathall Estate and former member of the Estate Steering Group, Andrea Marshall believed there had been a definite improvement of the outside view of the estate and the stereotyping of Cathall Road was 'dying down'. Although residents used to refer to the estate as "The Bronx", the use of the nickname did not to expand beyond the estate. In her opinion, the WFHAT had been successful in its mission to create a 'neighbourhood' and Cathall Road was no longer an estate but a neighbourhood more fully integrated into its environs. The demolition of two tower blocks, the Redwood and Hornbeam Towers, will be the final part of the transformation of the estate into a neighbourhood.

6.8   Conclusion

The four WFHAT estates were blighted by multiple deprivation - unemployment, low income and lack of skills, poor health, crime and fear of crime, and low educational attainment and expectations - these were some of the most pressing problems, married with the appalling housing conditions.[28]

Cathall Road was 'an area characterised by dampness, disintegration and decay' with a 'community marginalised by the physical environment and external perceptions' which has evolved into 'a well developed area with a strong sense of community' and 'socially and physically integrated within the surrounding communities. A community which is increasingly confident and taking control of its destiny'.

Hastings & Dean (2000) state if an estate has a poor image, it can have a negative impact on other benefits of regeneration programmes and therefore should be tackled by regeneration initiatives. Cathall Road may have indeed benefited from an "image manager" given the extent of the physical transformation. However, from studies conducted in the area by Market Research UK on behalf of the WFHAT, results indicate that perceptions of local residents living near Cathall Road and local traders have indeed seen some improvement, with 91% perceiving the area to be 'a lot better now', with of the four estates, Cathall Road having the most marked improvement.[29] Prior to the regeneration work, 78% of local residents were 'unhappy going on the estate alone'

---

[28] Dearle & Henderson WFHAT Brochure
[29] WFHAT Study 2001: 4

compared with 80% who were 'happy to go onto the estate alone' after the works.[30] Changes in perception of local residents has shown a marked improvement. The 'look of the estate' rated as good by only 2% pre works compared to 92% after the works and for the environment of the estate the rating as good has increased from 1% to 77% following the works.[31]

Cathall Road may be considered a special case, given the level of investment, duration of the scheme and the level of tenant empowerment. It differs from the other case studies in the involvement of the HAT and the large-scale physical redevelopment of the estate. This is set in the context of other regeneration programmes however, notably the SRB Contract for Change.

According to Tim Thurston, place marketing is a necessary part of urban regeneration, "unless excluded communities can reintegrate and external perceptions change, regeneration will only be partially successful". He also regarded an effective marketing campaign was most important for raising awareness of the project, encouraging inward investment and changing people's attitudes to the area. Although the WFHAT did not undertake any pro-active place marketing, people's perceptions of Cathall Road have changed.

Summary of evaluation by Dearle & Henderson Regeneration

- 86% of residents think that the area is better
- Areas' reputations have significantly improved (with exception of crime) but some stigma stills remains. An image of high crime rates continues amongst non-residents and stakeholders (although felt to be falling)
- But experience and fear of crime has reduced amongst residents and non residents
- Residents feel areas are safer and more pleasant places to live
- Improved street lighting gives a positive image of safety and is experienced as such by residents
- Living in a house with own front door etc is a positive image. Low rise generally gives a positive impact on image

---

[30] WFHAT Study 2001: 19
[31] WFHAT Study 2001: 23

- Residents are proud of the area and to be part of WFHAT, a fact that is apparent to non-residents
- Attitudes of residents are more positive
- Physical and environmental changes are viewed very highly

The Dearle & Henderson report comments that recent research has identified stigma as a key and perhaps the most intractable factor in whether regeneration initiatives succeed. Thus significant regeneration achievements such as the HATs can be jeopardised by out of date images and reputations.

Negative perceptions are difficult to change, but it is not impossible. Cathall Road has demonstrated that the transformation of a stigmatised estate into a neighbourhood integrated with its surroundings is possible.

Chapter 7   Evaluation & Analysis

7.1   Introduction

The results of questionnaire surveys for each case study will be considered in turn. The questionnaires were designed to elicit responses relating to changes to the area and how they had impacted upon the individual, changes such as physical development, crime and safety, social change (people) and economic change (employment). Indirect questions such as "describe what you thought of" resulted in a variety of descriptive responses. Direct questions were limited mainly to multiple choice answers (see Appendix 3). The questionnaires were intended to examine people's reaction to change, asking in a variety of ways about change in order to maximise the chance of engaging the respondents and to gain an understanding of their overall perception of the area as a place to live and work.

Residents ('insiders') are more likely to be sensitised to change, with regeneration initiatives targeted directly to the community itself or its environs. The impact upon non-residents and people working ('outsiders') in the area gives a clearer indication of how successful the projection of work undertaken is, whether it reaches a wider audience. It is often the 'outsiders' who are targeted by marketing strategies, to encourage them to remain in the area after work to bolster the local economy.

7.2   Bankside Residents

Of the small sample of Bankside residents, 82% were in the age range 25-44 years and 18% 45-59 years. In terms of employment 74% were in full-time employment and 10% part-time with 6% in full-time education. Length of residence varied from between 2 to 27 years and they were predominantly female (64%).

Question 2: Please list below any changes you know about which have taken place at Bankside

75% of Bankside residents could name changes to the area of which the majority were positive changes, such as:

- Improvements to Borough High Street
- Millennium Bridge, Tate Modern, London Eye
- Hays Galleria
- School/public house conversions into residential property

Question 3: How much is the area changing?

Opinion was divided fairly evenly about how much the area is changing with 35% stating a lot, 32% not enough and 29% just about the right amount, with 4% not knowing. The amount of change was directly proportional to the length of residence, as to be expected.

Question 4: How changes have left the area?

Respondents regarded changes as positive with 2/3 thinking it a 'bit better' and 1/3 thinking it a 'lot better'.

Question 5: What makes you feel good about living here?

Answers were split between location and facilities, proximity to the river (30%) and to central London (26%) and bars and restaurants (36%), whilst 7% stated the area had 'character'.

Question 6: What makes you unhappy or angry about living here?

People's negative feelings about the area consisted of certain physical and social factors, such as lack of community (17%), lack of supermarket (52%) and homeless people (12%).

Question 7: Opinion of Bankside prior to regeneration work

Prior to the regeneration work, opinions of the area were quite low and descriptions were unremarkable, Bankside being 'ok' or 'not very nice'.

Question 8: Opinion of Bankside now

Responses were much more positive and enthusiastic, with the rise in cultural amenities mentioned by 38% of residents and the fact that the area was improving, albeit slowly (23%), and improvements to the river walk (8%).

Question 9: How would you describe Bankside to someone who had never visited the area?

Responses were again positive, describing Bankside as 'up and coming', remarking on the 'interesting buildings', 'good place to come and visit if interested in modern and contemporary art'. People commented on the physical nature of the area and what it has to offer.

Question 10: How the regeneration has affected you

Residents had generally felt, or noticed, the impact of regeneration initiatives with over 2/3 stating that the area had improved and become a better place to live. However, 11% were unimpressed, stating that the regeneration had not affected them.

Question 11: Awareness of publicity or marketing campaigns about the area

Opinion was divided fairly evenly regarding awareness to publicity with 54% respondents answering yes and citing More London, Tate Modern and Vinopolis, and 46% being unaware.

7.3   Bankside Non-Residents

The age range of respondents was 16-59 years, with the majority over 25 years (96%). Occupation levels were evenly split between the managerial and supervisory/clerical categories, with 4% being self-employed, although there were very few manual workers (1%). Duration of employment in the area ranged from 3 months to 14 years and 52% respondents were male and 48% female.

Question 1: Where do you live?

 The majority of respondents lived in Essex and south London (90%), with 10% living in north and west London.

Question 2: Please list below any changes you know about which have taken place at Bankside

All respondents could list changes to the area, regardless of the length of time they had been working in the area, and all changes were of a physical nature:

- Millennium Bridge
- Tate
- Riverfront
- Globe
- Vinopolis
- Jubilee Line Extension
- Borough Market
- Renovations to buildings and property redevelopment (10%)

The Tate and Millennium Bridge were mentioned by (87%) of the respondents. One respondent commented that the area had "transformed in the last 5 years, especially the Globe, Tate Modern, Vinopolis, and turned into a tourist area. Where before it had been a rundown industrial backwater, now it is tourist spot."

Question 3: How much is the area changing?

80% thought the area was changing and 20% thought it was changing just about the right amount.

Question 4: How changes have left the area?

There a 100% positive response to the changes occurring in the area, with 61% stating that changes have left the area a 'bit better' and 39% thinking that it was a 'lot better'.

Question 5: Opinion of Bankside 10 years ago

Opinions on the whole were negative and related to the physical environment, with 54% referring to the area as run-down and scruffy. Its connectivity was also commented upon, 7% describing it as inaccessible. 13% mentioned that it was an 'interesting' area and certainly 'quieter'.

Question 6: How would you describe Bankside now?

There was a marked contrast to the previous question, 96% of respondents had positive views of the area stating that the area was up and coming, more attractive and

accessible and vibrant. However, 4% commented negatively including more tourists, building works and increases in prices.

Question 7: How would you describe Bankside to someone who has never visited the area?

Comments were mixed, some stating that it was relaxing and quiet (5%) whilst many commented that it was 'bustling and diverse' and 'vibrant' (33%). Respondents mentioned that it was a 'very historic part of the city' and a 'mix of old and new London' (44%) and that there were 'lots of sights to see' (45%).

Question 8: Do you think the regeneration work is proving to be successful?

There was an overwhelming response regarding the regeneration favourably (100%).

Question 9: Do you think people in general think of Bankside differently now?

Once again, 100% of the respondents thought that peoples' opinions of Bankside had changed, from the question implying a more positive opinion.

Question 10: Awareness of the work of regeneration agencies

In spite of favourable opinions of the regeneration work in the area, people were largely ignorant of who was behind the work, 84% not knowing any of the agencies involved. Of the 16% that were aware of agencies involved in the work, the agencies stated were Bankside Residents Forum, Bankside Business Forum and the Borough Market body. Cross River Partnership and Southwark Council were notable by their absence.

Question 11: Image of Bankside 10 years ago and now

Of those that knew the area 10 years ago there has been an overwhelming improvement of their opinion of the area, with only 25% having a positive view (some commenting that it was 'interesting') 10 years ago to 100% now.

Question 12: Are you aware of any publicity or marketing campaigns to do with the area?

Given the lack of knowledge regarding the regeneration agencies, it is not surprising that awareness of publicity or campaigns regarding Bankside was negligible (13%). Of the 13%, the Tate was mentioned and 'London's Larder'.

7.4   Bankside Summary

Both residents and non-residents were very aware of the changes occurring in the area, notably developments along the river, nearly all citing the Tate Modern and the Millennium Bridge. Regarding how much the area was changing, non-residents were in this case more sensitised to change, with both groups considering changes positive. The perception of the area was invariably negative ten years ago with the majority of both residents and non-residents now seeing Bankside in a positive light. Although residents were slightly more aware of the bodies involved in the regeneration work, knowledge was poor and recognition of the contribution by CRP and Southwark virtually non-existent. Awareness of publicity was generally limited to the Tate Modern, Borough Market and More London.

7.5   King's Cross Residents

Of the respondents, 48% were male and 52% female, with 36% having lived in the area for over 10 years and 21% less than a year, with 13% 1-5 years and 28% 5-10 years. The majority were in full-time employment (57%) and 18% working part-time, with 10% unemployed, 2% retired and 13% in full-time education.

Question 2: Please list below any changes you know about which have taken place at King's Cross

Most of the respondents commented upon the work to the station and the CTRL (71%), with 23% reporting 'disruption', building works and the fact that the area had become a 'building site'. 11% of residents questioned commented on environmental factors, street improvements, in terms of shop-fronts and tree-planting. Although 27% of the respondents said that there were less drug dealers and prostitutes on the streets, many noted that they had just moved to other locations.

Question 3: How much is the area changing?

Of those questioned, 37% replied that the area is changing 'a little' and 21% 'a lot' whilst 42% said the area wasn't changing enough.

Question 4: How changes have left the area?

Respondents (43%) thought that the area had become 'a bit better', whilst 41% thought it had been unaffected. Negative changes to the area (16% 'a bit worse') may be attributable to the high level of construction work and disruption to the area.

Question 5: What makes you feel good about living here?

The fact that King's Cross is a major transport hub is reflected in responses, 61% commenting on the fact that is was 'easy to get to places', that 'you could anywhere from here' and the proximity to 'central' London. 25% commented about amenities such as theatres, bars and restaurants and nightclubs and 13% remarked upon Camley Street Natural Park and Regent's Canal. There were several descriptions that the area was 'lively', 'interesting' and 'a real mix of people'.

Question 6: What makes you unhappy or angry about living here?

The overwhelming response was related to crime, drugs and prostitution (81%) with 37% of respondents commenting that the area was dirty and unsafe. The disruption caused by building work was also noted and also the number of run-down buildings (28%). The lack of a supermarket was remarked upon (31%).

Question 7: Opinion of King's Cross prior to regeneration work

As with the previous question, social issues of crime, drugs and prostitution were cited (88%) and the poor state of the environment ('dirty', 'disgusting', 'lack of care', 'run-down') was referred to (57%).

Question 8: Opinion of King's Cross now

The majority of respondents' opinions about King's Cross referred to the construction work and redevelopment (73%). Regarding drug-dealers and prostitutes, the residents questioned stated that there had been a slight decrease, certainly around the station

(35%). On the whole, the sample thought the area was improving (42%), albeit slowly and 'still had a long way to go'.

Question 9: How would you describe King's Cross to someone who had never visited the area?

King's Cross's connectivity was mentioned once again (55%) but warnings were still issued about the incidence of crime and the 'low-life' on the streets (32%). One respondent commented 'I tell them that you can travel from King's Cross to anywhere, but be careful about the drug dealers, the muggers and the prostitutes'. Less than a quarter of respondents mentioned any positive attributes that the area had to offer (canal, restaurants, theatres), although one commented that 'it's not as bad as you think'.

Question 10: How the regeneration has affected you in three words

Many respondents found this question difficult to answer, with the majority referring to physical developments, stating 'noise' (63%), 'building work' (41%) and 37% said 'cleaner'.

Question 11: Awareness of publicity or marketing campaigns about the area

Although only 41% said they were aware of publicity or marketing campaigns, many went on to mention posters in the tube station and 65% commented on the KXP.

7.6 King's Cross Non-Residents

The majority of respondents (62%) were of the age range 25-44, with 19% 16-24, 13% 45-59 and 6% over 60 years. Occupations were split into 35% supervisory/clerical, 14% intermediate managerial and 24% professional/higher managerial, with 11% skilled manual and 12% self-employed and 5% retired. Of those working in the area, 47% had been working there between 1-2 years and 24% less than a year with 29% in the range 3-10 years.

Question 1: Where do you live?

Of the respondents the largest proportion lived in north London (46%) of which 60% Islington, with 37% coming from south London and the Docklands. The remaining 17%

came from a variety of locations, from west London, Sussex and Hertfordshire, in part reflecting the high level of connectivity of King's Cross.

Question 2: Please list below any changes you know about which have taken place at King's Cross

One in two respondents mentioned the train station developments, modernisation and the CTRL construction. Renovation, redevelopment and building work was cited by 29% and 14% mentioned King's Cross Partnership. All comments referred to physical elements of change.

Question 3: How much is the area changing?

Half of those questioned did not think that the area was changing enough, whilst a quarter thought the area was changing 'a little' and a quarter 'a lot'.

Question 4: How changes have left the area?

Although in the previous question, all the respondents replied that there had been change (of varying degrees) 47% thought that the area had remained unaffected, with a third regarding changes leaving it 'a bit better' and a fifth thinking that it had become 'a bit worse'. The decline in the area may be attributable the extent of ongoing construction work and associated disruptions to the roads.

Question 5: Opinion of King's Cross 10 years ago

All respondents gave a negative description commenting on a mixture of physical, environmental and social factors. The area was considered 'dirty', 'seedy', 'grotty', 'run-down', 'rough' and a 'hostile dump' by 40% of respondents, with a third mentioning prostitutes and 40% drugs. 13% commented that the area had a 'bad reputation' and 14% mentioned social problems including poor local economy. One respondent described it as 'seedy and full of alchies but surprisingly safe'.

Question 6: How would you describe King's Cross now?

Responses were quite varied but there remained a negative emphasis on the environmental condition of the area with 19% still referring to the area as a 'dump', 'seedy' or 'dirty' and 25% stating that the area had not changed ('I am still waiting for the change'). Reference to crime, drug dealing and prostitution remained relatively high

(21%), however there was a recognition of a slight decrease by some. Although 19% stated there had been improvements, there was often a caveat that it 'was not a nice place to live and work' or 'you still have the hookers and junkies'. Many responses combined positive and negative opinions (31%) such as 'an area with excellent transport links, some good restaurants, full of open prostitution and drug dealing' but to one respondent the place is just 'exciting'.

Question 7: How would you describe King's Cross to someone who has never visited the area?

Descriptions focused primarily on the social and environmental factors relating to the area rather than any physical features or landmarks. Although 24% commented on the area in a positive light, the area being 'varied', 'interesting' and 'colourful' for example and 23% mentioned its connectivity. However, the majority of comments were more along the line of warnings. 17% suggested that the area should be avoided, 18% that if visiting you should 'look after yourself', be 'careful' and 'keep your eyes from wandering, don't hang about on the street'. The majority (41%) described the area in a negative way (rough, dodgy, seedy, scary, dangerous). There was some room for optimism, it is 'probably going to be somewhere really good in the future' and although 'seedy' it is 'exciting, bark worse than bite, slightly better than Brixton'.

Question 8: Do you think the regeneration work is proving to be successful?

Only 5% of respondents thought the regeneration was proving successful, with the overwhelming majority (86%) stating that they 'didn't know' and 9% responding 'no'.

Question 9: Do you think people in general think of King's Cross differently now?

Nearly a quarter of the respondents agreed that people thought of King's Cross in a different light (23%), with same percentage not knowing. 54% did not think that people's views had changed of the area.

Question 10: Awareness of the work of regeneration agencies

Two thirds of respondents were not aware of any of the agencies. Of the third that were aware, they cited KXP (40%), the Councils Camden and Islington (15%), P&O (5%). The high recognition of Centa (40%) is doubtlessly skewed, given that a proportion of the questionnaires were sent direct to businesses by Centa.

Question 11: Image of King's Cross 10 years ago and now

Ten years ago 92% of respondents had a negative image of King's Cross and only 8% a positive view. Now 43% have a positive view, with 28% negative and 29% unchanged. Given the high proportion that had a negative view 10 years ago it can be assumed that the 'unchanged' view relates to a persistently negative opinion.

Question 12: Are you aware of any publicity or marketing campaigns to do with the area?

63% of respondents were aware of publicity and the majority mentioned the poster campaign on the tube and the hoardings on Pentonville Road and there was some reference to newspaper articles and maps.

7.7 King's Cross Summary

Residents and non-residents all commented about the ongoing construction in relation to the CTRL and other building work. For the majority of non-residents the area was not changing enough, although there was greater recognition of change by residents and more thought the area had improved than non-residents. Perception of the area has improved, only ten years ago 8% of non-residents had a positive view of the area compared to 43% now. In terms of marketing, there was relatively high recognition of the poster campaign, hoardings and the work of KXP by both residents and non-residents.

7.8 Cathall Road Residents

The composition of respondents was 42% male and 58% female and the majority were aged between 25-44 years (48%) with 25% aged 45-59 and 13% 11-15, 12% 16-24 and 2% over 60 years. In terms of occupation, 16% were in full-time education, 11% in part-time employment, 7% were unemployed and the majority (62%) were in full-time employment. Given that the HAT programme was of ten year duration, the majority had lived there for over 10 years, differences relating to the age of the respondent (the two

questions could not be correlated unfortunately because of a banding for the age range and a specific response for the length of residence).

Question 2: Please list below any changes you know about which have taken place at Cathall Road

All respondents cited the physical transformation in terms of housing (100%) and referring to the flats being pulled down. Comments were also made about the reduction in shops (25%), whilst there were conflicting opinions regarding play areas with 21% stating a loss of play areas and 18% citing new play areas and park. Only 5% mentioned the new community building.

Question 3: How much is the area changing?

The majority of respondents claimed that the area was changing 'a lot' (63%) or just the right amount (11%), whilst 10% thought there was not enough change and that the area was only changing 'a little' (10%).

Question 4: How changes have left the area?

There was a resounding response to improvement in the area, with 88% thinking that changes had left the area better and of this 43% thought it was 'a lot better'. Negative response was limited to 7% ('a bit worse') and this was related to the opinion that there had been a reduction in play areas and facilities.

Question 5: What makes you feel good about living here?

78% of respondents remarked upon environmental factors with comments such as 'more open space', 'no dark corridors', the cleanliness of the area. Gardens, new homes and the removal of the flats were also commented upon by 63%. 13% commented on the fact that they were still around the same people as when they were in the flats. 5% were unable to report on any positive attributes or lack of negative ones.

Question 6: What makes you unhappy or angry about living here?

In general comments were made relating to social issues, anti-social behaviour, 'some of the residents' lifestyles' (38%) and the fact that there were still the same people (positive for some in the previous question). One in four respondents stated that they were not unhappy or angry.

Question 7: Opinion of Cathall Road prior to regeneration work

Descriptions of the area were in personal terms and that of the physical environment. One respondent described it as 'claustrophobic, no opportunities for progression, no careers advice programme, no guidance, very stressful, depressing to see no safe facilities for children, grey, no long term plans, very bare and dusty'. People did not feel safe (38%), the flats and car parks were dark, there was a lot of graffiti, it was a 'dump' and 'disgusting'. Whilst one respondent commented that it was 'a ghetto for single mothers' another 'didn't feel safe and felt a bit ashamed'.

Question 8: Opinion of Cathall Road now

For the majority of respondents (63%) the area is much improved, with a 'cleaner environment', 'more opportunities and community involvement' and a 'better area to live'. For one respondent it was now 'a pleasure to say where I live'. There were many positive comments elicited, with one reply stating that Cathall Road was now 'positive, thriving, more opportunity to develop future focus, clean, feel included, part of society in general not just the estate, feel like a normal human being and the place is not so much of an eyesore.' However for 15% of the respondents, although the area had improved to look at, the people had not changed.

Question 9: If someone from Leyton asks you where you live, what do you say?

The vast majority stated Cathall Road (89%) however, 11% commented 'not Cathall Road' reflecting upon how they still perceive the area and how they think a negative association still persists.

Question 11: How would you describe Cathall Road to someone who had never visited the area?

Responses were notable in the lack of reference to physical features of the area and varied from 'I wouldn't, I couldn't' or 'you wouldn't believe me' to 'alright, not bad'. There was not a common feature or attribute of the area that people commented upon. One person said 'I would describe it as the area that never sleeps'.

Question 10: How the regeneration has affected you in three words

In spite of the massive physical transformation and the change of housing provision only 5% commented on their new home and garden. The improved cleanliness of the area was remarked upon (25%) and 28% of responses were 'safer' and 'proud' and 17% commented about off-street parking.

Question 11: Awareness of publicity or marketing campaigns about the area
Although there has been very little publicity or marketing about the area, 10% of respondents referred to the local newspaper.

7.9   Cathall Road Non-Residents

Over half the respondents were aged 25-44 years (53%), with 25% aged 45-59 and 3% over 60 years and 19% aged 16-24 years. Respondents' occupations consisted of 37% managerial, 41% clerical/supervisory with 3% manual and 9% self-employed. Duration of employment in the area was notable in its longevity, corresponding to the age range with 78% being over 25 years in age, with 51% having worked over 10 years in the area, 15% 5-10 years, 21% 1-2 years and 13% less than a year. Of the respondents 46% were male and 54% were female.

It should be noted that retail respondents questioned to the north of the High Street, frequently referred to changes occurring in North Leytonstone, notably the designation of the one-way system and the M11 link road, which resulted in a slight negative skew of answers.

Question 1: Where do you live?
All respondents lived in east London or Essex, with one in three living in Leytonstone.

Question 2: Please list below any changes you know about which have taken place at Cathall Road
There was a dominance of physical changes cited and 98% of respondents commented about the new houses. Other changes mentioned were increased leisure facilities and the park (4%). Social changes were only mentioned by 2% stating increased employment opportunities and community/voluntary groups.

Question 3: How much is the area changing?

The majority of respondents thought the area was changing 'a lot' (52%) with 22% stating that it was changing 'just the right amount' and 'a little'. Those that stated that the area was changing 'too much' were retailers located at the north end of Leytonstone High Street. Of the sample, 26% thought that the area was not changing enough or not at all.

Question 4: How changes have left the area?

The majority of respondents think that the area is changing for the better with 72% regarding the area 'a bit better' and 'a lot better' (although the emphasis was on a bit better). However, 23% had the opinion that changes had left the area 'a lot worse' with 5% regarding the area as 'unchanged'.

Question 5: Opinion of Cathall Road 10 years ago

Opinions of Cathall Road 10 years ago were very negative, with 87% of respondents citing predominately social problems with the area and of this high crime and drugs were commented upon by 39%. Descriptions included references to the area being a 'very rough estate', 'dangerous, messy and inhospitable', 'scary', a 'jungle', that there were a 'lot of hooligans' and 'never walk through the estate showing jewellery or on your own'. Physical references were only to the run-down nature of the estate rather than poor housing environment.

Question 6: How would you describe Cathall Road now?

57% of respondents thought the area was improving, commenting on improvements to the housing and streets, one respondent describing the area as 'Disneyesque, but improved'. 11% commented on positive social aspects such as 'new opportunities', 'pride', 'people more respect'. However 17% still described the area in a negative light, as 'lousy', 'a bit of a violent area' and 'not the nicest area to live in'.

Question 7: How would you describe Cathall Road to someone who has never visited the area?

In spite of generally positive opinions regarding the area and the changes that have occurred this is not transposed into recommendations of the area to people who had

never visited the area. Comments that the area was 'unpleasant', 'rough' and 'not to go there' accounted for 27% of responses including one very negative view of area 'a dump, too much violence, too many drug dealers and too many prostitutes and crack heads etc'. This was in contrast to 33% who mentioned the improvements to the area, 'more amenities', 'better housing', 'an area of opportunities'. Whilst 11% mentioned the tower blocks or the fact that some had come down, only 2% mentioned rejuvenation of run-down estate.

Question 8: Do you think the regeneration work is proving to be successful?

Nearly three quarters of respondents regarded the regeneration as a success (71%), with 28% stating that they didn't know and 1% commenting that it had been unsuccessful.

Question 9: Do you think people in general think of Cathall Road differently now?

Although 56% thought people think of Cathall Road differently now, 17% stated 'no' and 27% didn't know. Given that 87% had a negative impression of Cathall Road 10 years ago, this points to a definite shift in opinion.

Question 10: Awareness of the work of regeneration agencies

Of the respondents, 67% were unaware of the agencies involved and of the 33% who answered yes, all mentioned the HAT, with only 1% mentioning any other agencies (Orient Regeneration, South Leytonstone SRB, Stratford Development Partnership and the Community Health Project).

Question 11: Image of Cathall Road 10 years ago and now

Everyone respondent questioned had a negative view of Cathall Road 10 years ago. There has been a dramatic change of opinion with 67% now having a positive view, with 33% still having a negative view.

Question 12: Are you aware of any publicity or marketing campaigns to do with the area?

Although no respondents were aware of any publicity or marketing, 5% mentioned the local newspaper.

7.10 Cathall Road Summary

Cathall Road has seen not only the whole environment change but also attitudes. There is an overwhelming feeling, certainly by the residents and to a lesser extent the non-residents, that the area has undergone a great change and this has on the whole been for the better. It has become a place that 'people who left want to come back to'. The physical transformation of the area was noted by both groups. For non-residents, a negative perception for all had changed to 67% with a positive view of the area. For residents, the area had greatly improved. Amongst both groups, the HAT was cited in respect of regeneration work, only 1% commenting on the work of the SRB body. Although very little marketing has been undertaken in the area, many mentioned the local newspaper.

7.11 Evaluation of Method

Face to face surveys are a valuable method of eliciting opinions and descriptive answers. The interviewer is able to answer any queries relating to questions that the respondent is unsure of. Even with a pilot study, a questionnaire is not going to be completely robust. Although it is a time-consuming exercise, response rates far exceed that of a postal survey or an email survey. It was found from the pilot study that telephone interviews are more likely to be refused.

7.12 Conclusion

From these surveys it is possible to conclude that whilst people's opinions of the areas of Bankside, Cathall Road are improving and to a lesser extent King's Cross, recognition of the work undertaken by the regeneration partnerships is limited, with the exception of the HAT. King's Cross is still suffering from a negative image from both residents and non-residents, although the high-profile marketing of the KXP is more widely recognised, largely due to the large and colourful hoardings and posters.

Chapter 8   Conclusion

8.1   Introduction

The ultimate aims of the regeneration process can be considered to be changing the perspective of all concerned and engendering physical, social and economic improvements. Place marketing has become an integral part of the majority of urban regeneration programmes, judged by many as necessary to help improve an area's image and encourage inward investment. Shaw & Robinson (1998) in their summary of urban regeneration programmes in the past state that one of the key lessons is that image matters. However in assessing the success of place marketing schemes, the rewards are difficult to separate from other impacts and in many instances are not a tangible output.

8.2   Assessment

The three case study areas are very different in nature and context. Bankside and King's Cross having a greater cross-section to satisfy in terms of businesses and residents. However they are all areas where the intention is to encourage investment with the aim of improving the local economy and steps are taken to ensure that the resident population reaps the benefits of any development in the area. All three areas have strategies in place to improve the physical environment as a means of changing or improving the image of the area. The focus of each programme has different emphasis, however: with Bankside the orientation is to culture and tourism, King's Cross increasingly tourism, physical renewal and social problems whilst Cathall Road is a combination of immense physical change and a very pro-active social regeneration programme.

In terms of the strategy employed by Bankside to "create an image where the city or place is perceived to be unknown" (Teedon 2001: 461) it can be judged to be a success but with recognition of the importance of the flagship development of the Tate Modern underpinning the process. King's Cross has come some way in its attempt to "refine an

undesirable image" (ibid) but there is still a long way to go before a new quarter for London is realised. Negative perception may only be erased when the CTRL is fully operational and King's Cross Central and Regent's Quarter have been redeveloped. Cathall Road has managed to overcome its "undesirable image" to a large extent. However, the negative image associated with a stigmatised estate has not been fully countered.

The value of place-marketing and associated inward investment strategies is questionable as highlighted by the evaluation of outputs achieved by Bankside's Inward Investment strategy. However encouraging investment is fundamental to most regeneration initiatives and as such, methods to facilitate this process cannot be ignored. Whilst physical regeneration may transform areas, and economic and social initiatives help to engender confidence, motivation and unlock the potential 'resources' of the residents themselves, successful regeneration needs to encompass perceptual issues which place marketing strategies serve to address.

Although WFHAT did not employ any marketing strategies, Tim Thurston, a regeneration professional and someone who has been involved in the project from its inception concluded that marketing would have been of value to help accelerate the process. In spite of a tremendous turn around in people's perception of this stigmatised estate, there still persists a negative image association with a proportion of non-residents. These may be entrenched views which are difficult to rectify and may be the result of ignorance of the investment and progress made by the programme in not only the physical fabric but the residents themselves. Integration of the regenerated area into the wider neighbourhood is an important issue to help blur the boundaries and improve acceptance.

Regeneration programmes should involve a continual process of informing residents, non-residents and businesses of the development, its objectives and the positive part they can play in regenerating an area to the benefit of all. Marketing tools used by King's Cross and Bankside were reasonably standardised, part of a tried and tested formula of brochures, magazines, meetings etc. Most regeneration programmes publish and distribute newsletters detailing their work, however from the evaluation at King's Cross, it would appear that these can go largely unread. A re-evaluation is required of how to

best reach its resident population. Perhaps greater use of local newspapers as a medium for regularly informing people should be investigated given the responses from Cathall Road.

Regeneration professionals unanimously agreed that place marketing or marketing in general is a necessary part of urban regeneration. It was regarded as fundamental to raising awareness of the project, encouraging inward investment and to help change people's attitudes to the area. They also agreed that it is harder to change someone's opinion than the physical environment.

"While positive images are difficult to acquire, a good image is never enough. Advertising in glossy magazines is all but the essence of serious urban marketing projects, and is a fractional part of the whole process. A city is a compound product which is assembled by a variety of parts which function only when they are together" (Ave 1994: 152).

Shaw & Robinson (1998: 59) observe that "while the exact relevance of sophisticated 'place marketing' strategies - aimed at transforming the image of traditional urban areas - is open to some doubt, what is clear it that the existence of negative images of run-down, inner-city areas does serve to undermine regeneration efforts." While negative perception persists in such areas, place marketing will doubtless continue to be an integral part of urban regeneration initiatives in one form or another until such time as the return on this investment is comprehensively evaluated and there is a shift in policy.

8.3   Analysis of Research Design

One of the central aims of the research was to determine how place marketing was put into practice in regeneration initiatives. The three case studies focused on the primary regeneration bodies in the areas concerned and their respective local authorities. Other key stakeholders, however were not investigated, the research concentrating on secondary data sources and interviews with regeneration professionals.

The case studies also described the variety of place marketing tools used, such as the use of the internet, poster campaigns, newsletters and magazines. There was however, no robust analysis of these differing tools or assessment of their effectiveness. To adequately assess the implementation of inward investment initiatives, interviews with investors and recently relocated businesses would have been necessary, rather than being reliant, as in the Bankside case study on the SRB outputs collated. Analysis of outputs for the other programmes would have facilitated comparison.

The intention of the survey analysis was to investigate opinion and attempt to address the issue of whether the regeneration programmes had changed people's perceptions of the areas in question and whether time did in fact heal. However, the survey analysis was fundamentally flawed in its design and implementation. A random sample of 30 taken from a population will generally conform to the normal distribution curve and can therefore be taken to be statistically significant. However, there was insufficient research and sampling in order to elicit an adequate cross-section of the population. Variables such as time of day and day of the week that the surveying was undertaken also impacted upon those available to participate. A broader research technique would have been beneficial rather than eliciting responses from door to door surveys of households and businesses, with more extensive visits to community meetings, libraries and other public meeting places. Place marketing strategies invariably target tourism, economic investment, or both. The survey should have therefore been extended to include visitors and tourists especially given the place marketing remit for Bankside and King's Cross.

Lynch (1960: 4) commented that "whilst an individual formulates his own image, there also tends to be considerable conformity among members of the same group, (groups according to age, gender, culture, occupation, temperament for example)". There were shortfalls in the analysis to investigate any such correlations and the question of ethnicity omitted from the personal information sought. The information gathered was only presented in a generalised form, more detailed analysis would have been facilitated by the use of statistical analysis.

Whilst businesses were questioned, there was no investigation as to whether the businesses were recently located in the area and the factors influencing decisions on relocation. As commented in the Bankside case study and the inward investment

outputs, it can prove problematic to establish the primary reasons influencing relocation and whether marketing has impacted upon the decision-making process.

8.4 Policy Implications

There appears to be little substantive evidence from the literature that place marketing is value for money and yet regeneration programmes and local authorities persist in allocating budgets for implementation of marketing initiatives. However, the majority of local authorities and regeneration partnerships, can not or do not undertake market research or comprehensive evaluation of their promotional activities (SERG 1999). With the marketing of any product it is essential to establish your target audience. If place marketing initiatives are to be effective, research is required into what attracted businesses locating in the area and to market those features if tangible assets. This should be an essential component of a place marketing strategy in order to ensure that the policy does not become a 'dead weight', whereby the policy has no impact upon investment and yields no return.

Cathall Road demonstrates that a change of perception can be an organic process. There has been a notable improvement in people's perception of the area where large scale physical transformation has been married to social and community empowerment. The community has been actively involved in the implementation of the regeneration programme and the social and economic benefits have mirrored the scale of the changing physical environment. The case of Cathall Road and the HATs is unusual in the level of investment in the programme, a scale unlikely to be replicated in the foreseeable future. However, the more holistic approach employed, processes that were inclusive to the local communities, is evident in the Neighbourhood Renewal Strategies under the auspices of the developing Local Strategic Partnerships.

8.5 Further Areas of Study

It is apparent that place marketing strategies are not founded upon the pre-existing image of the local population. Promotion of the place is frequently focused on a strap-

line devised across a board-room rather than at grass-roots level. This risks alienating the local communities, rather than "turning them into 'local ambassadors', the primary marketing device of any place" (Murray 2002: 14). Projection of a place does not always readily relate to the situation on the ground, with the promotion of an idealised view. Investigation of the value of involvement of the community in the promotion of their own environment may help yield ideas as to how to improve the effectiveness of marketing campaigns. As Murray states (2002: 14), "in a world of mass communication, word of mouth has lost none of its power". Place marketing should look to cater for insiders as well as outsiders, encouraging people to stay in a location may become increasingly important.

The development of a more robust strategy for evaluating Inward Investment strategies could also be an area of investigation, given the levels of funds that support these marketing strategies, analysis of their outputs should be thoroughly examined to determine if they are in any way cost-effective.

Bibliography

Agnew A & Duncan J, (1989), The power of place, Unwin Hyman

Allport G, (1954), The nature of prejudice, Beacon

Argent St George & London and Continental Railways & Exel, (2001), Principles for a human city, Argent St George

Argent St George & London and Continental Railways & Exel, (2001), Parameters for regeneration, Argent St George

Ashworth G & Voogd H, (1990), Selling the city: marketing approaches in public sector urban planning, Belhaven Press

Ashworth G & Voogd H, (1988), "Marketing the city: concepts, processes and Dutch applications", Town Planning Review, Vol.59, 65-80

Atkinson R & Moon G, (1994), Urban policy in Britain: the city, the state and the market, Macmillan Press Ltd

Ave G, (1994), "Urban planning and strategic urban marketing in Europe" in International conference, (1994), Urban marketing in Europe, Edizioni Torino Incontra, p.126-159

Bailey N, (1995), Partnership agencies in British urban policy, UCL Press

Brownhill S, (1994), "Selling the inner city: regeneration and place marketing in London's Docklands" in Gold J & Ward S (Eds), (1994), Place promotion: The use of publicity and marketing to sell towns and regions, John Wiley & Sons, p.133-151

Burgess J, (1982), "Selling places: environmental images for the executive", Regional Studies, Vol.16, p.1-17

Burgess J & Wood P, (1988) "Decoding Docklands: Place advertising and decision-making strategies of a small firm" in Eyles J & Smith D (Eds), (1988), Qualitative methods in human geography, Polity Press, p.94-117

Cole I, Gidley G, Ritchie C, Simpson D & Wishart B, (1996), Creating coummunities or welfare housing?, Chartered Institute of Housing

Cooke M, (1998), "Housing agencies seek wider role", Urban Environment Today, 30 April 1998, Vol. 44, p.10-12

Cross River Partnership, (1995), SRB Bid Document

Cross River Partnership, (1996), SRB Project Appraisal: Inward Investment Marketing Strategy

Cross River Partnership, SRB Challenge Fund Delivery Plan 2000/2001

Cross River Partnership, London South Central Connections SRB Round 6 Bid

Dalia Lichfield Associates, (1992), Urban regeneration for the 1990s, LPAC

Davies K & Herbert D, (1993), Communities within cities, Belhaven Press

Dean J & Hastings A, (2000), Challenging images: housing estates, stigma and regeneration, The Policy Press

Dearle & Henderson Regeneration, (2001), Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust Brochure

Department of Environment, (1995), The impact of environmental improvements on urban regeneration, HMSO

Edwards M & Mutale E, (2001), Report on the Survey of Households in King's Cross, 2000 Draft Text

Fearnley R, (1997), South Leytonstone SRB Area: Findings from a business survey, University of East London

Foord J & Evans G, (2000), "Landscapes of cultural production and regeneration" in Benson J & Roe M (Eds), Urban lifestyles: spaces, places, people, A A Balkema Publishers, p.249-256

Gold J & Ward S (Eds), (1994), Place promotion: The use of publicity and marketing to sell towns and regions, John Wiley & Sons

Goodey B, (1974), Images of place: essays on environmental perception, communications and education, University of Birmingham Centre for Urban and Regional Studies

Government Office for London, (2000), London South Central: Restoring London's Hidden Quarter

Grasland L & Jensen-Butler, (1997), "The set of cities" in Jensen-Butler C, Shachar A & van Weesep J (Eds), 1997, European cities in competition, Avebury, p.43-75

Healey P, Davoudi S, O'Toole M, Tavsanoglu S & Usher D (Eds), (1992), Rebuilding the city: property-led urban regeneration, E & FN Spon

Jeffrey P & Pounder J, (2000), "Physical and environmental aspects" in Roberts P & Sykes H (Ed), (2000), Urban Regeneration: A Handbook, Sage Publications, p.86-107

Jensen-Butler C, Shachar A & van Weesep J (Eds), (1997), European cities in competition, Avebury

King's Cross Partnership, King's Cross: A New Quarter for London - SRB Challenge Fund Bid September 1995

King's Cross Partnership Delivery Plan Year 4 1999-2000

Krantz M & Schatzl L, (1997), "Marketing the city" in Jensen-Butler C, Shachar A & van Weesep J (Eds), 1997, European cities in competition, Avebury, p.468-493

Landry C, (2000), The creative city, Earthscan Publications Ltd

Lash L & Urry J, (1994), Economies of signs and space, Sage Publications Ltd

Lawless P & Dabinett G, (1995), "Urban regeneration and transport investment: a research agenda", Environment & Planning A, Vol.27, p.1029-1048

Leytonstone Life Issue 1 Winter 1998

Leytonstone Life Issue 2 New Year Edition 1999

Leytonstone Life Issue 3 Spring 1999

Leytonstone Life Issue 5 Spring 2000

Lever W, (1997), "Policies to improve the efficiency of urban areas" in Jensen-Butler C, Shachar A & van Weesep J (Eds), 1997, European cities in competition, Avebury, p. 357-384

Loftman P, Middleton A & Nevin B, (1994), Inter-city competition, place promotion and social justice, University of Central England, Research Paper Series No.13

Loftman P & Nevin B, (1996), "Going for growth: prestige projects in three British cities", Urban Studies, Vol.33, No.6, p.991-1019

London Borough of Camden, (2002), King's Cross Camden's Vision

London Borough of Southwark, (2001), Bankside Autumn & Winter Issues

London Borough of Waltham Forest, (1996), Capital Challenge Fund Bid: Seizing the Opportunities: M11 Strategy, September 1996

London Borough of Waltham Forest, (1997), Community News Sheet Summer 1997: More Money For Leytonstone!

London Planning Advisory Committee, (1995), Summary of Decisions No. 33, 31st January 1995

London Tourist Board, (1996), Cultural Survey of Southwark

Lynch K, (1960), The Image of the City, MIT Press

Martin Caldwell Associates, (1995), Bankside Economic Study, January 1995

McCarthy J, (2000), "Cultural strategies and urban regeneration: the case of Dundee", European Spatial Research & Policy, Vol.7, No.1, 23-36

Madsen H, (1992), "Place-marketing in Liverpool: a review", International Journal of Urban & Regional Research, Vol.16, No.4, 631-640

120

Market Research UK, (2001), Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust: Perception Study 2001

Market Research UK, (2001), Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust: Tenant Survey Trends 1993-2001 October 2001

Martin A, (2002), "King's Cross, for so long a flagrant example of urban lowlife, awaits a massive programme of regeneration", The Daily Telegraph, 12th February 2002

Minton A, (2000), "Bankside powerhouse being reborn", Financial Times, 29th September 2000

Montgomery J, (1995), "The story of Temple Bar: creating Dublin's cultural quarter", Planning Practice & Research, Vol.10, No.2, p.135-172

Mulgan G, (1989), "The changing of the city" in Hall S & Jacques M (Eds), New Times, Lawrence & Wishart

Murray C, (2002), "Stuck in a time warp", New Start, 11 January 2002, p.14

Murray C, (2001), Making sense of place: new approaches to place marketing, Comedia

MVA Tourism & London Tourist Board, (1994), London Tourism

Neill W, (1993), "Physical planning and image enhancement: recent developments in Belfast", International Journal of Urban & Regional Research, Vol.17, No.4

Nicholson G, (1995), "Basic building block in link between people and place", Planning, Vol.1104, p.10

Nicholson G, (1995), "Neighbourhood base puts meaning back in planning", Planning, Vol.1105, p.24-5

Oatley N (Ed), (1988), Cities, economic competition and urban policy, Paul Chapman Publishing

Orient-Regeneration Ltd, Annual Report & Accounts 2000-2001

Paddison R, (1993), "City marketing, image reconstruction and urban regeneration", Urban Studies, Vol.30, No.2, p.339-349

Page S & Hardyman R, (1996), "Place marketing and town centre management: A new tool for urban revitalization", Cities, Vol.13, No.3, p.153-164

Parkes M, (1990), King's Cross Railway Lands, King's Cross Railway Lands Group

Pybus J & de Castella T, (2002), "Manchester estate tries to lose its bad name", Regeneration, 25 January 2002, p.1

Richard Rogers Associates, (2001), Bankside Urban Study: Tate Modern Neighbourhood

Roberts P & Sykes H (Eds), (2000), Urban Regeneration: A Handbook, Sage Publications

Sabbagh K, (2000), Power Into Art: The Making of Tate Modern, Penguin

Schollmann A, Perkins H & Moore K, (2000), "Intersecting global and local influences in urban place promotion: the case of Christchurch, New Zealand", Environment & Planning A, Vol.32, p.55-76

Shaw K & Robinson F, (1998), "Learning from experience?", Town Planning Review, Vol.69, No.1, p.49-63

Simmons M & Kennedy K, (1996), "Thames Gateway - towards sustainable development", Town & Country Planning, Vol.65, No.12, p.332-336

South Leytonstone Community Partnership, SRB Bid: A Contract for Change (SRB 1995)

South Leytonstone Community Partnership, SRB Delivery Plan Year 1 1996/7

Southwark Regeneration, (1999), Bankside Means Business

Smyth H, (1994), Marketing the city: The role of flagship developments in urban regeneration, E & FN Spon

Tavsanoglu S & Healey P, (1992), "Editoral" in Healey P, Davoudi S, O'Toole M, Tavsanoglu S & Usher D (Eds), (1992), Rebuilding the city: Property-led urban regeneration, E & FN Spon

Teedon P, (2001), "Designing a place called Bankside: on defining an unknown space in London", European Planning Studies, Vol.9, No.4, p.459-481

Thornley A, (1996), "Planning policy and the market", in Tewdwr-Jones M (Ed), (1996), British planning policy in transition, UCL Press, p.189-204

Timeout Bankside Edition 2001

Tuan Y, (1975), "Images and mental maps", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol.65, p.205-213

Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust, History of WFHAT 1991-2002

Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust, Tenants' Expectations Document April 1991

Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust, Business Plan 1999-2000

Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust, Annual Report & Accounts 1999-2000

Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust, Annual Report & Accounts 2000-2001

Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust, Annual Report & Accounts 2000-2001

Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust, HAT Update Issue 1 March 2002

Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust, HAT Update Issue 2 April 2002

Ward S, (1998), Selling places: the marketing and promotion of towns and cities 1850-2000, E & FN Spoon

Wheeler K, (1998), "Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust", LEDIS, December 1997/January 1998, A624

Wilkinson S, (1992), "Towards a new city? A case study of image-improvement initiatives in Newcastle upon Tyne" in Healey P, Davoudi S, O'Toole M, Tavsanoglu S & Usher D (Eds), Rebuilding the city: property-led urban regeneration, E & FN Spon

INTERVIEWS

Jo Barfoot	Fund-raising & Marketing Officer, Orient Regeneration
Lisa Carine	Press Officer, London Borough of Camden
Matt Garner	Loan Fund Manager, Centa for Business
Andrea Marshall	Employment Advice, Support & Training, former employee of WFHAT
Ross Moffat	GLA, former Principal Planner at LB of Southwark
Russell Peacock	Planning & Development, LB of Waltham Forest
Anne Rooney	Publicity Projects Manager, King's Cross Partnership
Glenda Shawley	The Training Pack
Savas Sivetidis	Cross River Partnership, former Head of Regeneration LB of Southwark
Joe Slavin	Community Development Officer, Orient Regeneration
Judy Sugg	Communications Manager, King's Cross Partnership
Tim Thurston	Regeneration Dearle & Henderson

WEBSITES

www.argentstgeorge.co.uk King's Cross: The challenge and opportunity

www.artlicence.co.uk Artistic Licence

www.c-london.co.uk/projects/ Central London Partnership

www.d-h.co.uk Dearle & Henderson

www.egs.mmu.ac.uk/research/soc_econ/place_mark Socio-economic Research Group (SERG) 1999, Place marketing, place promotion and place image in the UK and Poland

www.london-first.co.uk/lf/improving_london/area_initiatives/ London First 2001

www.inse1.co.uk/issues/inSE1-46.pdf In SE1 April 2002 Issue 46

www.kingscrosslondon.com (KXL 2001) Press Release: Major regeneration boost approved for King's Cross, 5 December 2001

www.kingscrosslondon.com (KXL 2001a) Press Release: Take another look at King's Cross, 22 November 2001

www.kingscrosslondon.com (KXL 2002) Press Release: Celebration of cream of King's Cross culture, 22 January 2002

www.kingscrosslondon.com (KXL 2001b) Press Release: www.kingscrosslondon.com, 9 May 2001

www.kingscrosslondon.com (KXL 2001c) Press Release: CTRL green light for King's Cross.... At last!, 3 April 2001

www.pla.lbwf.gov.uk: Waltham Forest Urban Regeneration Statement September 1999

www.pla.lbwf.gov.uk: An Economic Profile of Waltham Forest

www.pla.lbwf.gov.uk: Economic Update Report March 2002

www.regentquarter.co.uk/exhibition/consultation.htm (RQ 2001) Regent Quarter Public Exhibition Consultation 2001

www.regentquarter.co.uk/presscuttings.htm (RQ 2002) Highbury & Islington Express

www.statistics.gov.uk/neigbhourhood/

www.thetrainingpack.co.uk The Training Pack

www.urban.dtlr.gov.uk/programmes/srb/index.htm

www.urbanexplorers.co.uk

www.wfhat.co.uk Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust

EXHIBITIONS

From Terraces to Towers and Back Again: Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust Interactive Exhibition and Oral History: Changes in social housing in Waltham Forest from 1950, Vestry House Museum, Walthamstow

Abbreviations

BIDs	Business Improvement Districts
BPS	Bankside Power Station
CBHA	Community Based Housing Association
CLB	Central London Partnership
CTRL	Channel Tunnel Rail Link
DETR	Department for the Environment, Transport and the Regions
DOE	Department of the Environment
DTLR	Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions
GLA	Greater London Assembly
GOR	Government Offices for the Regions
HAT	Housing Action Trust
KXP	King's Cross Partnership
LBWF	London Borough of Waltham Forest
LCR	London and Continental Railways
LDA	London Development Agency
LPAC	London Planning Advisory Committee
MCA	Martin Caldwell Associates
O-REGEN	Orient Regeneration
RDA	Regional Development Agency
SCBAS	South Central Business Advice Service
SDP	Stratford Development Partnership
SME	Small to Medium Sized Enterprise
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget
TBPL	Temple Bar Properties Ltd
TED	Tenants Expectation Document
TGMA	Tate Gallery of Modern Art
USP	Unique Selling Proposition
WFHAT	Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust

Appendix 1: Programmes Delivering in Cathedral Ward

Partnership/Organisation Name	Programme Name
Bankside Business Partnership	Bankside Business Partnership
Bankside Open Spaces Trust	Bankside Open Spaces Trust
Blackfriars Settlement	Blackfriars Settlement
Borough Market Trustees	London's Larder
Coin Street Community Builder	Coin Street Community Builder
Cross River Partnership	London South Central Connections
Cross River Partnership	CRP SRB1-3
Elephant & Castle Regeneration	Elephant Links SRB5
London Development Agency	Borough Market Redevelopment
London South Central Forum	City Growth Strategy
North Southwark Education Act	North Southwark Education Action Zone
Pool of London Partnership	MORE London Bridge SRB6
Pool of London Partnership	PLP SRB4
Pool of London Partnership	PLP SRB2
South Bank Employers Group	South Bank Employers Group
South Bank Partnership	South Bank Partnership
The Circle Initiative	Better Bankside
Waterloo Community Regeneration	Waterloo Community Regeneration
Waterloo Project Board	Opportunity into Reality
Working Links	Southwark Action Team for Jobs

Appendix 2: Cross River Partnership SRB Outputs

SRB Outputs		97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02*	Total
1A (i)	Jobs created	9	0	40	0	0	49
2A	Business start ups	0	2	4	0	0	6
6C	Buildings improved/ brought back into use	0	0	2	0	0	2
9A (i)	Total SRB spend	11,428	5,445	36,479	70,572	9,131	133,055
9A (ii)	Total other public spend	3,086	3,756	39,648	4,041	-	50,531
9A (iii)	Total private sector leverage	-	-	4,639	4,600	-	9,239

*01/02 outputs are for quarters 1 and 2 only

Appendix 3: Questionnaires

QUESTIONNAIRE - KING'S CROSS

This questionnaire is for a project about regeneration and changing what people think of an area. The project is trying to find out what people feel about King's Cross and how these feelings have changed with the regeneration work.

Please complete the spaces below with as much detail as you feel is necessary.

1. Where do you live?

   ....

2. Please list below any changes you know about which have taken place around here

   ....

   ....

   ....

3. On the scale below, please tick how much you think that this area is changing:

   ☐ Not at all   ☐ A little
   ☐ Not enough   ☐ A lot
   ☐ Just about the right amount   ☐ Too much

4. Please tick one of the following which you think apply

   Changes to this area have left it:

   ☐ A lot worse   ☐ A bit better
   ☐ A bit worse   ☐ A lot better
   ☐ Unaffected

5. What makes you feel good about living here?

   ....

   ....

   ....

6. What makes you unhappy or angry about living here?

   ....

   ....

   ....

7. Before the regeneration work started, describe what you thought of King's Cross

   ....

   ....

   ....

8. How would you describe King's Cross now?

   ....

   ....

   ....

9. If someone from Camden were to ask you where you live, what would you say?

   ....

10. If you could live anywhere in London, where would you live and why?

    ....

    ....

    ....

11. How would you describe King's Cross to someone who had never visited the area?

    ....

    ....

    ....

12. Can you sum-up in three words how the regeneration of King's Cross has affected you

    (i) ....

    (ii) ....

    (iii) ....

13.   Are you aware of any publicity or marketing campaigns about the area?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't Know

If yes please give details:

....

....

PERSONAL INFORMATION

These questions are being asked to establish whether the people interviewed for the survey are a representative cross-section of the area's residents. You need not feel obliged to answer these questions but it will help when the results are analysed.

Please state which age group you are in (tick box):

☐ 11-15   ☐ 16-24   ☐ 25-44   ☐ 45-59   ☐ 60 and over

Are you (tick appropriate box):

	In full time education
	In full time employment
	In part time employment
	Unemployed
	Retired
	Carer

Please state how long you have been living here: ....
If less than 18 months, please state which area you were living in before:

....

Please indicate your gender (tick appropriate box)

☐ Male   ☐ Female

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE - CATHALL ROAD - WALTHAM FOREST

This questionnaire is for a project about regeneration and how to change people's opinion of an area. The project is trying to find out what people feel about Cathall Road, Leytonstone and how these feelings have changed with the regeneration work.

Please complete the spaces below with as much detail as you feel is necessary.

4.   Where do you live?

        ....

5.   Please list below any changes you know about which have taken place at Cathall Road

        ....

        ....

        ....

6.   On the scale below, please tick how much you think that this area is changing:

☐ Not at all	☐ A little
☐ Not enough	☐ A lot
☐ Just about the right amount	☐ Too much

4.   Please tick one of the following which you think apply:

        Changes to this area have left it:

☐ A lot worse	☐ A bit better
☐ A bit worse	☐ A lot better
☐ Unaffected	

5.   Before the regeneration work started,10 years ago, describe what you thought of Cathall Rd

        ....

        ....

        ....

6.   How would you describe Cathall Road now?

....

....

....

7.   How would you describe Cathall Road to someone who had never visited the area?

....

....

....

8.   How did people used to refer to Cathall Road (nicknames etc)?

....

....

....

9.   Do you think that the regeneration work at Cathall Road has been a success?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't Know

10.   Do you think that people in general think of Cathall Road differently now?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't Know

11.   Do you know the agencies involved in the regeneration work?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't Know

If yes please list

....

....

....

12.   What image do you have of Cathall Road?

Before the regeneration: After the regeneration:

☐ Positive   ☐ Positive

☐ Negative   ☐ Negative

                                        ☐ Unchanged

13. Are you aware of any publicity or marketing campaigns about the area?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

If yes please give details:

....

....

....

PERSONAL INFORMATION

These questions are being asked to establish whether the people interviewed for the survey are a representative cross-section of the people working in the area. You need not feel obliged to answer these questions but it will help when the results are analysed.

Please state which age group you are in (tick box):

☐ 11-15 ☐ 16-24 ☐ 25-44 ☐ 45-59 ☐ 60 and over

What is your occupation (tick box)?

	Professional / higher managerial		Skilled manual
	Intermediate managerial		Semi and unskilled manual
	Supervisory / clerical		Self-employed
	Other (please state)		

Please state how long you have been working in the area: ....

If less than 18 months, please state which area you were working before:

....

Please indicate your gender (tick appropriate box)

☐ Male ☐ Female

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE