ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

'SPATIAL JUSTICE':

TOWARDS A VALUES-LED FRAMEWORK OF

REGENERATION OUTCOMES IN UK PLANNING

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"truth ... is the daughter of time; the best knowledge is a fruit of the ripest and richest experience"

(Collingwood, 1946 in Thomas, 2016, p.165)

ABSTRACT

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Do planners and policy-makers perceive philosophical underpinnings of UK regeneration as relevant to practice? The contention of this thesis is that such a basis is lacking for regeneration to deliver more spatially just outcomes over time. Would a framework led by values help improve future results for spatial interventions, in terms of the deep values sought in a liberal democratic society? The main objective of this research is to explore the possibility of developing an evaluative framework for 'spatial justice' based on investigating a suite of interventions, to determine what values could be attributable to measured outcomes.

The research takes a real-world phenomenological approach applied through a case study methodology. Qualitative data are collected from historical document analysis, interviews and a survey, codified over time and by governance level, and compared with benchmarking data. The main case study is located in North Kensington, part of a west London borough, over a forty-year timespan. A secondary study tests the mediating contribution of geography and time by examining a regional city centre neighbourhood in Peterborough. The research is informed by professional practice at a regional and strategic level and from a local perspective.

The study explores an existing gap of how to express spatial outcomes linked to liberal democratic values: it examines how articulated values and a nuanced approach to regionalized governance might aid better regeneration outcomes. Findings point towards the usefulness of connected indicators (proxies for deep values) translating into a terminology of 'spatial justice'.

The Colville-Tavistock case study contributes to theory and practice by cross-referencing Liberalism's deep values with regeneration vision and outcomes, through the four-decade longitudinal study. The research offers a basis for appraising strategic spatial interventions, with potential for a 'values-led impact analysis' in terms other than financial: those of spatial justice values sought in a liberal democracy.

Key words: Regeneration, spatial justice, Liberalism, planning theory, city-region, North Kensington, Peterborough

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COPYRIGHT DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis is my own and that the material contained herein has not been substantially used in any other submission for an academic award.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATION	NAME (ADDITIONAL INFORMATION)
AA	Architectural Association
A/F	Analytical framework
ACM	Association for Computing Machinery (organization which holds an annual international conference, the CIKM)
AQI	Air Quality Indicators
ARU	Anglia Ruskin University
ATLAS	Advisory Team for Large Applications (set up in 2004 to improve outcomes for major housing led planning and regeneration projects, supporting the HCA)
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BMDS	Behavioral Measurement Database Services
BSI	British Standards Institution
C/F	Conceptual framework
CABE	Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (merged into Design Council in 2012)
CEMAT	European Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning
CIKM	Conference on Information and Knowledge Management
CIPFA	Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy
CO	Cabinet Office (corporate headquarters and source of policy information)
COMEAP	Committee on the Medical Effects of Air Pollution
CS1	Case Study 1 (thesis case study numbering)
CSO	Central Statistics Office which merged with the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) to become the Office for National Statistics (ONS) in 1996. Published 'Social Trends' (ST)
CT	Colville-Tavistock neighbourhood, North Kensington
D-1	File name of documents analysed in case studies (see Appendix 6)
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government (see also CLG)
DETR	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (dissolved 2001)
DQI	Design Quality Indicator (toolkit for improving design delivery of buildings)
DSIR	Department of Scientific and Industrial Records (disbanded)
ED	Enumeration District
EEDA	East of England Development Agency (RDA for the East of England region, disbanded 2010)
EERA	East of England Regional Assembly
EHO	Environmental Health Officer
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund (one of the European Commission's Structural Funds supporting regeneration)
GCSE	Generation Certificate of Secondary Education (measure of educational attainment which replaced General Certificate of Education 'O levels' in 1988)
GIA	General Improvement Areas (given legal status by the 1969 Housing Act)
GIS	Geographic Information System
GLA	Greater London Authority (promulgated 1996)
GLADCA	Gladstone District Gladstone District Community Association, Peterborough
GLC	Greater London Council (defunct 1986)

GMS	Gender Management System
GO-ER	Government Office for the Eastern Region (closed 2011)
GOS	Government Office for Science
HAA	Housing Action Area
HaPI	Health and Psychosocial Instruments bibliographic database
HCA	Homes and Community Agency (non-departmental government organization founded in 2008 combining housing and regeneration functions of English Partnerships, DCLG and the former Housing Corporation)
HS2	High Speed Rail (proposed rail link from London and northwards)
IER	Individual Electoral Registration
IMD	Indices of Multiple Deprivation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPPR	Institute of Public Policy Research
LDF	Local Development Framework
LDP	Luton Dunstable Partnership (regeneration partnership, circa. 1994-2004)
LEP	Local Enterprise Partnership
LGA	Local Government Association
LPAC	London Planning Advisory Committee (ad hoc London-wide joint committee responsible for strategic planning prior to the GLA
LSOA	Lower layer Super Output Area (a base for geographical area statistics)
MoL	Mayor of London
NAO	National Audit Office
NHHS	Notting Hill Housing Survey (1967 door-to-door survey of Colville-Tavistock and Golborne ward areas)
NPPF	National Planning Policy Framework published by CLG
NUL	New Urban Languages (conference of TU Delft about 'spatial justice' in 2015)
OAN	Objectively assessed needs (identifies housing need in a local authority area)
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (succeeded by DCLG in 2006)
ONS	Office of National Statistics
OPCS	Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys
PACEC	Public and Corporate Economic Consultants (consultancy providing studies on for example regeneration strategies and evaluations of policy)
PCA	Principle component analysis
PM$_{2.5}$	Particulate matter 2.5 micrometres or less in size (particulate pollution measure)
RBKC	Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea
RD1	Research proposal for ARU Professional Doctorate
RDA	Regional Development Agency(ies) (activated in 2000 and abolished in 2010)
RISE	RISE Associates (consultancy, Regeneration In the South and East)
ROI	Return on investment
RQ	Research question
RSS	Regional Spatial Strategy(ies) (revoked in 2010)
RTPI	Royal Town Planning Institute
SEA	Sustainable Environment Assessment
SEEDS	South East Economic Development Strategy (local authority subscription-based association providing economic sectoral studies, 1986 to 2001)
SERPLAN	The London and South East Regional Planning Conference (advisory body for strategic planning for the greater south-east of England, abolished 2001)

SPINDUS	Spatial innovation planning design and user involvement (research project)
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget (regeneration programme funded by central government, administered through RDAs after their inception)
ST	Social Trends (published by CSO annually from 1970 to 2012)
TU Delft	Delft University of Technology, Netherlands
UCL	University College London
UCUI	Understanding the City with Urban Informatics (using information produced by modern cities to gain insights into their functionality)
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UK	United Kingdom (includes England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland)
URBAN II	European funding programme (2000-2006) for urban regeneration, aimed to promote community-led regeneration projects

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The case study central to this research is about a place where I lived from 1974 for nearly two decades. It was a transitional neighbourhood – houses today gone tomorrow. I was new to this country, and new to London, and very new to being a university student[1]. Lucky enough to have a grant but not fortunate enough to have a house or a home, I was parachuted into a decaying housing structure in Notting Hill, with a head full of 'human rights' and just a little political consciousness from working at Amnesty International - each of these factors giving this young Australian woman a world-view of 'fairness' and justice and a belief in real possibilities for everything to get better.

The area gave me the opportunity to be in and a part of a strong community albeit with a crumbling infrastructure[2]. Since then my research has found archives exist of that time, and yes it was 'interesting times' [3]. Were they times that might be replicated – were they times that are worth replicating? I've taken many years as a regeneration professional working to see for example if area-based nurseries could be made available to any place that I had influence in; I've strived to find ways of supporting families in the transition from declining to regenerated neighbourhoods. I've tried the electoral route (both voting and standing for election[4]) in order to contribute to these and other programmes[5]. So yes as a professional I can say empirically that some projects from past times are translatable. However, that view was rooted for me in feelings and anecdotes. Now I want to *think*, to *test* and if possible to *know* if similar cohesive communities can grow and thrive elsewhere, without destructive forces like rising and excluding house prices. Let us see whether the rigour of academia can help to untangle the strands of community, governance and evaluation over time, and lead on to a clearer position on concepts of 'spatial justice' and its component parts that might help make a contribution however modest to future improved practice in regenerating place.

As the thesis emerges from these personal and practice-based experiences, it is clearly positional at the outset: North Kensington made it possible for me to study, be a parent, and have a creative side replenished. That experience provided the start to a long career as a policy adviser, researcher and regeneration professional. This research also draws on and sources my exploration of the philosophy of citizenship as a Masters student[6]. Lastly, I owe a truth to that neighbourhood, to the politicians I've worked with since then, to the people who agreed to be interviewed for this research and to others in my profession in contributing to further defining the idea and measure of 'spatial justice' in UK cities and their regions. Therefore locating this drive in a theoretical perspective in line with the research aim and its objectives requires that the usual scholarly approach to research is specified from the start by stating that positionality is identified as a strength which contributes to practice-based research for a Professional Doctorate. Steps such as clarifying assumptions and limitations of data in comparative studies and accessing a balanced range of archived literature are integrated into this study mitigating possible perceived researcher bias attached to an 'insider' approach while benefiting from that perspective and its understandings.

Sarah J. Bissett Scott, April 2018

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[1] Bissett Johnson, S., 1978. *'Urban Improvement': The State v. North Kensington.* DipAA(Plnng) dissertation.

[2] See 'regeneration' people and places: Notting Hill 1976 http://www.rise-gallery.org/exhibitxdeion-2012 for images of the North Kensington landscape during its redevelopment in the 1970s created by the author for a student project

[3] *Corrugated Times*' was launched in 1975, focused on housing, childcare, a perspective on employment and the local neighbourhood of Colville-Tavistock in North Kensington. Archived issues of *CT* are available at the Local Studies section of the RBKC Library and were deposited in the British Library in late 2016 as part of the Mike Braybrook Archives (the Colville-Tavistock community print workshop records from 1974 to 1986.

[4] Archived UK Parliamentary General Election results for 1992. Available at
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Hertfordshire_(UK_Parliament_constituency)#Elections_in_the_1990s

[5] For example, professional projects such as the GLC Community Area Regeneration (1986), Luton SRB programme (1994); Peterborough Urban II programme (2003) Northhampton Neighbourhood Renewal (2004)

[6] *Is a Liberal Theory of Citizenship Adequate?* MA(Philos) dissertation (2008). Open University, Milton Keynes.

PART I Setting the scene

The professional gap, background theory, and conceptual framework

CHAPTER ONE:

DOES REGENERATION NEED TO ARTICULATE ITS VALUE OBJECTIVES?

Chapter Objectives
- Establish a context for the research question
- Identify gaps in professional knowledge and practice
- Research objectives
- Specify working definitions
- Research design outline

1   A QUESTION OF VALUES

Can we capture the intangible values of liberal democracy entailed in the philosophy of Liberalism, those of 'justice as fairness' (Rawls, 1999, pp.10-12), as measured outcomes in the practice of regeneration? Some theorists believe we should (Marcuse, et al., 2009; Fainstein, 2013). Some policy-makers recognize the need (Mulgan, 2016). Some practitioners say it is time to do so (Sarsfield, 2017). My professional practice in this field over a number of decades indicates that principles as entailed for example in Rawls's 'justice as fairness' are rarely spelled out in relation to spatial interventions and would be helpful if they were to be articulated in relation to everyday practice. The research proposition is backed in recent public statements by key delivery agencies implying that the link between 'deep values' and long-term outcomes is yet to be clearly articulated (Wong, et al., 2008; Wong and Watkins, 2009; CLG, 2012; Farrell, 2014; Hall, 2016). Therefore, the motivation for researching this professional doctorate is the recognised gap in measuring the spatiality of social justice as a consequence of regeneration practice within the United Kingdom (UK) spatial planning system (Dikeç, 2009a). Governance and accountability have a role too, with their level or scale playing a part in deciding what and how interventions are undertaken as well as who participates and maintains control (Marcuse, et al., 2009; Young, 2011). With this in mind, the main research question for this thesis is as follows:

> **What contribution would a values-led framework make in establishing whether UK regeneration practice is successful in producing spatially-just outcomes over time, and which levels of governance mediate such outcomes?**

1.1 CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

This research is designed to examine the political philosophy and theoretical underpinnings of UK regeneration policy delivery longitudinally in order to assess the **possibility of developing an evaluative framework for 'spatial justice'** which would further improve outcomes for future practice. A primary research objective is to articulate how regeneration outcomes might be expressed in relation to values entailing 'spatial justice'.

A continuing discourse of 'spatial justice' has been a focus in the work of theorists such as Lefebvre (1991), Massey (1994), Harvey and Braun (1996), Soja (2009), and others over the past several decades. More recently Marcuse, et al. (2009); Moulaert, Schreurs and Van Dyck (2011), Fainstein (2010; 2013) and Bell and Davoudi (2016) have sought to specify 'spatial justice' in practical and philosophical terms, with important differences attributed to the concept, whether it be place-based, economically-defined, socially-scoped, or environmentally-focused. This study develops in particular from Fainstein's focus on justice in Liberalism (2010, p.3-9) and her empirical approach to identifying factors like decision-making and governance in shaping a 'just city' (ibid, p.9 and p.24).

A **working definition** is a necessary starting point for examining theory and practice and later for shaping research actions. Therefore this contested notion of 'spatial justice' is summarised as **'the spatial expression of social justice'**, providing continuity and focus during the exploratory stages of research, with the possibility of reviewing the definition at its conclusion (Glickman and van Dyk, 2007; Trafford and Leshem, 2008). The components of a proposed framework for examining this notion are examined in order to determine whether they form a useful measuring tool for the outcomes of regeneration programmes. The aim of the research process is therefore to anticipate how to achieve improved future results for spatial interventions in terms of the values sought within political liberalism (Bell and Davoudi, 2016) using a place-based conceptualization.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The gap in professional practice experienced by the researcher, who worked as a strategic planner over two decades, is the lack of a coherent interrelated metric of social justice outcomes from spatial interventions. There are clearly many forms of strategic issues entailed in strategic planning (Blyth, et al., 2015), and the implementation of regeneration programmes is one such type. This problem exists at the outset of interventions, is manifested at evaluation points, and continues over the long term, with

few examples of monitoring over a forty-year period. This thesis aims to examine systematically a series of criteria indicators that could support evaluating outcomes in terms of deep values.

The **identified problem** is the lack of coherency and continuity in the practice of stating, monitoring and evaluating the achievement of the deep values sought for a liberal democracy, in the interaction of the planning system within the political system and in delivering lasting outcomes from spatial interventions. Without an evaluative framework, this gap appears to have consequences for stakeholders, including professionals and communities, in not having robust and agreed evaluative standards. For example, (a) short-term financial pressure can take precedence over longer-term prospects for quality standards, (b) professional judgments between competing pressures, such as local or national interests, are less transparent, and (c) stakeholders are less supported in arguing for long-term community objectives over short-term expediency. The **lack of 'justice-based' research** in relation to the effects of spatial interventions **in regeneration over the long term** has been identified by, for example, Edwards (2013) and in the GoWell project (Bond, et al., 2013). Edwards calls for longitudinal regeneration research to help distinguish good policies from poor with an emphasis on the independence of this type of study. Bond's team finds that evidence is sparse for the policy assumption that housing-led area regeneration strategies would contribute health improvements and reduce social health inequalities. Similar concerns are raised about evidential outcomes from larger scale developments, such as the New Town Movement (DCLG, 2006) and their communities (Stott, et al., 2009). This research is therefore designed to find out whether this apparent lack of coherence and continuity in measured outcomes is real, and if so whether there is a prospect of developing a framework that is translatable between established deep values and measurable indicators of 'spatial justice' criteria.

1.3 RESEARCH AIMS

1.3.1 Aims

- To assess the translation of philosophical values into regeneration indicators and their retranslation to values, and
- To provide an evaluative framework which can aid practice by identifying the strengths and anomalies in the spatial outcomes of future regeneration programmes.

1.3.2 Research objectives and steps to meet the aims

The objective was to provide comparative data over time and at different levels of

geographic accountability (local and strategic) to form an assessment of the research aims. The research was structured by a set of process objectives: developing and reviewing a conceptual framework, selecting key success evaluation criteria for 'spatial justice' and then applying, establishing, and reviewing an analytical framework for the case study data, set out in Table 1.1.

1.3.3 Boundaries of the research

The study takes a historical perspective on implemented regeneration over some decades, and, in its recommendations, it develops a forward-looking perspective on anticipated outcomes. The purpose is to seek propositions for improving current and future practice by comparing both perspectives and expand on the philosophy and practice in regeneration.

Table 1.1 Research process objectives, their purpose, and how to achieve them

	OBJECTIVE	**PURPOSE AND METHOD**	**CHAPTER**
A	Develop a Conceptual Framework (C/F)	Examine the philosophical underpinnings of planning theory and regeneration practice in order to Identify a relevant research paradigm for key regeneration factors and their inter-relationships	**2 and 3:**
B	Select criteria for key evaluative indicators and apply	Identify indicators for evaluating 'spatial justice' in regeneration practice from factors within the C/F (e.g. spatial measures of social justice)	**3**
C	Establish an Analytical Framework (A/F) and review	Provide a detailed A/F for the research question within selected regeneration projects in the south of England by developing a detailed methodology for collecting relevant comparative data (longitudinal and geographical) for the key indicators identified; test and review	**5**
D	Apply the A/F	Test the validity of the A/F through its application to another similar project in the East of England	**7**
E	Review the C/F	Revise, redefine, or reformulate the initial C/F as a basis for clarifying values and defining spatial justice	**7**
F	Outline an evaluative framework for 'spatial justice' in regeneration outcomes	Provide an explanatory outcome in a practice-based scenario that identifies scale, temporal strengths and predictability, and anomalies in spatial outcomes for future regeneration programmes Use the concluding results to articulate any theoretical implications	**8**

1.4 WORKING DEFINITIONS

1.4.1 The basics

A definition of **'spatial justice'** will be developed during this research, but all journeys have a beginning. The conceptual starting point for this research is to draw an analogy between Rawls' conceptualisation of how principles of 'justice as fairness' would lead to institutions that are the basic structure of society (Rawls, 1999; Freeman, 2007). A set of assumptions provides components for an initial conceptual framework. **Working definitions** arose from an initial literature review of planning theory and regeneration practice (Smith, 1982; Hubbard and Kitchin, 2010). Social and political elements relating to a theoretical approach to 'spatial justice' are presented in this section, for the purpose of defining how basic terms are to be used in this study, since for example sociology, political sociology, planning theory and political ideology have phrases and words that are, at times, interpreted as ambiguous, conflicting, or contentious.

A **review** of political philosophies, historical and topical (Chapter 2) is presented to make the case for a present-day examination of planning theories and their relationship to practice in the 21st century. The literature review looks in more depth at specific issues for a contemporary theory of 'spatial justice' and what practical tools would contribute to implementing a system that is more spatially just.

The concept of **professional practice** is understood as a body of thinking that produces a set of rules to which practitioners can reference, as well as the standards or quality to which others can reasonably expect a professional practitioner to match or exceed, for example the code of professional conduct and for Members of the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) and the 'high sense of professional ethic is crucial to planners'…judgement' (RTPI, 2017). The aim is to research the topic through an independent and systematic research approach which bridges the theory-practice divide through reflective practice. Steps have been put in place to (a) draw the reader's attention to the benefits of an emic approach, its contribution to an informed assessment of the research outcomes and any inbuilt bias that may occur, and (b) acknowledge the strengths and weaknesses of a post-positivistic research methodology exploring a values-based framework, the purpose of this research (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

1.4.2 Scope of the Research

At the outset, an initial premise of this research project was that sustaining 'spatial justice' requires a flexible but principled response from the system of land use management, i.e. planning. This approach is embedded in legislation in some countries,

for example in Australia where 'strategic spatial plans for metropolitan areas are regarded as "blueprints for infrastructure planning and investment" with a "proclivity to detailed prescription"' (KPMG, 2010 cited in Balducci, et al., 2011, p.483). In the UK 'sustainability' is included in the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) referring to its spatial implications (CLG, 2012, Paragraph 154), in twelve principles of planning (ibid., Paragraph 17) and for strategic priorities (ibid., for example Paragraphs 156-57 and 218). The geographic scope of the research is England (within two strategic areas of London and the East of England) and the regulatory system that applies there (Chapter 5).

1.4.3   Conclusions on 'working definitions'

The components that comprise a view on 'spatial justice' for this research are in five categories. The first is the philosophy, theory, and concepts that underpin the research approach. Next is the means by which these concepts will be transposed from theory into practice, proposed to be the political agenda that develops policy with spatial outcomes. The third section is the level of governance at which policies are segmented for implementation, i.e. the context of national, regional, or city-regional, which can be further sub-divided into borough, locality, and neighbourhood. Policies are categorised in the fourth section as the mechanisms through which planning and regeneration interventions are implemented. The fifth section is the reality: consequences and experience of interventions in practice (Figure 1.1). These components are examined throughout the thesis and provide a frame of reference for the evaluation of practice in the concluding stage of the research (Chapter 7 and 8).
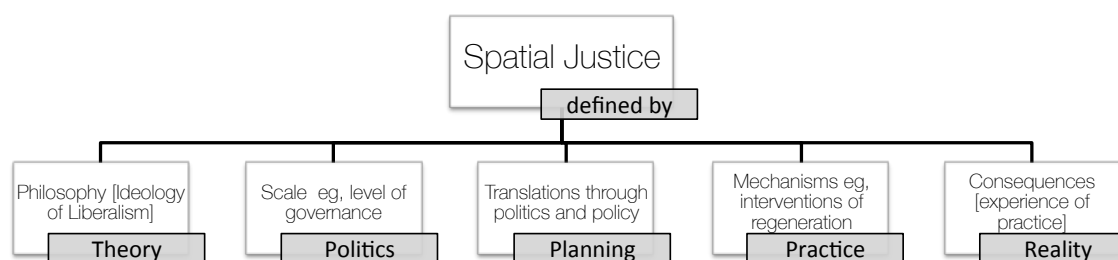
Figure 1.1 Working definition of components of 'spatial justice' for regeneration

1.5 OUTLINE OF THE METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

1.5.1   Setting out the route

An outline of the research programme (Figure 1.2) shows a route through the iterative process of research questions, framework, methodology, research design, analysis,

conclusions, reflections, and review (Trafford and Leshem, 2008; Morley, 2014). An appropriate methodology was selected for contextualising the concept of 'spatial justice' in regeneration practice and also for relating it to planning theory through critical realism. A case study of North Kensington (from 1976 to 2012) took a real-world phenomenological approach using mixed methods to test if social equity in spatial terms has values that can be assessed. Analysis of the concept of 'spatial justice' aimed to uncover if there are prospects for increasing the democratisation of space and for assessing the spatial implications of socio-economic policies and practice within the construct of Liberalism. The study follows three decades of the researcher's experience as a regeneration practitioner in south-east England and London.
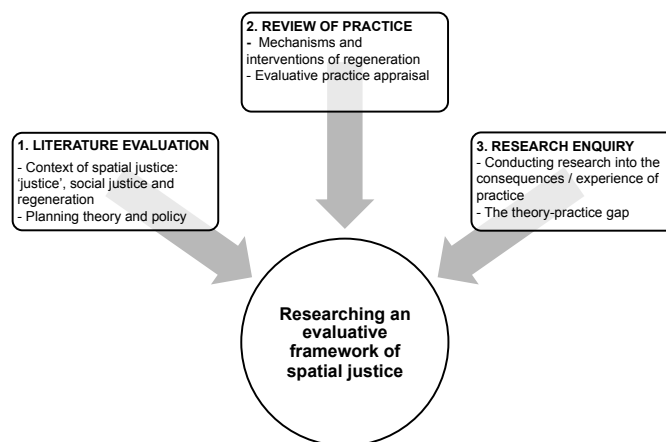
Figure 1.2 Research outline

1.5.2   Implications for research structure

The outline route that informs the structure of this thesis developed from an identified practice-based problem based on professional experience of regeneration and strategic planning. The research proposal sprang from looking into housing finance and urban accessibility (Bissett Johnson, 1978; 1982), and then into regional and economic spatialities in the 1970s and 80s (Murray, 1990) prior to the practical experience of delivering and evaluating regeneration programmes in London and its surrounding regions from the 1980s to the present decade. This research is structured to extract a practice-based solution from combining theoretical and phenomenological examinations within an appropriate methodology. This iterative process flows from the research question, the literature evaluating theory and practice from the general to the specific. The theoretical perspective of critical realism informed the conceptual framework, research design and methodology, and was applied to refocus on the research question.

1.5.3   Thesis structure

The three-part thesis has eight chapters (see Figure 1.3), each having a scholarly contribution to make in exploring different aspects of the values of 'spatial justice' in regeneration outcomes. In **Part I**, the introduction (Chapter **1**) identifies the gap in professional practice, the developing form of the research project, the research process and a working definition of 'spatial justice'. In Chapter **2**, an evaluation of the literature addresses the philosophical underpinnings and theory of planning and its practices, including empirical examples of regeneration and an appraisal of relevant evaluation practice. In Chapter **3**, the link between practice and concept is developed in three steps: setting a theoretical perspective from which a staged conceptual framework is developed, drawing out key criteria of how achieving 'spatial justice' might be perceived, and locating indicators that might represent measures of the criteria in the area of regeneration. The chapter concludes with balancing how the methodological approach and the initial conceptual framework will work together, extracting what key criteria and indicators are an appropriate foundation for this research. In **Part II**, the research methods and design (Chapter **4**) are outlined detailing how a case study methodology is used for obtaining phenomenological evidence about the concepts being researched and what methods will be used to acquire data relevant to the research question. Chapter **5** develops the analytical framework, addressing data dimensions and limitations and the shape of research drivers designed to interrogate and analyse the data collected. A pilot of the research design tests and adjusts the case study structure. Data collection results are presented in Chapter **6** and analysed and interpreted in Chapter **7**, using a mini-case study for reviewing the research objective from governance levels**. Part III** rounds up the research in Chapter **8** in the form of conclusions, recommendations, and reflections and is followed by **References**. **Ethics** procedures are appended (**Appendices 1 to 3**), with the interview questionnaire at Appendix **4** and background to case study choices in Appendix **5**. Appendix **6** provides a list of key documents analysed in the case studies.

PART I	**PART II**	**PART III**	**APPENDICES**
Setting the scene	**Research methodology and implementation**	**Conclusions and recommendations**	

① Introduction: professional gap and research question, working definitions and research objectives

④ Research design and methods assessed: the case study structure

⑧ Conclusions: situating research, conclusions, contribution to knowledge and reflections on the methodology

1 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

② Evaluating literature: philosophy, theory, empiricism and evaluative practice

⑤ Analytical framework: data dimensions and limitations; piloting the case study

2 PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

3 PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

③ From practice to concept: key criteria in a conceptual framework

⑥ Presentation of evidence: CS0 and CS1 North Kensington

4 INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

5 CASE STUDY BACKGROUND

⑦ Analysis and interpretation of case study results; findings

6 KEY DOCUMENTS FOR CS1 AND CS2

Figure 1.3 Thesis chapter structure

CHAPTER TWO:

CRITICALLY EVALUATING THE LITERATURE ON THEORY AND PRACTICE

Chapter Objectives
- Frame the evaluation of literature
- Explore definitions of social justice, regeneration, and Liberalism
- Contextualise 'justice' in a liberal democracy
- Relate spatial theory to planning and regeneration
- Develop a definition of 'spatial justice' to establish its 'success' criteria
- Assess the extent of current evaluative practice

2 PLACING THE RESEARCH IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LITERATURE

By articulating a framework for evaluating practical outcomes in terms of 'spatial justice' expectations within a liberal democracy, this chapter provides a historical background and contemporary context to the contested notion of 'spatial justice' and its relationship to concepts of Liberalism and values entailed within them. In order to ascertain whether such 'intangible' values are translatable into measurable (tangible) criteria, the literature of planning theory and its conversion into policy and practice will be contextualised. Theories of planning and the practice of regeneration will be compared, and working definitions will be developed to clarify the use of terminology as a context for this research. While examining current evaluative practice, related research will be introduced with supporting evidence of the gap in knowledge and practice of effective assessments of regeneration in terms of broader values, particularly over the longer term and as a basis for improving future practice. The concluding section will establish the reasons for selecting a specific theoretical perspective for this research.

2.1 THE THEORY THAT FRAMES THE QUESTION

Would the development of evaluative tools reveal whether or to what extent regeneration's spatial outcomes fail to deliver justice in relation to geography? Seeking to relate deep values of a liberal democratic society with measures of social justice in a spatial context, critical discourses of political liberalism have space as a necessary dimension of society, as 'currency', 'distribution' and 'scope' (scale of governance) (Bell and Davoudi, 2016, pp.2-6). The field is complex and contested, and a wider scope than this research. Nevertheless, the notion of Liberalism is outlined sufficiently below to take

a meaningful theoretical perspective on focusing in on UK regeneration practice outcomes. Liberalism dominates western political thought. It entails normative beliefs based on a concern for individual freedom and autonomy as self-rule, where the state is regarded as a neutral enforcer, and liberal democracy is the framework for governing society with impartial principles of justice. Historically, Liberalism has been defined as a political theory that postulates freedom and equality of all individuals (Hoffman, 2007, p.95; Bissett Scott, 2008, pp.24-27). The distributive nature and decisions about its use are components for the possibility of achieving just outcomes from social organisation. It is possible that enhancing the interface between theory and practice in respect to considerations might deliver better outcomes. The first aim of evaluating the existing literature assessed what theoretical and empirical evidence is available regarding 'spatial justice' in regeneration outcomes in the UK. The second aim was collecting information about the evaluative practices that are, or have been, used to measure outcomes, with the purpose of critically assessing the degree to which such practices express the relationship between deep values and the measured outcomes of specific policy interventions, as well as shaping the conceptual framework (see Chapter 3).

2.2 LITERATURE SEARCH METHODS

2.2.1   Framing the literature evaluation

The literature was reviewed systematically by categorising first in the context of 'philosophy and theory', then on planning systems and spatial policy interventions, and eventually leading to the practice of regeneration (Figure 2.1). Policy, political contexts, and practice were run in parallel on topics related to the research question (e.g. digital society, gentrification, community relations, and regional policy) (Ridley, 2012).
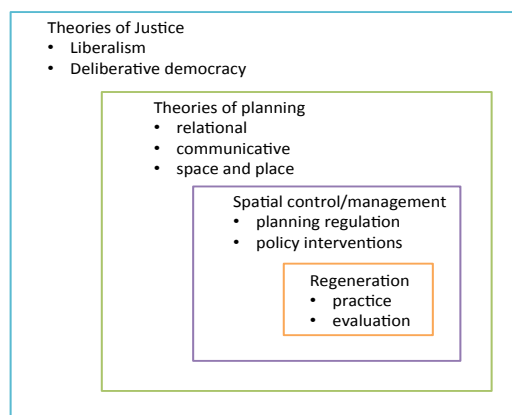
Figure 2.1 Research frame for the evaluation of literature (adapted from descriptions in Ridley, 2012)

The evaluation was structured so a philosophical foundation could be used in developing the theoretical context of spatiality in the UK planning system, the concepts entailed therein, and their predictive content. The historical background and contemporary context to the contested notion of 'spatial justice' provide a framework for understanding the concepts of Liberalism and embedded values in relation to the core question of regeneration outcomes. The literature of planning theory and its translation into policy and practice were contextualised to see whether 'intangible' values could be translatable into measurable (tangible) criteria (see Figure 2.2).

Economic activity
People as entities
Space and place
Environmental quality
Participation

TANGIBLES

INTANGIBLES

'State of the economy'
Perceptions of well-being
Institutions of governance
Community cohesion
Values of society
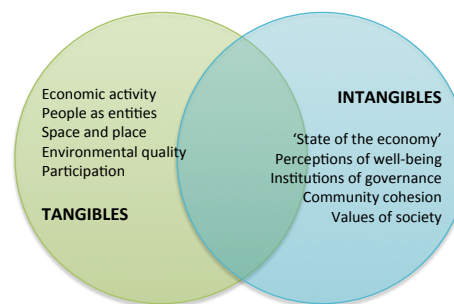
Figure 2.2 Separating tangible from intangible values in seeking 'spatial justice' (adapted from descriptions in Soja, 2010)

Theories of planning and the practice of regeneration were compared. The approach was analytical, with a periodized account of regeneration in bounded geographical contexts (Gomm, et al., 2000; Dunleavy, 2003; Gray, 2009; Yin, 2013). Arriving at an account of this research into regeneration targets for the future, an *ad hoc* list of measures was applied in the manner of strategic infrastructure planning and process modelling. Categories were applied differently in a set of circumstances (Vigar, 2009; Affleck, 2015; Blyth, et al., 2015). Arriving at an account of this research into regeneration draws on explorations of other social sciences and the perceived implications of researcher accountability in relation for example to positivism, critical rationalism, scientific realism, interpretivism and critical theory (May and Williams, 1996; DePoy, et al., 2011). When setting a theoretic context, the research question makes reference to a debate that raged in the 1960s and 1970s for people affected by planning decisions. The debate is whether an approach substantially based on quantitative data for planning system investigations would encompass the real-world outcomes of what has been described as mechanistic modeling of urban conditions (Thrift, et al., 1987; Latour, 2005; Hubbard and Kitchin, 2010, pp.214-215 and pp.287-88). A number of matters relevant to this study and relating to spatial planning have changed since that debate in the 1960s and 70s. For example, an anti-positivist approach which excluded

measuring programme outcomes has given way to the necessity for documenting outcomes quantitatively (Foden, et al., 2010; Boddy and Hickman, 2016), although some critiques point to the increased complexity in policies and institutions which cause a reduction in citizens' capabilities to participate successfully (Dunleavy, et al., 2006). Nevertheless, the development of more adept methods of digitally recording a wide range of social attributes means that information and data is increasingly accessible for analysis (Pettit, et al., 2012; Foth, 2015). Clearly, the increase in digital resources has the potential for better data mining but there remains a clear need for clarity on the ethics of using this data adequately particularly in relation to spatiality (Hambleton, 2015; Rose, 2015). In this sense, understanding the values of spatiality in an emerging digital society can be seen as a pressing requirement (Batty, 2015; Bourdin, 2015). Some of the limitations of earlier quantitative approaches which produced spatially-based policy were predicted to be overcome with continuing developments in data acquisition methods and spatial representations (Shekhar, 2003; Blyth, et al., 2015). However, there are new limitations of intentionality (expressed as algorithms) in data analysis practice that need to be addressed (Teevan and Zhou, 2015). A starting point for the methodological approach of this study is that both quantitative and qualitative techniques are essential components for developing an understanding of the ethics of spatial equity that inform the evaluative framework of 'spatial justice' (Bissett Scott, 2015b). The nesting of the evaluation of regeneration outcomes inside the management of spatial planning policy and practice emerges from theories of planning. The outline for defining 'spatial justice' is shown in Figure 1.1. Developing and positioning theoretical debates within the perspective of theories of justice in a liberal democracy thus provides the framework for evaluation of literature relevant to 'spatial justice'.

2.3 THEORIES OF JUSTICE

2.3.1 Defining the 'justice' in 'spatial justice'

The working definition of 'spatial justice' links it to the spatiality of social justice. As a *modus operandi* of the research, the concept of 'spatial justice' began as being interpreted and examined along a continuum, extrapolating from theorists such as Dikeç (2009a; 2009b) and Schlosberg (2013) who discussed the 'spatiality of injustice' in a dialectical relationship with 'the injustice of spatiality' (Dikeç, 2009a, p.80). In the conceptualisation of this research into 'spatial justice', the place and space where social justice is carried out is considered for the purpose of understanding the contrasting end of the continuum where the spatiality of social justice - the physical outcome - occurs. The researcher's understanding of a liberal theory of citizenship (Bissett Scott, 2008)

provides a foundation to explore a lack of anchoring a Rawlsian conception of 'justice as fairness' in place, notable by its absence (Young, 1990; Fainstein, 2007). Although Rawls' conceptualisation has been heavily critiqued, for example by Amartya Sen (2010, p.244), as being 'transcendental', that is, highly idealised and unable to provide scope for incremental improvements in the real world by, for example, comparison between different distributions of capabilities between persons Rawls remains a primary source for the 'interpretation of liberal democratic objectives of social justice', for identifying the nature of the 'just society', and for discussions of equality (Fainstein, 2007, p.71; Sen, 2010, p.244-45).   For Rawls, in an ideal world, if systems of justice and social institutions were to be created behind a 'veil of ignorance' where those setting up society did not know where they would be in the social hierarchy of that world, then the combination of ideas of fairness combined with 'principles of justice' would illuminate the institutions needed for the basic structure of a well-functioning society, that is, 'society's main political, social, and economic institutions, and how they fit together into one unified system of social cooperation' (Rawls, 1985, p. 225) As a 'thought experiment' and a summary of applying ethics, it captures the imagination. Therefore, the notion of 'justice as fairness' is taken as an adequate basis for seeking a view on a just outcome for spatiality in social justice. What would the components of the institutions required for the basic structure of society addressing spatiality look like? The conceptualisation of Rawls does not put social institutions into 'place', nor it would seem, develop them within a spatial concept of 'justice as fairness' (Freeman, 2003, 2007; Dikeç, 2009a; Moulaert, et al., 2011; Featherstone and Painter, 2012, p.228), so what would these institutions look like emerging from the application of the principles of justice with the idea of fairness if applied to the planning system in delivering regeneration? (Figure 2.3)

Idea of fairness

Principles of Justice

Identifies institutions needed for basic structure of society
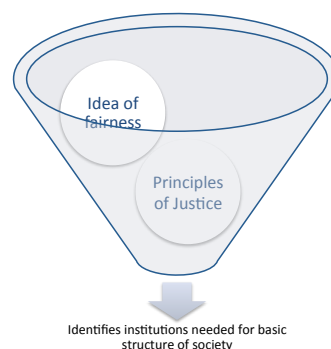
Figure 2.3 Institutions needed for 'justice as fairness' (adapted from descriptions in Rawls, 1985; 1999)

2.3.2 'Social justice' expressed spatially

'Spatial justice as the spatial expression of social justice' provides a working definition that is an effective vehicle for the rapid dissemination of the concept to newcomers to the research question. However, this phrase is contentious, for example, by requiring a fuller definition of 'social justice.' Therefore, the concept has been
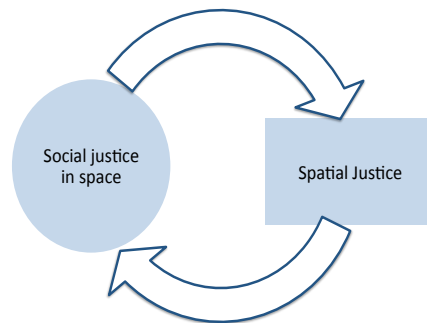
Figure 2.4 Connections between space and social justice (from descriptions in Dikeç, 2009a)

iteratively re-defined over the development of the research. In defining 'spatial justice' in relation to 'social justice', social justice itself requires a definition. For this research, an interpretation of 'social justice' is derived from early readings of Rawls (1972; Freeman, 2007) and supported through an appraisal of more contemporary approaches which express 'social justice' as the fair and just relation between the individual and society. Rawls' theory of 'justice as fairness' follows two primary principles:

- Equal basic liberties for all in a society (the **'equal liberties principle')**; and
- Inequalities would be acceptable only if they were to be governed through positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity; and, following that position, if they were to be to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society **('equal opportunities principle')** (Freeman, 2003, pp.42-43).

Rawls views these principles as ordered, in that the first should be achieved before attempting the second, and its anterior parts should also be prioritised, thus providing the '**difference principle'**. Therefore, equality would be the most important element of social justice: a fair distribution of capacities for 'normal and fully cooperating members of society over a complete life' (ibid., p.18). Background institutions would be required to 'satisfy the requirements of the first principle (including the requirement of securing the

fair value of the political liberties)' (ibid., p.46). The basic structure of society (the main social, economic and political institutions that that fit together in a system of co-operation in a constitutional democracy), could, when just, be referred to as background justice (Rawls, 2005, p.11; Freeman, 2007). The significance for this research is the way principles of justice might translate to being measurable when expressed spatially and in relation to regeneration, and what light that action could be shed on the polity that might underpin its delivery (Rawls, 2005, pp.1-10).

2.4 THEORIES OF SPACE AND PLANNING

2.4.1 Social justice in regeneration

The use of the phrase **social justice** is interpreted for this regeneration-focused research as situated in relation to UK policy interventions in the 1990s and early 21st century. It is conceptualised from a Rawlsian understanding of social justice that assures protection of equal access to liberties, rights, and opportunities and takes care of the least advantaged members of society'. This definition rests on whether its justice component promotes or hinders 'equality of access to civil liberties, human rights, opportunities for healthy and fulfilling lives, as well as whether it allocates a fair share of benefits to the least advantaged members of society' (Rawls, 2005, p.10). Rawls' justice theory is reviewed in relation to other theories of justice in the next section.

'Regeneration' is the mechanism for realising spatial outcomes from programmed interventions that are usually (but not exclusively) area-based (Robert and Sykes, 2000; Lawless, 2007b; Raco, 2007). Regeneration also encompasses social and economic interventions as well as physical inputs and outputs. For the purposes of this research, the term is also used to cover 'redevelopment', such as urban renewal in the UK (Hillier, 2007; Hillier and Healey, 2010). 'Estate regeneration' includes the process of refurbishment of purpose-built social housing (RBKC, 2015). Other specialist terms are also used as a framework of understanding for progression in this research. The term **'gentrification'** (Smith, 1982) expanded on in later international research addressed a visible consequence of regeneration and global gentrification and the underlying processes of neo-liberalism (for example, Jones, 2015, p.265). As recently as 2016, academic sources were defining gentrification as 'the process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces poorer residents' (Merriam-Webster, 2016). This research aims to further explore the consequences of regeneration, one of which is 'gentrification' which had been identified as a phenomenon by Ruth Glass in her detailed examination of the North

Kensington exemplar (Glass and Westergaard, 1965) and thereafter recognized as an often unwanted outcome of regeneration. The move is towards exploratory research on how to assess (and find ways of measuring) the broader intentionality of spatial interventions in a liberal-democratic society, in terms of 'justness', i.e. 'deep values'. This approach anticipates differentiating the consequences of spatial interventions by different governments and their administrations, that is, the institutional executive of a liberal democracy. By September 2016, questioning this differential was becoming an increasingly popular approach (viz., Mulgan, 2016). This separate step was undertaken with the purpose of exploring whether 'gentrification' might have foundational status in delivering unwanted outcomes of regeneration, or whether the institutions and political context would be the dominant driver on how regeneration would deliver. The basic concept was often judged to be a negative outcome of the influx of public monies to areas, and potentially a result of regeneration that could be measured and assessed. However, this perspective was not the whole picture (Beauregard, 1986 cited in Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010, p.11-13; Bailey and Robertson, 1997; Atkinson, 2002; Clark, 2005 cited in Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010, p.5; Schlichtman and Patch, 2014). A dialectical interaction between the components of justice in relation to space realising injustice as having spatial dimensions was built from Dikeç's dissection (2009a, p.79). From this position, it can be discerned that 'injustice in space' is tangible through an analysis of distribution patterns, while, inversely, the 'spatiality of injustice' implies that existing societal structures might be measurable in their capacities to produce or reproduce injustice in space and through spatial delivery outcomes, with spatiality's connection to (in)justice being interpreted for this research as dialectically related

Spatiality of injustice

Implies **existing structures** in their capacities to produce/ **reproduce injustice through space and spatial delivery outcomes**

Justice has a spatial dimension: **therefore use to discern injustice in space on analysis of distribution patterns**

Injustice of spatiality
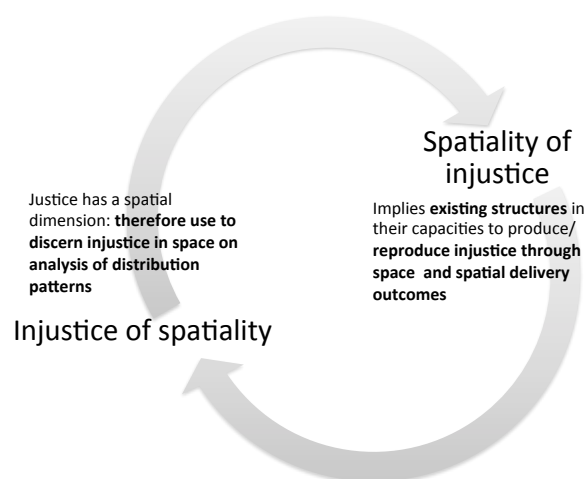
Figure 2.5 Injustice of spatiality and the spatiality of injustice (adapted from descriptions in Dikeç, 2009a, p.79)

properties (Figure 2.5 illustrates). If distributive justice is essential to planning but fails to address (structural) causes of injustice linked to power, the approach of Marcuse's (2009, p.1) proposal for 'dialectical urbanism' is a possibility. However, this research seeks to broach a wider aspect of institutions that might deliver spatial justice, going beyond the urban in governance scale (Paragraph 2.6.5) and by situating regeneration in strategic spatial planning (Paragraph 3.2.2).

'Justice Theory', and the development of its definition in spatial terms, is understood from the writings of a number of theorists (Harvey, 1989; Butler, 2007b; Dikeç 2009a; 2009b; Fainstein, 2009; Featherstone and Painter, 2012) as contemporary exponents of justice theory in spatial terms. Philosophers such as Lefebvre (Butler, 2012) and Soja (2009) have modernised the concept of **justice and spatiality** in 'seeking the just city'. These relationships between justice and injustice and what aspects might be redressed are an integral part of researching a (redefined) framework of 'spatial justice'.

Exploratory searches in the early stages of this study appeared to reveal that the literature referenced this continuum mainly in terms of 'injustice' (Fainstein, 2007; Dikeç, 2009a; Marcuse, 2009). At this time, some researchers, such as Fainstein (2009; 2010), were beginning to expand theory into an exploration of a Rawlsian understanding of 'social justice' and the spatial terms that might adhere therein. Continuing from this stage of theoretical exploration, an early direction for this research was to define what **'justice as fairness'** might say about the distributive outcomes of regeneration, and how the characteristics of success might be visible. Leading theorists in the areas of social and 'spatial justice' included Rawls (1972; 1999), Harvey (1973; 1998; 2012), Massey (1994; 2005). Lefebvre (1996), Nussbaum (2003), Sen (2004), and Soja (2010) While critiques of Rawls' approach by Sen and Nussbaum (Fainstein, (2007) sought a more realistic solution to how 'justice' might be theorized, the works of Harvey and Soja sought an interpretation of Lefebvre to find space and place in concepts of justness. However, the geographer Doreen Massey (1994) brought the impact of space and place on gendered experiences into the theoretical context of describing spatial 'values' in contemporary society (Figure 2.6), a conception further developed by Nussbaum (2000) and Fainstein (2007) thus giving an added dimension, that of social grouping, of when justice is fair as well as equally accessed. This literature review follows on to whether a strong democracy and community might be therefore **indicate a socially-just space** and therefore might be measurable in terms of the social, economic, or environmental components of an area where regeneration takes place. The indicators of **'rights to space'** (Harvey et al., 1996) – the elements of regeneration modality and distribution – may prove to be the 'currency of justice'. When searching for the just distribution of

regeneration, outcomes might be anticipated to take a particular form. In this sense, the aim of the current research project would therefore be to test these theoretically proposed forms. In the first of the three categorizations, an appraisal was made of the key philosophical position for this thesis: that we live in a liberal democracy and this
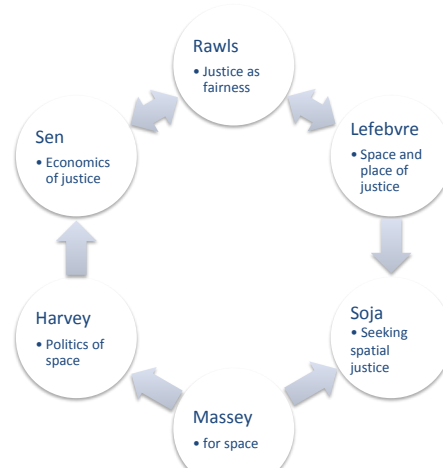
Figure 2.6 Interconnecting theories of space and justice (Rawls, 1972; Massey, 1994; Sen, 2004; Soja, 2009; Fainstein, 2010; Butler, 2012; Harvey, 2012; Featherstone, et al., 2012; Bell and Davoudi, 2016)

being so, 'spatial justice' and its values could be identified for purposeful use in this context. Explorations of theories of justice through the prism of relational geography clarify the philosophical foundation for theories of planning as practiced in the United Kingdom. What further knowledge of values of 'spatial justice' might be as articulated within existing theories of planning? Would this understanding aid 'reading across' to how spatial justice might be enacted in regeneration programmes? In practice, regeneration outcomes are often uneven, both temporally and spatially, so the third strand of the literature examination articulates the degree of unevenness identified in empirical examples and how they have been measured.

2.4.2   Concepts and theories in relation to 'spatial justice'

The foundation of citizenship and its relationship with democracy contributes to any test of the spatial aspects of democracy (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005; Harvey, 2012). As planning and regeneration are spatial, they have a role in active citizenry (Marcuse, et al., 2009). Literature about policy and practice are critically examined here, reviewing phenomenological outcomes of the UK planning system in relation to 'spatial justice', regeneration, and the policy context. Bell and Davoudi (2016) placed a similar combination of theorists together in order to examine concepts of justice and injustice in spatial terms (Bell and Davoudi, 2016, pp.2-6). By exploring conceptions of space and

place, key theorists show how planning is theorized in different ways depending on what type of philosophical conception of space is pursued (Thrift and Williams, 1987; Healey, 1996; Healey, 2002; Imrie and Raco, 2003). Notions of complexity theory (Byrne, 2003; Healey, 2006a; 2007b; De Roo and Hillier, 2016) also help illuminate the research path to identify levels of organisation, governance and accountability in order to find how to deliver better outcomes of regeneration in terms of 'spatial justice'.

A further dimension to the research question is the level of governance that supports best outcomes for 'spatial justice'. Thus, a continuum of local to regional scales of accountability are included in the theory, and later the practice, in the literature review. In the first decade of the 21st century, an on-going debate about 'localism' (Featherstone et al., 2012), the 'big society' (Norman, 2010), deliberative democracy (Dryzek, 2000) and spatial conceptions of citizenry is having an impact on national policy decisions (Isin, 2012). Intergenerational responsibility for the environment and for the scale of governance continues to change radically, and, in 2016, appear to be in rapid transition. In practical terms, legislative innovations for the effective management of the UK environment are pressing.

The focus of the literature search considers what theory might achieve a balanced, fair, and sustainable spatial management system (Singer, 1994). This system (or perhaps framework or manifesto) would address current issues, predict or anticipate future directions, and forestall potential difficulties and opportunities. By ensuring a dialectical relationship between practice and theory, the research question was initially set to determine how spatial outcomes might better achieve the social justice objectives of a liberal democracy. Relations between three key elements of understanding provided a conceptual starting point for the research assessment.

From the outset, the **epistemology** for this research was challenging a belief about spatial interventions in relation to their posited outcomes. The analytical approach relates to questioning the nature of knowledge of an area residing with interventionist experts (the 'producers' of space changing) or rather whether the users and 'consumers' of a place are more knowledgeable. If, on balance, the consumers are more knowledgeable, what in their belief systems provides justification for this different view of the 'truth' of an area? From an early point in this research, an understanding of the means of the production of knowledge about a place was a necessary condition, and the difficulties of how norms and values are generated in seeking ' a good explanation' of what counts as truth, accuracy or indeed breadth for criteria in delivering a satisfactory social scientific enquiry (Longino, 1990, p.4; 2002).

2.5 SPATIAL CONTROL AND POLICY INTERVENTIONS

2.5.1   Strategic spatial planning

In addressing the question of whether a level of governance contributes to a more 'spatially just' outcome of democratic decision making in regeneration schemes, the issue of strategic spatial planning needs addressing. For example, is the removal of a regional tier of organisation a mechanism to drive decisions down to the local level and, by default, drive other strategic or large-scale infrastructure decisions upwards to the national level, thus potentially making key aspects of planning decisions less locally democratic than with a statutory regional decision-taking body? The question remains as to whether the removal of a regional level organisation, and replacing it with ad hoc bodies such as LEPs, supports improved outcomes for a liberal democracy in spatial terms. This consideration comes into play in the next iteration of the research question.

Regeneration as a strategic intervention in spatial terms begs the question about whether democratic accountability, and access to 'just' solutions, drives towards a regional level of organisation, or even regional governance, as explored in a rudimentary way in *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Young, 1990, pp.254-5). Young has been a rare voice in speaking about the connection upwards from local autonomy to regional representation, identifying the necessity for regional representation that would strengthen the possibility of local autonomy. Young perceived this strength in the banding together of local communities as a means of deterring national representation taking the 'big decisions', which might otherwise happen without heed to 'smaller' local views and voices in the face of large-scale spatial planning choices, such as highways, airports, energy provision, or housing (re)development.

The spatiality and justice elements of 'spatial justice' are each challenged by theorists Harvey (1996; 2012), Dorling (Davies, 2011), Soja (2009) and Davoudi (Bell and Davoudi, 2016). For Harvey (1996) it is more than geography and it is interdisciplinary, as in 'a spatial turn in the social sciences' (Davies, 2011, p.384). Bell and Davoudi (2016) list the concept of spatial justice as one of six critical perspectives on the liberal theory of justice. In this sense, many researchers have accepted the need to question 'what we mean by justice and whether we need to think about what a *geographical* approach to studying justice actually means' (ibid., p.11). Soja (2009) for the most part framed his arguments so that the idea of justice can be approached as geographical social justice. **Justice** has many different meanings, from its use in criminal justice to more esoteric concepts of the justness of fairness. Research literature revealed justice as retributive or distributive, social or economic, environmentally- or spatially-defined,

and generationally concerned (Harvey, 2008; Soja, 2009; Fainstein, 2010; Davies, 2011; MacIntyre, 2013). In differentiating forms of justice, Soja has stated that he:

> "[did] not mean to substitute 'spatial justice' for the more familiar notion of social justice, but rather to bring out more clearly the potentially powerful, yet often obscured, spatiality of all aspects of social life and to open up in this spatialized sociality (and historicality) more effective ways to change the world through spatially conscious practices and politics" (Soja, 2010, p.352).

So, is the justice in 'spatial justice' normative – is it something that we should have or have the choice to have? Is it 'binary' - do we have it completely? Or is it non-binary and we can have 'spatial justice' only to a degree or in part? In the discussion regarding the relevant literature about Liberalism, its different forms, and the degree to which a (or our) society is a 'liberal democracy', there are complex and interrelated components. Drawing from the science of statistics, Principal Component Analysis (PCA) is a technique to reduce the dimensionality (and thus complexity) of large multivariate datasets when analysing them (Jolliffe, 2005). Soja addresses complexities by pulling in concepts from a number of disciplines (Davies, 2011). Here, the justice explored is distributive and spatiality engages a more complex perspective than that of a linear exposition; in seeking connectedness between its components, this research draws on lessons from a PCA approach in managing complexities and choices.

As the notion of Liberalism tends towards a social form, then access to resources such as housing, health, or education are accepted as 'rights'. In a neo-liberal political environment, only the most basic resources are available across society, and the ability to pay for improved access to resources is a right. For Nozick (1974), an entitlement theory of distributive justice would bring about a just distribution of goods, if through a free exchange among consenting adults, i.e. from a just starting position, even if large inequalities subsequently emerged in the process. Health and housing have generally been located in the middle of this continuum as part of a socially functioning liberal democracy (Spicker, 2004).

In identifying how 'spatial justice' might be manifested in a liberal democracy such as the UK, theories of justice as seen through the prism of relational geography need to be examined. Thus, the theoretical stance explored in this thesis uses the starting point of an experiential assessment. The research question aims to consider regeneration's spatial outcomes, justice in relation to geography, and the interface between theory and practice in respect to these two considerations. The research question stemmed from developing these concepts at a working definition level, wherein certain predefined terms focused the literature review on specific terms related to the research question. Thus, more general terms helped define the research question: the philosophy of

citizenship in a liberal democracy and theories of space and place.

2.5.2   The philosophical foundation

The principles of Liberalism summarised below aim to clarify what is entailed in **'Liberalism'**[1] for this study. Historically, the 18th century 'Enlightenment' brought forward the Rousseau's 'social contract' in which human beings being capable of moral choice and having an absolute right to be free, must be free to exercise their moral choice. Adams clarified that this basis of rights and freedoms enabled economic liberalism, completing the continuum of classical liberalism. The nineteenth century economic philosopher Jeremy Bentham defined Utilitarianism as the greatest happiness of the greatest number and, together with James Mill, saw individuals as the active agents of society. John Stuart Mill, influenced by Alexander de Tocqueville, argued that a minimal constitutional government was essential for human development and happiness (democratic liberalism). Thus, (the theory of) Liberalism was established: all [people] are the same – rational, possessed of natural rights, and with a capacity for moral self-direction. As a response to traditional liberalism, the twentieth century witnessed the development of modernism, post-modernism, and post-structuralism, as articulated by contemporary philosophical and political thinkers such as Nozick, Parfitt, and Sandel (Rosen, Wolff and McKinnon, 1999). By the early 21st Century, the challenge for the UK planning system would appear to be the ability to define the scope of the philosophy of everyday society. Only when these values are expressed can they be turned into a reality through the application of that system. Broadly speaking, the degree of Liberalism can be expressed on a continuum from social to neo-liberalism, as illustrated in Figure 2.7. For the purpose of this research, a liberal democracy is proposed as being represented by a degree of Liberalism, interpreted through a combination of elements of the philosophy of political liberalism (as Section 2.3).

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[1] The philosophy of 'Liberalism' is presented with an initial capital; subsections such as 'liberal democracy' or 'political liberalism' are presented with lower case in this research.

Degree of Liberalism

Social

A right to a resource

Earning a right
or resource

Ability to pay for a
resource/right

Neo-liberalism

Figure 2.7 Assessing the degree of Liberalism for access to rights and resources

2.5.3   Philosophical links to spatial planning theory

Citizenship as the 'membership of a political community involves a set of relationships between rights, duties, participation, and identity' (Delanty, 2000, p.9). These components, in a liberal democracy, include a particular relationship of rights and duties in a state-centred conception, with a formal and legally coded status often equated with nationality. An alternative, from a more civic republican tradition, emphasises a more substantive and active participation in the civic community. Therefore, two main theoretical traditions have developed in modern society which distinguishes between the concept of a formal membership of the state and an active 'public involvement in civil society' (ibid., p.10). In *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls analyses **the nature of justice and liberal democracy** (Rawls, 1987; 1999, p.7) and provides an encyclopaedic reference for theorists of justice (for example, Habermas 2012). Addressing 'spatial justice' requires the concept of 'justice' to be located in the discourse of general principles of fairness and democracy as well as the rights and responsibilities attached to being a member of a particular social group; theorising social (rather than criminal) justice is a rational search for what ought to be (Rawls, 1985; Soja, 2010). Historically, a general theory of justice has its origins in the Greek city-state which was, however, limited to certain citizens and excluded women, slaves, and low-class workers. Nevertheless, it was a beginning for participatory democracy, with the rights and obligations of citizenship giving significance to social justice as a democratic principle. These ideas produced the earliest notion of 'spatial justice': a conception of social justice in which geography matters (Soja, 2010). Rawls' theory is not entirely comprehensive, as identified by Soja, in that it doesn't deal with built-in compounding unfairness and socio-spatial inequalities as Rawls' theory has a focus on the immediate moment and is therefore only weakly spatial. However, the debate on territorial justice, environmental

justice and the right to the city (Harvey, 1973; 1996; Lefebvre, 1996; Massey, 2012) led to regional democracy or democratic regionalism, and thus to a **spatial theory of justice**. This position therefore leaves a gap with the UK planning system being land-use based and arguably still not sufficiently 'spatial'. For example, the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) only has one reference to the term (CLG, 2012). If spatial decisions were under more effective democratic control, participation by those affected would require more immediate, accessible, and local decision-making and oversight (Purdue, et al., 2000; Hambleton, 2017). Young imagines neighbourhood assemblies as:

> "…a basic unit with representatives from local organisations. Local priorities and policy opinions which representatives should voice and defend in regional assemblies...To solve problems of cities, the lowest level of governmental power should be regional - a region as an economic unit and a territory that people identify as their living space - a space across which people commonly travel to work, shop, play, visit their friends, and take the children on errands…the span of a day trip" (Young, 2011, p.92).

The extent of a region thus varies with culture, geography, economic base, and primary modes of transportation, usually with a city or cluster of cities as a focus of activity and identity, including suburbs and rural areas, and not necessarily economically self-sufficient, but certainly a unit of economic interdependence where major distribution occurs. Young states that an area would not have complete autonomy but extensive power, including significant control over land use and capital investment. Her analysis is that of an amalgamated body composed of representatives from neighbourhood assemblies holding those local representatives to account, with neighbourhoods and workplaces having considerable power for implementing regional policy and administering public services. At the regional level, group representation would be guaranteed (Young, 2011). This theoretical stance supports the case for regional representation which maintains local autonomy in the interest of democratic interests.

Healey states that the governance of place in urban areas was concerned with

> "…efforts which recognise that both the qualities of the places of an urban area and the spatial organisation of phenomena are important for quality of life, distributive justice, environmental well-being, and economic vitality" (Healey, et al., 2008, p.390).

She identified strategies that treat urban place as a mixture of networks and complex relations, where:

> '"…activities and values co-exist, interact, combine, conflict, oppress and generate creative synergy…[where] collective action, both in formal government arenas and in informal mobilisation efforts…influence the socio-spatial relations of an urban area, for various purposes and in pursuit of various values" (Healey, 2006b, p.1).

Healey's approach illuminates the necessary link between the local and strategic as well

as the lack of transference from theory to planning policy and practice (Healey, 2006b; 2007a; 2007b; Healey, et al., 2008), thus underlining a separation between theory, concept, and regulatory practice. Davoudi and Strange (2008) explore the roots of our understanding of space and mapped out philosophical foundations so that the conceptualisation of what space means culturally becomes clear(er). Thus the conception of 'what space is' provides an analysis of theory that can generate a planning system that does what it is meant to do, in democratic terms.

2.5.4   Delivering policy in place

A **first stage** was to identify 'an absolute view of space' that has its roots in Euclidean geometry and that uses intellectual intuition - *a priori* knowledge – as in Immanuel Kant's philosophical perspective. Space would then be a:

> "…place to locate objects of our perception…imposed by our own cognitive capacity. Inextricably linked with the physics of Newtonian and Euclidean geometry, the absolute view has space as an infinite entity that contains objects and events but remains independent of what is in it" (Davoudi and Strange, 2008, p.12).

Healey uses the phrase 'Euclidean Conception of Place' (Graham and Healey, 1999, p.234) in referring to the philosophical underpinning of Euclidean geometry. The challenge had come in the 19th and 20th centuries, in considering Einstein's space-time continuum, which stated that physical space could not be described without reference to the forces at work within it, and that the dimension of time also had to be included. Space, then, must be understood as 'interdependent with the distribution of objects and events' (ibid.). As Leibniz argues, 'space is made by diverse social, economic, cultural and physical processes' (quoted in Murdoch, 2005, p.19). From this, Davoudi and Strange (2008) arrive at a **second stage**, which is the distinction between the absolute and the relational approach to space and how space is conceptualised. The absolute relies on space and place as binaries and emerges from the naturalist tradition, where there is a single logic of explanation for all sciences. This approach harks back to John Stuart Mill, and links human beings and societies as being part of the same natural order. Thus, the same method of inquiry for both natural and social sciences is possible. However, within this tradition, there is a distinction between empiricism and rationality. The relational has space and place internally related to one another. The relationship is dialectical in the interpretative tradition, stemming from phenomenology, which has a concern with human experience. This approach defines the social world not as being explained from the outside but understood from within. These conceptualizations move from positivism to structuralism and on to post-structuralism (also known as post-modernism). An understanding of space being interpreted in relational and relativist

terms supports the direction this study is taking in researching spatial planning.

The term 'spatial planning' is a predominantly European term, defined by the Torremolinos Charter (1983) as 'giving geographical expression to the economic, social, cultural and ecological policies of society' (CEMAT, 1983, p.5 cited in Balducci, Fedeli and Pasqui, 2011). This definition typifies the 'scientific' thinking of planning as a 'technique' for professional experts to 'administer' physical space in 'balanced' development for example in Melbourne:

> "…'strategic conversations' formed one of four components of strategic navigation…The aim was to tap into the distributed intelligence of a much broader range of citizens than formal community and stakeholder engagement processes enabled" (Balducci, et al., 2011, p.496).

In addition '...tracing the relational forces between actants that planners can better understand how certain events happened and what might take place in the future' (ibid., p.494). Graham and Healey (1999) sought to conceptualise the 'dynamics of place' and the role of planning action in shaping place. They saw globalisation as 'stretching' and deepening relationships between places (e.g., webs of capital, technology, data and services, human interaction, and ways of thinking). In this sense, huge changes in the economy, society, culture, technology and the physicality of space lead to complex dynamics in the contemporary urban and regional environment.

2.6 'SPATIAL JUSTICE' IN REGENERATION

2.6.1   Values in regeneration

The philosophical base and theoretical case for how to progress the existing discourse into 'spatial justice' is clear: build on the combined works of Rawls and later philosophers and theoreticians, including Harvey and Fainstein, and link them with the real-world outcomes of regeneration from the viewpoint of relational concepts of planning theory.

Literature about themes of spatiality, democracy, and 'ways of thinking' were considered to scope and focus on UK regeneration. The line of enquiry led to setting out various approaches to regeneration, from a systems theory position, from local and regional to national approaches, as well as transnational and European perspectives in a changing world. This route led to examining approaches to governance. Theorists have taken specific stands on how regeneration should best be carried out, while others have explored the theory of planning in relation to politics and social organisation. Still others have worked on the complexities of hierarchical systems in comparison to unstructured participatory democracy and other models of reciprocal governance.

2.6.2   Policy and practice in the UK

In the policy and practice of the UK planning system and spatial interventions through regeneration practice, the literature review considered the past four decades, touching briefly on recent policy practice.

The Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act (2004) brought in the concept of 'spatial planning' in order to broaden planning to more than controlling the development of land, by including how places are used and how public services influence the quality of places (place-shaping). The integration of development management with public and private bodies that had a bearing on place quality formed the Core Strategy (from 2010, known as the Local Plan) (Gov.uk, 2017). After a change in direction with a new government, the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) took sustainable development as its focus, including the dimensions of economic, environmental, and social roles for the planning system (CLG, 2012; 2016). Paragraph 154 links the Local Plan with the 'spatial implications of economic, social, and environmental change' (CLG, 2012, p.37). In considering the extent to which regeneration's spatial outcomes are just, it is notable that the government post-2010 stated that, as part of delivering 'the good society', where 'regeneration can help us make the best of our assets and our people…[restoring] social justice (CLG, 2012).

In preliminary desk research, existing mechanisms for evaluating successful delivery of spatial outcomes were sought. A consideration was to identify how practitioners and theorists might be defining the 'values' being sought. The conclusion from the early stage research was that there is a discourse in this area, but that articulated values are contested in the sphere of regeneration. Further, there is a philosophical discourse contained in normative ethics about Utilitarianism's approach to the measure of values (Sandel, 2010). Critics of a Utilitarian scale such as cost-benefit analysis reject it on moral grounds (ibid.); this research takes the direction that an exploration of other measures may uncover a connected set of measures that indicates a single and ethical comparative scale for spatial justice in regeneration.

In further assessing the literature on the consequences of applied policy, several theorists were referenced, the most important of which are Allmendinger (2001; 2002), Rydin (1993; 2003; 2007), Healey (1996; 2006) and Woodward (2012). The research purpose is to examine what is known to have been delivered through regeneration interventions, how this was measured (i.e., against what criteria and with what indicators) and whether these outcomes were achieving the original policy visions. Here, the literature review sought to determine what connections were being made between

principles and values, theoretical positions, and the phenomenological outcomes of spatial interventions. The search was for what the current literature had to say about whether 'values' are being assessed over the long term, and if so, whether these research findings are being systematically and effectively fed back into improving professional practice.

2.6.3   Practice and policy in regeneration

Regeneration is, potentially, a tool for achieving social change through the combination of economic and environmental levers with social policy over a period of time (Robert and Sykes, 2000). Recognising that others have investigated the possibility of value translations and found them problematic (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007; Schlosberg, 2013; Sovacool and Dworkin, 2015), this research takes the position that re-examining this problematic may uncover new worthwhile information in line with appraising how values are excluded when planners critique injustice in urbanism despite philosophical debate rarely elaboratin on urban issues (Fainstein, 2007, p.71). If social justice is acknowledged as a necessary principle of Liberalism in the real world, then a schema of levels comprising social justice in place might help translate these ethical requirements from intangibles (e.g., values of society; values implicit in delivering justness in place) to tangibles (such as environment, space and place, or economic activity) (Campbell, 2006; Fainstein, 2007; 2009; Marcuse, 2009; Soja, 2010).

What metaphor might appropriately represent social justice in place in relation to people? Literature examined from other disciplines (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) including the relation of space and place to the individual (viz., Yiftachel, 1989; Borden and Rendell, 2000; Rendell, 2007; Marcuse, 2009; Chung, 2013; Westin, 2014) led to a first proposition that a hierarchy of needs for maximising a person's fair access to social justice in place could provide such a metaphor. In support for this approach, philosophers 'offer a route for considering planning actions by identifying their [planners'] contributions to individual self-realisation' (Fainstein, 2007, p.73; Marcuse 2009) despite the weaknesses of the impact of (lack of) empowerment, whether methods invalidate the path to ends, and if trade-offs are acceptable in reality. At least one design tool, Design Quality Indicators (DQI) toolkit, encompasses the emotional needs of individuals and their use of space (CABE, 2000). Thus **adopting Maslow's hierarchy of needs** (1948) (Figure 2.8) **as interpretive of social justice for an individual** provides a starting proposition. The next proposition is that, as in other interpretive uses of Maslow's theory, this hierarchy is adaptable to a wider base than the individual, such as group of

individuals like a household, a community or a diverse group, and could be situated in relation to an area, that is, in place. Limitations to the hierarchy's usefulness and universality (Gambrel and Ciani, 2003; Trigg, 2004) are acknowledged as questions have been raised on whether the hierarchy has a sufficiently strong empirical foundation (Wahba and Bridwell, 1976; McLeod, 2007). Maslow himself (1954) queried the strength of the original research base (fewer than 20 individuals, all male and of Caucasian background) and whether achieving the outcomes in consecutive order would be essential. Later research into needs and subjective well-being of individuals in 123 countries (Tay and Diener, 2011) provides sufficient evidence of the soundness Maslow's proposed hierarchy as a measure of subjective well-being and with no necessity for the needs to be achieved in any particular order (ibid., p.364). The upshot is that the hierarchy offers a prospect for developing a systematic framing of relationships between people and place and policy interventions, as sought in this research. Borrowing from principle component analysis (PCA), the third proposition is whether a set of observations of variables may be correlated into a linear predictive relationship. Literature shows possibilities for developing socio-economic status (SES) indices (Vyas and Kumaranayake, 2006), and thus how selections in this research might be made in the frame of PCA. Literature supports that the approach might usefully contribute to an understanding of whether 'spatial justice' is measurable in place. By making a set of choices along a conceptual route, the consideration of levels of achieving social justice in place is being aligned metaphorically with the hierarchy of human needs (Figure 2.8), testing it as a possible translation between the two schemata. Assessing outcomes from regeneration would have equality, democratic accountability and the impact of social difference at the heart of their evaluation thus giving a translation between spatial policy direction and philosophical questions for justice as fairness. The process of filtering criteria from one perspective to the other is developed in Chapter 3 as the basis of a staged conceptual frame (Figure 3.12).
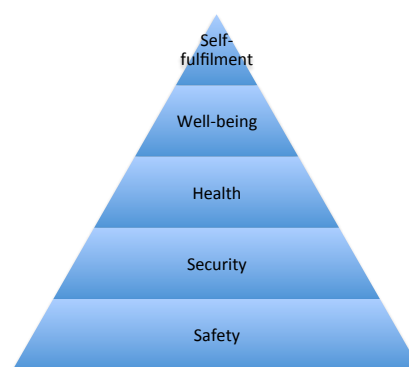
Figure 2.8 Maslow's hierarchy of human needs (Maslow, 1948)

2.6.4   Planning for difference

The planning system has at times been unable to respond to the spatial requirements of different groups of people; the system failed to engage with the diversity of communities in seeking to remedy this failure. Contextually, there was no willingness to hear from or listen to diverse groups about their views on how spatial organisation might better respond to their needs (Massey, 1994; Raco, 2007; Young, 2011). This link between neighbourhood and central government was improved during the 1990s but disengaged in 2010 with the revocation of regional development agencies (RDAs) that arguably had strengthened local voices through regional bodies (Tillett and Jacob, 1995; Barnett and Low, 2004; Boddy and Hickman, 2013), supporting the notion that the present gap in mechanisms for delivering spatial equity locally has been increased by the removal of scales of governance, although clearly future regional bodies would benefit from enhanced democratisation (as would communities from neighbourhood plans and fora).

2.6.5   City-regions and De-regionalisation

This research is seeking evidence to clarify the contribution of a regional (including a city-region) level of governance in empowering local decision-taking. For city-regions, the case was made for London's return to a city-wide level of governance enacted in 1999. Until the revocation of previously enacted legislation in 2010, RDAs fulfilled the intermediary tier between local and combined local representation and national level organisation through the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) Act of 1998. Indirect accountability was through the appointment of local democratic representation to RDA boards. English regional spatial strategies (RSSs) were developed alongside RDAs but only one region, the East of England, separated its governance of the RDAs from the RSSs (TCPA, 2012; Sandford, 2013). More recently, steps have been taken to re-engage in offering options for devolutionary powers for counties (Cox and Hunter, 2015). The report of the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) considers how the decentralisation process is impacting on England's counties. Cox and Hunter argue that securing locally-specific powers and governance arrangements, diverse areas have boosted their economies and improved their services (ibid., p.3). Recommendations include local capacity to agree and implement local arrangements that would then aid local communities, implying assistance in the delivery of regeneration programmes for local people. The ad hoc Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) and the Duty to Co-operate outlined in the NPPF are the operational replacements (CLG, 2011; 2012). Literature shows there is recognition that regionalism and central government devolution can support localism (Murray, 1990; Featherstone, et al., 2012) but debates continue on

whether any formal regional organization would lead to a loss of local empowerment through adding a layer of bureaucracy (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2012). This research includes therefore an investigation of the loosely structured co-ordinating powers of LEPs to see if this sub-regional level makes a positive contribution to delivering regeneration and local infrastructures (Healey, 2007b; Haughton, 2010; Affleck, 2015).

2.6.6 Emerging categories from literature

The primary literature on spatial justice identifies categories in philosophy and theory as a basis for reviewing literature on policy and practice in regeneration, its outcomes and their measurement, thinking about citizenship, the philosophy of Liberalism and conceptualizing spatial outcomes for justice in space and place (Table 2.1 below).

2.7 STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING AND RESEARCHING 'SPATIAL JUSTICE'

2.7.1 Theoretical context of evaluative practice in regeneration

The working definition for spatial justice in regeneration (Figure 1.1) structures how **theoretical clarity** is being sought to four approaches to spatial justice: the **reality** of outcomes, how those outcomes are delivered in **practice**, what **policy** objectives are sought and the political context of **programmes** being supported.

Table 2.1 Categories emerging from primary literature evaluation

Philosophy	Theory	Policy & Practice

Citizenship in a liberal democracy	Citizen Participation:
	    Big Society
	    Localism
		Community empowerment
		New Deal for Communities

Philosophies:
    Liberalism
    Neo-liberalism
	Consequentialism
	Gentrification concepts
		Measuring outcomes/
		consequences from
		regeneration

Justice as fairness:
    Rawls
    Sen
    Nussbaum
	Social justice
	Equity and social equality
	Spatial quality
		Theories of evaluation
		Evaluating regeneration
		outcomes
		Economic/social deprivation
		Social trends
		Egan review

Conceptualizing spatial outcomes:
    Harvey
    Lefebvre
    Massey
    Soja
    Wong
	Urban Planning Theory:
	    The Just City
	Urban and regional planning:
	    Fuzzy boundaries
	    Regional spatial planning
		Urban/city – examples
		Urban transport
		Strategic planning
		Boundaries
		Major Infrastructure Panel

Space and place:
    Euclidean approach
    Cultural relativity
    Other
	Relational theory in planning
	Communicative planning
		Politics and policies:
		Planning acts
		Regeneration programmes
		LEPs

Three strands of investigation here lead on to being able to translate whether empirical results are relevant to normative <u>theory</u>, what is the community <u>reality</u> of this practice, and whether justice in regeneration <u>practice</u> is being achieved. The direction for this study requires a theory of evaluation to assist in defining what are successful outcomes from regeneration interventions. This theoretical perspective aids the identification of who should measure, how that measuring should be done, and what might be the <u>(political) consequences</u> from choices of how measures are acquired (Woodward, 2012). In addition, who <u>delivers the measuring</u> of policy interventions are also questioned. Further, there is an interest in how the spatial aspects of the city, major development, redevelopment, and provision of infrastructure measured and evaluated - do particular methods privilege the urban dweller (Lynch, 1984), or are there mechanisms for including other scales of governance (Young, 2011)? And what reasoning has been used to justify chosen characteristics of justice (and thus evaluation) (Fainstein, 2007, p.71; Marcuse, 2009)?

Firstly, theoretical approaches to evaluation (Weiss, 1995; 1997; Chelimsky, 1998) lean heavily on the empirical nature of successful evaluative practice. Some theories of evaluation are conceptualized for example to address assumptions in evaluation design (Chen, 2016). So **secondly**, understandings emerge from practice-based evaluations of regeneration programmes (Lawless, 2007a; 2011; Beatty, et al., 2010; Foden, et al., 2010), recognising that philosophical assumptions of programme evaluators may alter how evaluated outcomes are assessed (Mertens, 2016). Where Lynch (1984) thinks about the values expressed as 'form' in a city, more recent enquiry includes spatial distribution within a city through functional changes with digitisation (Kitchin, 2015)
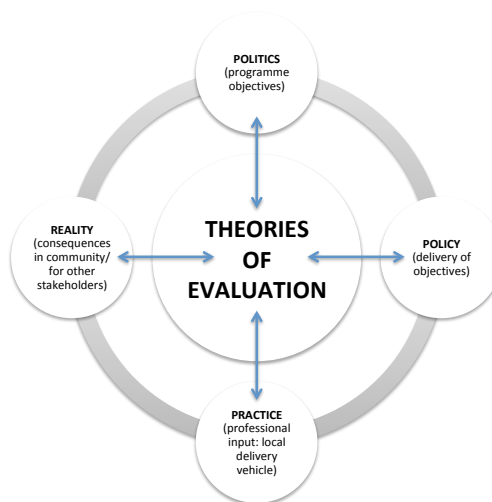
Figure 2.9 Connecting theories of evaluation to regeneration practice (see Figure 1.1)
(adapted from descriptions in Weiss, 1995; 1997; Fainstein, 2007; Lawless, 2007a; 2011;
Beatty, et al., 2010; Mertens and Hesse-Biber, 2013; 2016; Chen, 2016)

noting that activities can be re-distributed because of a greater capacity for responses to online communication. A good city would have distributional equity and also 'support the full development of each individual and of all individuals' (Marcuse, 2009, p.2). **Thirdly**, a professional view on assessments of evaluative practice (Chen, 2016; Mertens, 2016) helps clarify the practice-theory iterative cycle. The dialectic of spatial impact within a city and across a wider region (city or hinterland) in the age of a more intangible 'virtual city' through data sharing and management of space through virtual networks (Bastow, Dunleavy and Tinkler, 2014; Bourdin, 2015) and the spatial consequences of commodity distribution through digital interfaces, for example, online shopping or environmental smart controls (Foth, 2015; Teevan and Zhou, 2015; Mulgan, 2016; Araya-Muñoz, et al., 2016).

To summarise, current theoretical perspectives on evaluation emphasise the role of empiricism in evaluative practice. In terms of this research, a theory of evaluation should bridge any gap between planned spatial interventions (programme objectives and policy delivery), methods of measuring outcomes (evaluative practice) and the empiricism of communities and other stakeholders (reality). This section goes on to examine if current evaluative practice has or is using its capacity to assess spatial justice consequences in any or all of these terms.

2.7.2   Measures of spatiality and measures of justice

City form can be 'cold devices of power, used to make some persons submit to others' (Lynch, 1984: p.79). This articulation of the values of citizenship in relation to space, in the realist arena of a liberal democracy to which the UK is implicitly signed up to, continues to be an unfolding story. The 'cosmic' model to which Lynch alludes to is reflective of stability and hierarchy: a 'crystalline form'; however, the city is dynamic and transformative with dynamic relations between permanent parts (Bentley, 2004; Harvey, 2012). With the analysis of the city taking on the relational form (Healey, 2006a; Healey, 2007a; Malpas, 2012), the multiple users and times of use lead to understanding place through the 'evening economy' (Montgomery and Thornley, 1988; Landry, 2006), in how a city is used differently at different times of day and by different groups of people (Massey, 2005; Manchester and Bragg, 2013), and that 'the successful development of geographic theory requires us to consider the issues raised by the separation of women's and men's social roles" (Bruegel, 1973; Bissett Johnson, 1982; Bowlby, Foord and Mackenzie, 1982, p.19); Massey, 1994), thereby shaping more than the sum of individual needs in the spatial construction of city form. Wong (2009) examines four types of evaluation, and provides a typology of monitoring indicators in planning that

sets out process targets, significant effects, contextual indicators and output indicators (see Figure 2.2). These categories relate organisational process, impact, context and measured outcomes as an evaluative frame. However, a value-based or ethics dimension appears not yet fully developed (Wong and Watkins, 2009) (Table 2.2 above). Communities defined by reference to groups, perhaps by personal attributes like gender or ethnicity, belief systems, class, skill or neighbourhood, are various but their

Table 2.2 Examples of monitoring indicators (Wong, 2009)

Process targets:	Local planning authorities are required to establish process targets to compare actual timetables for Local Development Document preparation against those set out in the Local Development Scheme.
Significant effects indicators:	Effects indicators are used to assess the significant social, environmental, and economic effects of policies to meet the requirements of European Directive 2001/42/EC, undertaking SEA of plans and programmes
Contextual indicators:	Contextual indicators describe the wider social, environmental, and economic background against which the LDF policy operates
Output indicators:	Both core and local output indicators are used to measure the direct effect of spatial planning policies. In addition, the monitoring of housing trajectories is seen as part of the monitoring of output indicators

commonality is a basis for joint venture through support and association (Robert and Sykes, 2000, p. 206). Setting a shared vision which is representative, and which has an overview of regeneration interventions, has already been identified as an empowering approach; however, the method of measuring this achievement is not so clear. It is this point of interest that the current research seeks to test and clarify. While a strong trend toward measuring outputs developed during the first decade of the 21st century (Imrie and Raco, 2003; Lawless, 2007b), targets and goals are only part of the analysis. Success or failure also needs to be evaluated against a benchmarked expectation, since much of the monitoring and evaluation is open to interpretation (Robert and Sykes, 2000).

2.7.3   Organising and managing for evaluation

Effective evaluative procedure requires good management and organisation cannot be omitted (Robert and Sykes, 2000). Lichfield (ibid.) highlights communications, present and future beneficiaries of change, and integration of strategy and resources. This approach focused on practice and delivery, emphasises the strategic nature of urban regeneration. This perspective on 'strategic' interventions is developed in Section 3.2.2 by defining higher-level regeneration as an arm of strategic spatial planning (Figure 3.6),

and thus a key criterion for evaluating 'spatial justice'. This approach aids selecting research-appropriate indicators.

In 'real-life' events, assessing whether a regeneration project is acceptable for the community requires constitutional practice and prior training for effective communication between all participants (e.g., the community, council members and directors, and individual stakeholders). In this sense, Figure 2.10 details the planned processes in Luton Borough Council for Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) and Objective Two funding linked to statutory planning requirements (Luton Borough Council, 2000). It shows a complex system of interlinking management and stakeholder consultation and matching requirements for different sources of funding applications, requiring inter-relationships to be identified then training developed for different types of stakeholders before consultations and projects were put into practice. A partnership of transparent and shared values was fundamental for enabling measurable outputs to be developed. This complex process also had to be accessible to a mix of perspectives: political, administrative, and community-based perspectives, as well as being compatible with voluntary and service agencies. This practical example details how value-expectations related to the quality and success of delivery were set out for this project. This exercise was developed in Luton Borough Council's Economic Development Unit for partners in
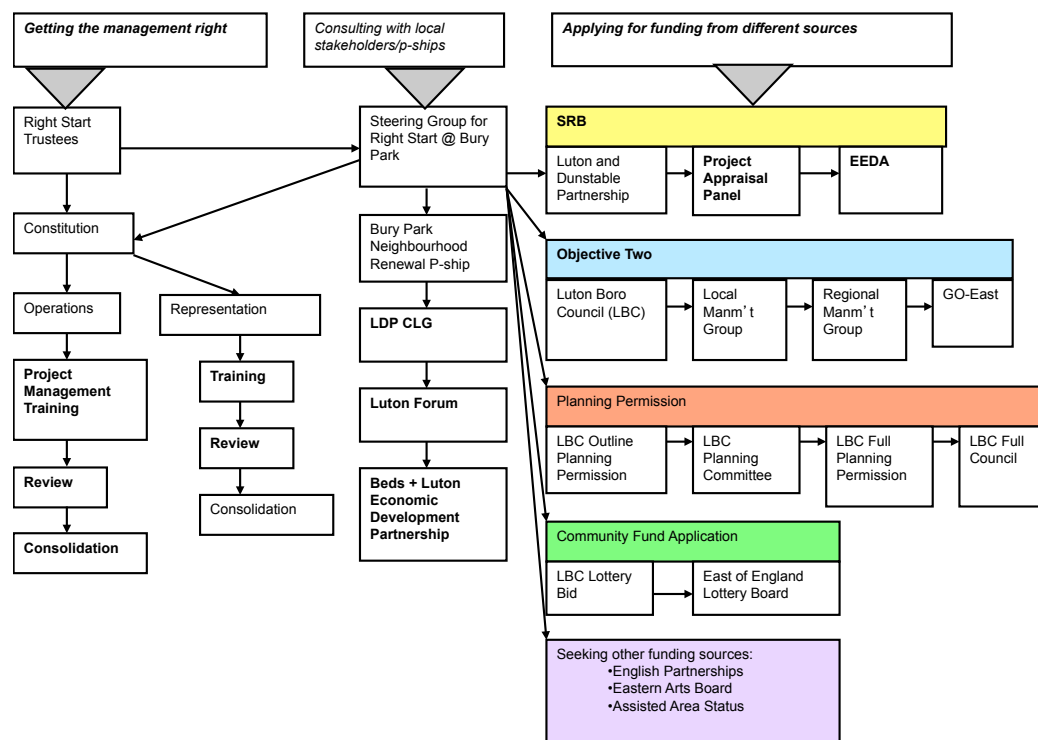
**Figure 2.10 Acting on the problem to achieve a vision for regeneration
(Luton, 2000)**

the regeneration scheme, with a high proportion of funding applications being successful. The process helped in relating spatiality to social justice, although it was not labelled as such. Another example is a public policy consultancy study (Moore and Spires in Robert and Sykes, p.219) which provides an 'Ex Post Evaluation Framework for Urban Regeneration Policies' covering the spheres of social, economic, and physical regeneration, the layers of funding inputs, the measures of activity, and defining the outputs and outcomes in numbers. However, the approach omits forming an evaluation of 'intangibles' related to the gross impacts of wealth, jobs, productivity, and value added in financial terms. Quality of life is measured, but not, apparently, as an achievement of social justice. The evaluative outputs for quality of life and social improvements for this study (ibid., p.223) cover the number of users, housing improvement, education/health gains, and crime reduction, but do not add them together, give weight to one above another, nor define them as ratios between each other. The variable nature of local conditions and local circumstances and aspirations gives a reasonable indication that a flexible evaluative approach may provide fruitful insights into how success, or the lack thereof, could be measured. This aspect of how and what to assess is further developed in seeking the key criteria of success in relation to 'spatial justice' (see Section 3.3.3).

In everyday professional practice, the managed process of envisaging programmes that match the problem, the expectations of stakeholders, and the demands of funding regimes is complex. One approach is to ensure transparency of process and of decision-making. In practical terms regeneration programmes in Luton were brought to fruition through a strategic partnership, the Luton Dunstable Partnership (LDP) which used a systematic approach for accessing government and European funds like the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) Objective 2. Archives from LDP (now defunct) and the council show engagement with potential beneficiaries and actors when prioritising Luton regeneration projects in that spectrum of funded programmes using (a) a clear management process and (b) a participatory (but quantitatively assessed) decision tree (see Figure 2.11). Other approaches were tried out at a similar time in the late1990s. The Scottish government used learning from experience for mainstreaming equal opportunities in principle and practice (Scottish Government, 2003). Their approach referenced a **Gender Management System** (GMS) and also noted that 'mainstreaming as a strategy is often confused with mainstreaming as a tool' (ibid.). In this approach, a distinction was made between principles (integrating equality, taking a holistic view on 'visioning' equality) and mainstreaming tools (for example, monitoring and gender impact assessments). The outcome was that tools were the implements for putting principles

Project Proposal Scoring Sheet

I.D. Number:		Score
Name:		
Organisation:		checked by …….

Scorer

Name:
Neighbourhood/Organisation:
Date:

Criteria	Possible Marks	Score
Addressing Issues / Needs & National Criteria		
• To what extent does this project proposal fulfil the needs of the Area Community Regeneration Plan or address the key issues of the conurbation?	10	
• To what extent does the proposal help to reduce the area's score on the Index of Local Deprivation or improve issue based indicator?	25	
• Does the proposal fit into one of the National strategic themes of SRB 6?	10	
Must score at least 10 on the Index of Local Deprivation, and 25 overall to continue — **Total Score**		
Objectives, Targeting & Outcomes		
• To what extent is there a clear relationship between strategic objectives, baselines, activities and outcomes?	3	
• Are the activities proposed likely to achieve the outcomes stated?	3	
• Has the target area and population been clearly defined? Is it clear to you where the project will take place and who it is aimed at?	3	
• Has the project proposal/bid application clearly explained the problems and challenges faced by the area and its population?	3	
• Have needs and opportunities been linked with the baselines and expected outcomes? Has this project clearly stated what the position will be at the end of the funding period?	3	

Criteria	Possible Marks	Score
Community Involvement		
• What level of community participation has there been in developing the bid? What sectors of the community have been involved? Has it engaged in the process of developing the Renewal Plan for the area?	10	
• What sectors of the community will continue to be involved? To what extent will the community be involved in steering and delivery of any scheme?	10	
Delivery		
• Will the structure and systems allow for effective decision making?	2.5	
• Will effective support systems be in place?	2.5	
• Will effective administration systems be in place for scheme and project management?	2.5	
• Will the structure ensure proper accounting of public money?	2.5	
Appropriateness & Value for Money		
• Does the bid add value to other regeneration activities and strategies? Does the project provide a link to any other regeneration activity in the area such as the Economic Development Strategy, Early Years Partnership, Lifelong Learning Strategy etc?	2.5	
• Have contributions from other funding sources been maximised, do assumptions seem reasonable?	2.5	
• For resources requested does this proposal offer value for money, and an effective use of resources?	5	
MAXIMUM SCORE	100	

Figure 2.11 Scoring on the problem to achieve a vision for regeneration
(Luton, 2000)

into practice, but having tools alone may not mean mainstreaming is being implemented. Nevertheless, it was a social justice-led approach to equalities that sought to transform structural discrimination and contribute to the creation of a fairer society. Interestingly, 'tools will only be useful if there is an understanding of wider contexts of aims, objectives, structures and the like. It is useful to think of mainstreaming in terms of principles, integrated systems, framework tools, and discrete tools and techniques' (ibid.) with the implication that principles and contextual values are the future for the mechanisms of evaluation of practice. Other undertakings in Scotland, such as the GoWell project (Bond, et al., 2013), identified that **health and health measures** would provide a mechanism for assessing successful interventions from regeneration on one aspect of 'social justice', that of health. Marmot and Bell (2012) also look to finding a fair society through health. However, measuring the effects of such interventions, which are complex and may impact upon the social determinants of the population's health and well-being, is notoriously challenging. In a mixed methods research programme, GoWell compared regeneration approaches and health outcomes through studying fourteen disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Glasgow at two- or three-year intervals. The researchers described these urban regeneration programmes as 'natural experiments' (Bond, et al., 2013). The vision for delivering on development, redevelopment, and regeneration could be assessed by engagement with policy makers and decision takers, stakeholders, and community representation in the Local Plan, in the planning system

as it operated in 2016 on the basis of the Housing and Planning Act (2016). This process was incorporated into the current planning system in the form of the Statement of Community Involvement and the Local Development Strategy. Added to the process for transparency on spatial planning decisions was a suite of detailed reports, such as **Objectively Assessed Needs** (OAN), **Strategic Environmental Assessments** (SEA), **Environmental Impact Assessments**, and **Sustainability Appraisals**. In summary, many interventions in regeneration have been in operation in the past two decades. This evaluation of practice was structured in order to seek good practice in the UK in relation to measuring and evaluating regeneration outcomes in the bands already identified as values of liberal democracy. Wong's evaluative frame seeks further connection with ethics or values of effective impact measures and practice examples are phenomenologically-based but not conceptually inclusive (Wong and Watkins, 2009), noting for a joint RTPI-CLG study into measuring outcomes of spatial planning, that '…intangible outcomes are often forgotten or overlooked' (Wong, et al., 2008. p.7). Nevertheless, there are an increasing number of measures or **tools in practice** that can carry out assessments on specific indicators from existing databases, and some are geared to finding interconnections or analysing through a specified set or combination of indicators. Table 2.3 combines what appears to be missing in relation to 'spatial justice' in the evaluative processes appraised (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Egan, 2004). For example, the **Indices of Multiple Deprivation** (**IMD)** are measures of deprivation that do not go into well-being, while the **Health and Psychosocial Instruments** (HaPI) bibliographic database does not appear to take quality of place and location outcomes into account (BMDS, 2015). Australia is developing AURIN a table-top mapping tool for interrogating over 2,000 socio-economic databases. A comprehensive research study of new towns in 2006 (over 2000 articles, books, and other published sources about UK new towns for the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) arrived at eight themes, including delivery, governance, and 'end-user experience, in order to deal with equalities in a permanent, sustainable way, but the 'cross-directorate' solution was missing (DCLG, 2006). What do this appraisal of data sources for evaluative practice indicate? There are numerous sources of data to be combined although the dimension of ethics is not apparently available to mesh in fully with the increasing number of databanks available. It appears therefore that combining an ethics approach in evaluative processes with spatiality is missing. Bridging this gap could be used to measure 'spatial justice' outcomes and would assist in assessing the outcomes of applied principles in envisioning, monitoring and evaluating large-scale regeneration programmes (Bissett Scott, 2015a).

Table 2.3 Appraisal of measures in evaluative practice (sources: CABE, 2000; ODPM, 2004b; ONS, 2011; CLG, 2012; Scottish Government, 2013; Sovacool and Dworkin, 2015)

Name of intervention	Focus	Measure	What's missing	Source of information
IMD	Deprivation	A range of indices relation to socio-economic factors	Interconnection beyond forms of deprivation	CLG; ONS
Community sustainability	Social cohesion	Empowerment of community	Perspective on built environment in relation to positive aspects of social justice	CLG, Comm Sust Act
Design Quality Indicators	Built environment	Design quality of buildings	Physical well-being	CABE
Egan Wheel	Sustainable communities	Segments of regeneration delivery in regard to social justice	Interconnectedness between spatial delivery of policy and socio-economic outcomes	
EIA	Environmental quality	Impact of environmental policies and practice on a specific place	Environmental justice	Sovacool etc
Equalities Impact Assessment	Diversity and social inclusion	Socio-economic outcomes of policy/practice	Direct link to spatial outcomes of policies, or spatial inputs of policies	Scottish Parliament
NPPF	Sustainable development	Adoption or revocation of Local Plan	Measured success of applied sustainable development connected to spatial implications of social/economic/environ-mental decisions	CLG
HaPI	Health and Psychosocial Instruments	Cross-disciplinary measures and appropriate instruments	Well-being in relation to space and place	BMDS

2.7.4   Implications of practice evaluation for research

The review of good practice using established guidance (Guba and Lincoln, 1987) led to a search for types of evaluation being used in practice in regeneration, how they are being measured, and with what tools. With regeneration defined a spatial intervention for the purpose of achieving improvements in social justice (Paragraph 2.6.3 above), then its spatial implications arising from social, environmental, and economic arenas have significance for examining practice evaluation. Other disciplines related to social justice do not necessarily have a spatial perspective at the outset, but they can, nevertheless, be measured as they occur in place. Still further, measures can be combined in a linear approach or they can be inter-related. From an examination of the empirical literature on social justice policy delivery, it is possible to (a) discern an understanding of how the three segments of regeneration are being addressed through policy delivery, (b) establish which measure(s) are being used in evaluating delivery success of that segment, and (c) indicate whether any connection is being shown between the spatiality of policy outcomes. The review has sought to capture whether there was a 'justice value' to the policy delivery and the segment or segments of regenerative practice. Comparing literature reviewed and empirical examples of evaluating outcomes (Table 2.3) the practice of evaluating regeneration outcomes overlaps but does not fully coincide
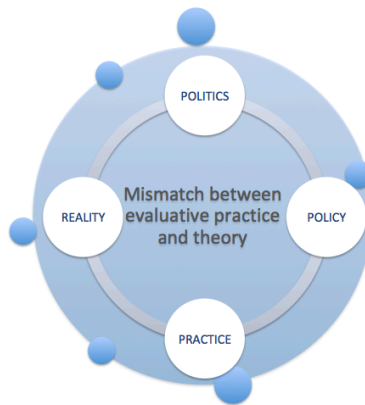
Figure 2.12 Mismatch established between theory of evaluation and evaluative practice

with theories of evaluation by excluding assessments of justice values (Figure 2.12) thus establishing a gap in knowledge. Where this section articulates a foundation for comparative analysis of data, the approach is expanded in Section 5.2 and interpreted in conclusions (Figure 8.2). The literature review of evaluative practice and theory on spatial justice consequences from political decision-taking and from the emerging pressures of a more digitalized society shows a gap that requires further theorization which in turn would benefit from researching practice-outcomes through examining space relations, comparison of time outcomes, and scales of governance applied (Bissett Scott, 2015b). In the terms of this review, current evaluative practice has the capacity to assess spatial justice consequences but would benefit from strengthening its theoretical foundation (Figure 2.9 and Figure 2.12 above).

2.8 OUTCOME OF LITERATURE EVALUATION

2.8.1 Theory, politics and policy connections

The overview for the research question was located in the philosophical question of 'justice'. The entry point was that of the Rawlsian phrase 'justice as fairness', and the literature evaluation led to locating this type of justice within Liberalism and the descriptions of democracy within that of meaningful exploration of concepts relating to practice. Prioritising justice as a measure of urban development (Fainstein, 2010) has **philosophical justifications** (i.e. spelling out implied or assumed value systems so that a socially agreed direction can achieve the desired practical outcomes from the application of policy emerging from that philosophical approach) and **practical justifications** (i.e. budgetary efficiencies over time; not doing so leads to greater

inequalities, more deprivation, and further interventions for social reasons, for example, more money for removing graffiti, less 'ownership' of space/place, more social interventions for benefits, reparations, less tax input, etc.). **Applying a theoretical process** that brings about a planned vision better in line with the reality of outcomes (Healey, 2010). Some writers have identified that the **analysis of the organisational level is missing** from philosophical discussions around the 'just' city, although discourse on the institutional form is being engaged with (see the development of Harvey's perspective in Marcuse, et al., 2009). Effective theory-practice relationships are vital to a concept of continuous improvement and understanding. Through communicative rationalism, relational planning, political economy, and urbanisation at the scale of social reality, there are processes and philosophical principles which support defining policy and organising for governance (Healey, 1996; 1996; 2006a; Harvey, 2010; Butler, 2012). Therefore analysing theory-practice relationships is required by examining concepts of spatial outcomes; philosophical principles that define policy; and organising for governance.

2.8.2   Regeneration as a practice for achieving 'spatial justice'

The exploration of empirical evidence is that 'regeneration' is a contested term with a broader scope than social issues in one area or economic development in 'place' terms. The impact may be environmental, and, at different points (vision, commencement, delivery, completion, or post-completion), its 'measurement' may be in different categories (Benko, Strohmayer and Brown, 1998; Balducci, Fedeli and Pasqui, 2011). Therefore, justice measurements of regeneration outcomes require interpreting complex interrelations (Harvey, 2009; Soja, 2010). In addition, how governance relates to the justice outcomes of regeneration remains incompletely theorised. Marcuse (2009) states that, while attention is given to 'institutional form', the organisational level is left out, especially in 'the more philosophical discussions around the just city' (ibid., p.174). Furthermore, social conditions are unjust if they cannot support an adequate level of health, and criminal justice requires issues of distributive justice to be addressed as well (Caruso, 2016). The impacts of health inequalities go beyond socio-economic factors, so spatial and governance considerations need attention if health and well-being standards are to be improved (Marmot, et al., 2010; Bond, 2013).

2.8.3   Research justification

There are aspects of spatial justice that will benefit from theoretical and practice development because of current gaps and limitations meeting research objectives (Table 1.1). The reviewed strands of hierarchy, governance and space confirm **a gap in**

knowledge on the intermediate level of democratic governance, for example the relationship of region to local autonomy or region to national government in terms of regeneration and its spatial outcomes over time. Research is therefore justified into identifying whether and to what degree levels of organisation contribute to regeneration outcomes in terms of 'spatial justice' (<u>politics</u>). There are **gaps in the conceptual links between planning theory and practice**, for example in the dialectic of the 'spatiality of injustice' and the 'injustice of spatiality'. **Evaluation of regeneration interventions** as the consequences of social justice decisions and finding out how these decisions might look spatially **is not fully addressed in current UK practice**. Research would illuminate whether the delivery of socially just places through regeneration can be a valid objective for interventions (<u>policy</u>), whether this objective is achieved (<u>reality</u>), and whether it can be a managed process and thus measurable (<u>practice</u>). Therefore, a further justification is that evaluation in regeneration can illuminate this 'justness' of place. Would evaluative practice encompassing 'spatial justice' values establish that politics and policy enacted through practice deliver the reality of 'spatial justice' measured in regeneration outcomes? And what might be the theory implications for an ethics of spatial equity (a values-led analysis of regeneration outcomes) from viewing the measured reality of policy consequences?

2.8.4   Conclusions from evaluating literature

The research frame initially nested the question of regeneration value outcomes in the strategic management of space and place, and, in turn, put these elements into the theory of planning. The second iteration of the research question addressed assumptions of where a theory of justice, for the purpose of this research, might be sited. The research question framework (Figure 2.1) needed modifying to provide the necessary elements for developing a conceptual framework. Therefore, the literature review required a purposeful choice of perspective in order to achieve a focus that might bridge conceptual understanding of 'values in a liberal democracy' and practical experience of professional issues in regeneration. The review outcome led to a modification of the nested frame for literature choices at the start of the chapter (Figure 2.1). By evaluating selected theorists (e.g., Rawls, 1999; Marcuse, et al., 2009; Allmendinger and Haughton, 2010; Fainstein, 2009; 2013; Hillier and Healey, 2010; Harvey, 2012; Bell and Davoudi, 2016) and practitioners (Lawless, 2007, Robert and Sykes, 2000, Bond, et al., 2015), several strands are identified that appear to be under-theorised in the terms and scope of this research. Reconstituting the strands of the literature evaluation (i.e. theories of justice, Liberalism, theories of space, control of space and its management, planning theory, and regeneration) shows where gaps or

under-theorisation might be fruitfully examined. The connections between theories of justice and regeneration, in the management of spatial control and Liberalism, and between values and vision of regeneration progammes in relation to planning theory, are less well-examined (Figure 2.13). The evaluated literature confirms a discourse of 'place' which is treated differently from the Euclidean, deterministic, and one-dimensional treatment of 'space' in the 1960s and 1970s (Graham and Healey, 1999), where place-based decision-making is connected with state and institutional contexts. Allowing community groups to determine the future of neighbourhood localities is a further notion, where there is scope for planners to be encouraged to delve further into theories of space and 'processes of place' for better planned outcomes (Healey, 2006b). Spatial organisation is a mechanism for bringing positive outcomes through the planning system. Evaluating current practice and relevant theory has informed but requires further investigation. For example, the concept of 'spatial justice' (by its omission or the way it is described) has cleared a pathway through 'justice' theory, through sustainability practices, and through theories of evaluation and their expression under different political administrations (Sen, 2004; ODPM, 2004a; Dixon, et al., 2008; CLG, 2012; Moulaert, et al., 2011). Thus, the literature review leads on to further explorations of theoretical positions, historical perspectives and differing methodological approaches in order to enable both scope and focus for the research project.
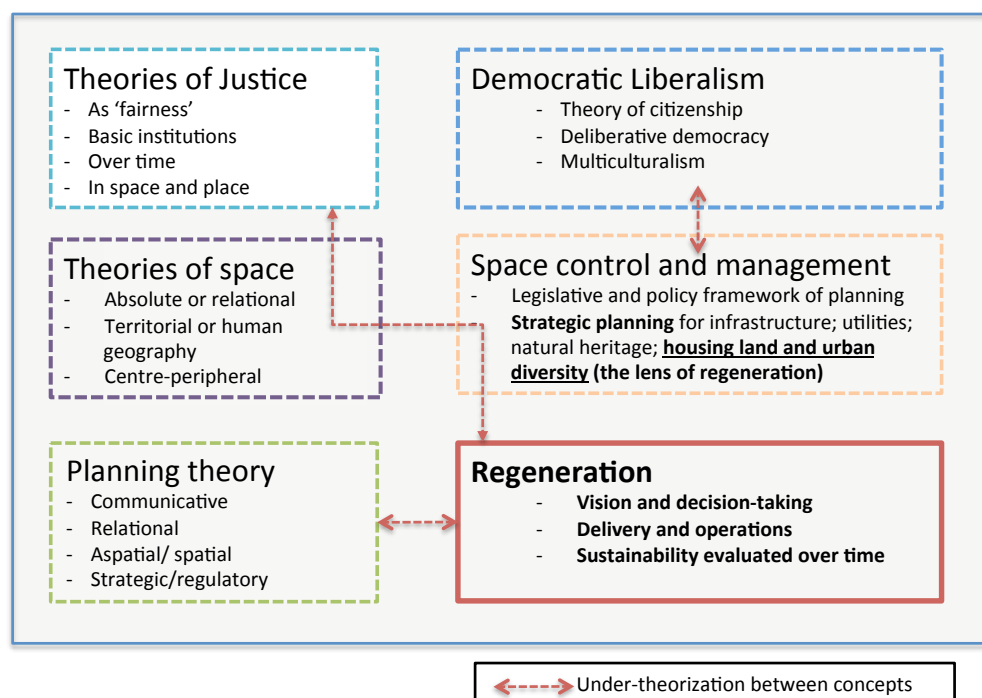
Figure 2.13 Conclusions of the literature evaluation

2.8.5   Research implications from theory and practice

Where do these under-theorized arenas lead this research? Through reviewing perspectives on Liberalism, planning theory and regeneration practice, a clear justification has emerged for the research objective and aims (Table 1.1). Theories of evaluation contextualize existing methods of evaluating regeneration outcomes. These conceptual elements of the research (success criteria and prospective indicators for testing these criteria) are to be deconstructed for inclusion in a conceptual framework, thereby structuring a route through to 'values' abstracted from drilling into literature on justice, planning theory and regeneration practice. This pathway expresses connections between concepts and existing literature, and frames the research process in the next chapter (2.14).
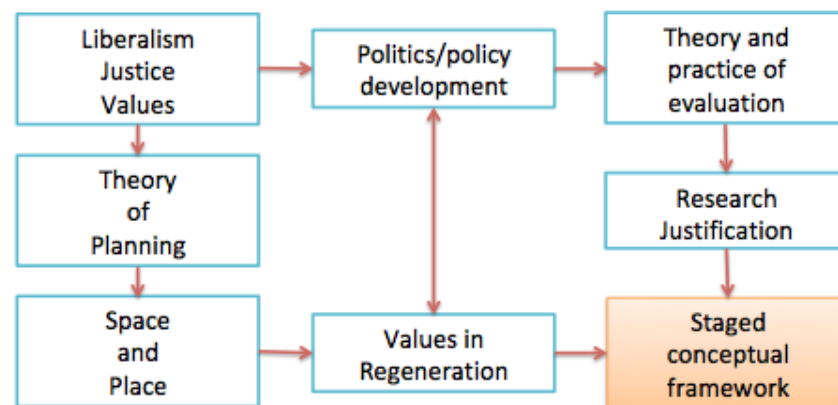
2.14 Conceptual connections following literature evaluation

CHAPTER THREE:

FRAMING CONCEPTS OF REGENERATION PRACTICE

Chapter Objectives
- Show how the theoretical perspective fits with the research purpose
- Provide a paradigm to interpret criteria
- Develop a staged conceptual framework
- Identify key success criteria to assess 'spatial justice' outcomes
- Select initial indicators for evaluating UK practice examples

3 BUILDING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE RESEARCH

A problem identified by the literature reviewed is how planning practices lag behind theoretical development and this gap between practice and theory exposes practice deficiencies (Graham and Healey, 1999; Hillier and Healey, 2010). This chapter builds on the evaluation of the philosophical basis for theories of 'spatial justice', how they impact on practice, and what evaluative frameworks have been used for UK regeneration outcomes. To meet the first research objective of forming a conceptual framework, this chapter prepares the way for framing how regeneration outcomes might be expressed in relation to values entailing 'spatial justice': the spatial expression of social justice. An appraisal of the criteria used for measuring the success of regeneration outcomes will form the development of a staged conceptual framework. Reaching this conceptualisation will be undertaken through three strands:

- How values could be expressed to enable a translation from intangible to measurable forms;
- In which area of regeneration might success criteria be fruitfully tested; and
- How test indicators are to be extracted to bridge the previous two strands.

Possible key criteria will be determined from the gap identified in the earlier appraisal of recent UK evaluative practice and through applying the ontological knowledge base developed from the literature review. The chapter is therefore shaped to ensure a paradigmatic fit within a theoretical perspective. The chapter concludes with the generation of the indicators to be tested within this research project.

3.1   THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND CONCEPTS

3.1.1   A conceptual framework for developing the research

Having a theoretical perspective enabled the outlining of a preliminary conceptual framework that entails values, regeneration's success criteria, and related indicators. Initially, the research plan was to determine a methodological framework following the establishment of a conceptual framework from initial literature review (2.14). The research design was revised as it became clear that 'success criteria' would be required to find a measure of the contested notion of 'spatial justice'. Until this concept had initial shape (Figure 1.1), what it was that 'might be measurable' could not easily be translated into initial indicators. An additional step was required to provide an evaluative and comparative foundation for current or previously trialled measures. Thus, the full circle of literature assessment, theoretical and empirical positions, the scope of the conceptual framework, and appropriate research methodology was reiterated in the research process. A point of settlement emerged through a pragmatic realist approach, which acknowledged a combination of factors: the resources available for one researcher on one project (e.g., time, finance, and capacity), the availability and quantity of data that would be manageable, and the degree to which more or less data would add to an effective outcome as illustrated previously in 2.14 and developed in Figure 3.1.
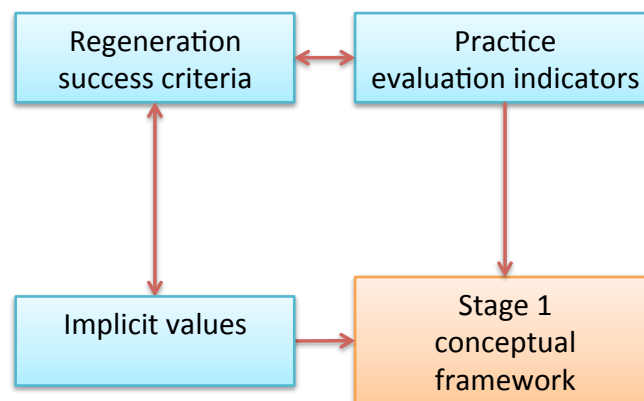
Figure 3.1 Developing conceptual relations between values and indicators

3.1.2   Research philosophy

The foundation for an effective theoretical perspective required the existing body of knowledge to be evaluated. The first decision was made around ontology and epistemology: their points of intersection and their differences. In this sense, for research, an epistemological choice needs to be made between **Objectivism** (i.e. reality

exists independently of consciousness), and thus a realist approach, **Constructivism** (in the sense that meaning is constructed and not discovered, with subjects constructing their own and possibly different views of the same phenomena) is a relativist approach, and **Subjectivism** (i.e. post-positivism, where the focus is not on the subject's view of objects in the outside world, but rather the belief systems or frameworks, such as religious views, which are outside the subject-object relationship being examined), is thus a rationalist approach (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2013; Gray, 2013). For this study, Constructivism was judged to be the best fit epistemologically, accepting that the structures of society are a construct viewed differently by different agents, and that the value outcomes of regeneration may be viewed as such. However, if planning practices lag behind theoretical development, this gap between practice and theory exposes practice deficiencies (Graham and Healey, 1999; Hillier and Healey, 2010). This line of thought is where the current research aims to contribute clarity to improving future planning practice, through the meta-theoretical approach of **Critical Realism** as a post-positivistic ontology by bridging the facts-value distinction and grounding empirical projects in philosophical theories and applying best practice from sociological perspectives (Steinmetz, 1998; Archer, et al., 2013; 2016; Bhaskar, 2013). The process has been iterative, Typically for doctoral research, the literature review led to further explorations of the theoretical positions, historical perspectives (Castells, 1976), and differing methodological approaches, and has been iterative as in the case of evaluating current practice and relevant theory.

3.1.3   Research implications from selection

In ontology, which examines the nature of reality, how it can be known, and how to justify a given approach, critical realism takes the stance that reality is open to interpretation (Bhaskar, 1998; 2013; Archer, et al., 2013). For this reason, critical realism addresses the need to encompass several philosophical perspectives, i.e. those of science and of interpretation; in this sense, the post-positivistic approach of critical realism connects science and interpretivism (Archer, et al., 2016). Smith (1979) made theoretical inroads on behalf of a 'post-positivistic geography' that could address this dual nature. Smith's historic position provides an understanding of the contextual theoretical approaches available when regeneration decisions were being taken for the proposed case study (see Section 4.4). However, a conceptual lens of critical realism offers a useful starting point for examining a research topic bounded by a phenomenological approach.
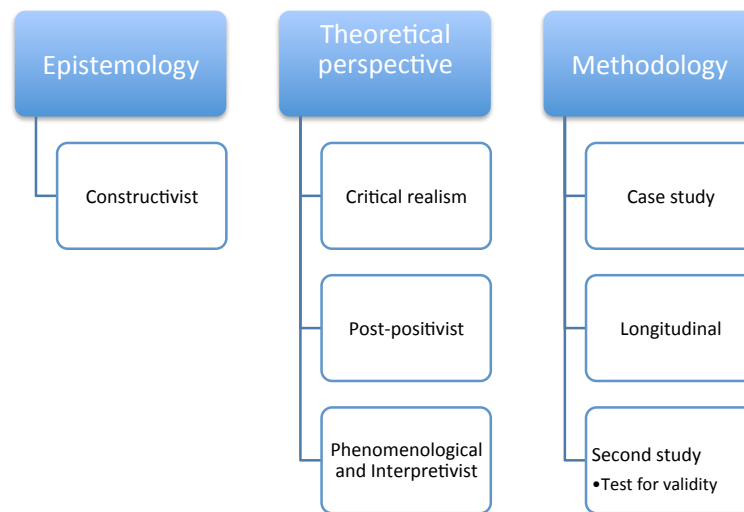
Figure 3.2 Aligning the theoretical perspective with a prospective methodology

By focusing on concepts and theory about the practice of regeneration and its evaluation, the foundation for the research gives a theoretical base for the conceptual framework, then developing a research design with an appropriate methodology. The success criteria and knowledge-base for evaluative practice are further explored to illuminate what indicators might provide linkages at the interface between the tangible and intangible outcomes of practice and value-based assessments. The prospective framework could be deciphered from a case study methodology where a series of indicators serving as tangible proxies for the intangible values could be identified. The methodology of a case study approach could be situated in a Constructivist epistemology with the theoretical perspective of critical realism (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2007; Gray, 2013). Reasons and choices behind this decision are outlined in designing the research strategy (Paragraph 4.2.3). The key components of the conceptual framework, i.e. the values leading to indicators that align with key success criteria of a spatially just outcome emerged through the iterative research process of identifying the appropriate methodology when designing the research strategy.

3.2 THEORY TO CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.2.1 Three strands in conceptualization

Can assumed values, principles, and basic institutions of governance of the underlying philosophy of Liberalism (Rawls, 1972) be measured? Three steps are taken to establish the conceptualisation necessary for distinguishing an evaluative framework of

regeneration that entails specified values and principles:

- A range of approaches will be examined to identify the standards used in assessing UK practice outcomes;

- the key success factors will be extracted as criteria to be tested in this research; and

- within these categories, initial indicators will be identified for structuring the research process

These processes become the conceptual framework, reviewed in the concluding sections of the thesis (Chapters 7 and 8). Connecting philosophical underpinnings of Liberalism to a practice of strategic planning (regeneration). So a focus is being sought on the interrelationships between social, economic, and environmental arenas with spatial implications (CLG, 2012), to express 'spatial justice' outcomes in relation to practice. The literature evaluation proposed a context for the philosophical approach of Liberalism (Paragraph 2.5.2), with citizenship and forms of liberal democracy specified within the approach. Theories of space and justice were nested within the concept of forms of Liberalism, the main element of which for this research is the Rawlesian notion of 'justice as fairness'. Planning theory is situated there and entails policy and practices of the UK planning system as a method of understanding the research focus. Can these outcomes of regeneration (an issue of strategic planning) be expressed as measures of values in UK planning policy and practice? Diagrammatically, the nested layers of theory, politics, policy, practice, and the reality of delivery of regeneration programmes is presented with regeneration 'values as outcomes' at its heart. conceptualised as an element of the policy and practice of strategic spatial planning (Figure 3.3). Thus, contextually regeneration has been sited both within planning theory, policy, and practice, and also in theories of justice and theories of space. These theoretical concepts are understood as elements of Liberalism. This **set of nested conceptualisations outlines the scope for the notion of 'spatial justice' in regeneration outcomes** for the purpose of this research. This context allows for identifying values, success criteria and how to measure such criteria within the research focus on 'spatial justice'. The strands of theory and practice are interwoven, key criteria of 'spatial justice' articulated and related indicators identified as a tangible basis for testing intangible values.
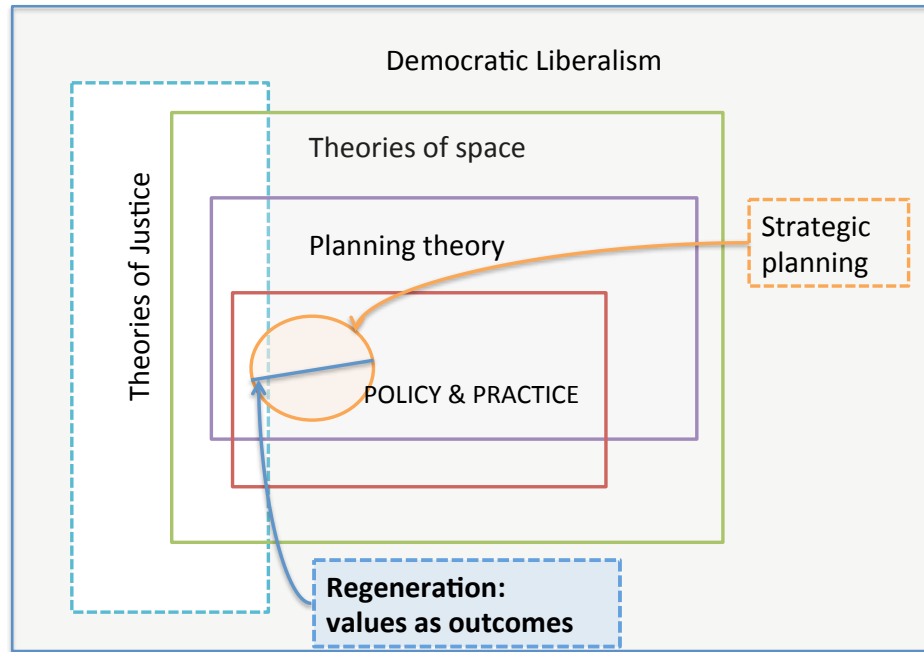
Figure 3.3 Contextualising 'regeneration' after an evaluation of literature

3.2.2   Regeneration as research focus

Regeneration was explored through the literature reviewed. However, the choice of this element of spatial planning for the research base needs explanation. The identification of regeneration as a strategic planning issue was developed by means of an assessment of planning practice through applying a management tool proposed by Covey (1989). It was used in professional practice by the researcher in the regeneration process at Luton, as a toolkit in support of regeneration bid applications and in assessing what skills training in communities might be needed (Figure 2.8 and Figure 2.9). In this sense, Covey identified a method for prioritising operational activities by allocating them to four quadrants relating to their urgency and importance. Borrowing from this approach, attributes of the degree of importance and urgency are allocated to planning practice. For example, strategic issues can lose priority in the face of pragmatic pressures to deliver regulatory planning practice or other similar short-term urgent requirements in a local authority or its constituent communities.

In selecting regeneration to research above other areas of spatial planning, types of planning activities were assessed on whether they were important or urgent or other combinations of these statements, illustrated in Figure 3.4.

QUADRANT 1 Urgent and Important

Setting direction for regulatory practice, eg Local Plan adoption

QUADRANT 2 Not immediately urgent although Important

Planning for the long term, eg Strategic Planning

Applying regulatory planning practice, eg Development management

Evaluating change, eg assessing outcomes of applied planning practice including regeneration

QUADRANT 4 Urgent but Not apparently important

QUADRANT 3 Not apparently urgent and Not immediately important

Figure 3.4 Applying Quadrant 2 thinking to aspects of planning practice (adapted from Covey, 1989)

Thus, Quadrant 1 equates to 'urgent and important', i.e. what has to be done 'now', such as **setting directions for regulatory practice**, e.g. Local Plan adoption; Quadrant 2 activities defined as 'important but not urgent' may cover **planning for the long term**, which would include strategic spatial planning; Quadrant 3 activities relate to those 'not apparently urgent and not immediately important' and may include **evaluating change**, for example, assessing outcomes of applied planning practice, including regeneration; Quadrant 4 activities, as they are 'urgent but not apparently important', would be exemplified by **applying regulatory planning practice**, e.g. development management. Allocations of the above quadrants were based on an interpretation of the researcher's experience of working as a head of service in one local authority for eight years and as a regeneration consultant for about twelve years for local authorities and development agencies in London, and the south, east and centre of England. Allocations to Quadrants 1 to 4 were therefore based in professional empiricism, as encouraged by the professional doctorate approach to Mode 2 knowledge (Fink, 2006).

In adapting the management tool above for this research, the process of strategic spatial planning operations was interpreted as being in the second quadrant. In Quadrant 2, regeneration was located as a conceptualisation of how its practice was used to focus in on delivering 'spatial justice' values. Looking then into exploring strategic planning documents for the proposed research area of London and the greater south-east, five main classifications were identified for the time span of this research and then applied in

Quadrant 2 (Figure 3.5). These strategic issues were identified from spatial strategy documents of the London city-region (GLC, 1984; SERPLAN, 1992; GLA, 2016), the East of England (EERA, 2005) and the UK professional planning body RTPI (Blyth, et al., 2015).

Figure 3.5 Five strategic issues using Quadrant 2 thinking

The strategic spatial issues in planning can be summarised as:

-    Major infrastructure (e.g. motorways, rail links, and airports);
-    Location of utilities (e.g. renewal of energy sources, nuclear power sources, and water and waste management);
-    Natural heritage protection (e.g. forestry, national parks, and agricultural land);
-    Housing land supply (including affordable housing sites and growth points); and
-    Urban diversity and built environment.

Criteria extracted from the literature review did not limit 'spatial justice' to the outcomes of regeneration, therefore the process of analysis was undertaken to specify where 'regeneration' would be located in the range of planned strategic spatial interventions, described as 'Quadrant 2 thinking'. These strategic interests are set against an axis of the component layers of 'spatial justice' values and an axis of the similarities and differences. Figure 3.5 above was developed as a way of showing where the research interest, i.e. values in regeneration, is located conceptually. **Regeneration** is defined then, in this context, as being at **the overlap of the strategic interests of housing land provision and the diversity of urban centres**. Located thus, the lens of regeneration can focus in on the values of 'spatial justice', in its different component layers, and from theory to reality and back again. The outcome of this exercise shows how the research is focused through the lens of regeneration.

From these five key strategic planning issues and research parameters, a hybrid of housing land and urban centres provides the lens of 'regeneration' to focus in on the relationship between values of Liberalism and the reality of practice (Figure 3.6).
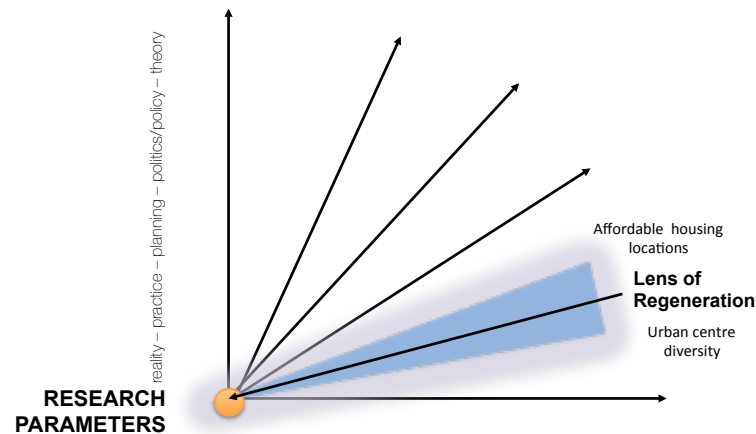
Figure 3.6 Situating regeneration and research parameters in strategic planning

3.3 ASSESSING SUCCESS CRITERIA FOR 'SPATIAL JUSTICE'

3.3.1   Identifying key success criteria

Regeneration has components of evaluation and appraisal, sustainability, partnership, design, and housing (Robert and Sykes, 2000; Imrie, Lees and Raco, 2009; Allmendinger and Haughton, 2012). When filtering the outline research structure to engage with regeneration, strategic issues were selected from a range of sources, for example, primary (regeneration) sources including the London Plan (GLC, 1984), the Egan Review (2004), and the East of England Regional Housing Strategy (EERA, 2005). A draft set of indicators was drawn up from planning theory (Lynch, 1984; Wong, 2009; Moulaert, et al., 2011) and practice (Beatty, et al., 2010). Thirdly, possible case study areas were assessed against documentation available to the researcher and their compatibility with the research boundaries of a professional doctorate. This exercise provided a starting point for naming the key criteria of 'spatial justice' as defined in this study.

Moulaert, et al. (2011) raise two particularly interesting issues in their search for measures of 'spatial quality': the multi-scalar perspective of relational geography which includes multi-level governance and is a multi-layered dynamic view, implied by the concept of space usage being networked variously across time and space. They also argue that collectivity, an ethical judgment on social change, plus a trans-disciplinary stance are the required ingredients for assessing and improving spatial quality. This

analysis was adopted in this research by including an exploration of the scalar quality of governance, by recognising and acting on the trans-disciplinary nature of measures of success of 'spatial justice' (in regeneration), and by identifying, and thereby evaluating, partnerships working – or at least co-ordinating – in moving towards successful regeneration outcomes in justice terms. However, taking an overview shows that 'qualities of spaces are not based upon values intrinsic to objects …but upon the experiential values of these objects' (Oosterlynck, et al., 2010, pp.5-6), identified by people whose socio-subjective perceptions are relational. Further, issues of agency have dependencies to spaces and how they are analysed. So, culture, class, race, and gender identities and spatial competences of experiencing subjects are contributory factors (Bissett Johnson, 1982; Gupta and Ferguson, 1992; Massey, 1994; Schlosberg, 2013).

3.3.2   Combining criteria with managing regeneration

Regeneration's relationship with people in place is encompassed in human geography and its concerns with spatial dimensions of human behaviour and resource use at various scales, as well as people's relationships with places and environments (Massey, 1994; Massey, Allen and Sarre, 1999). Bringing critical insights into key issues facing the world today, such as urbanisation, inequality, climate change, migration, globalisation, indigenous rights, and multiculturalism, helps us to question the roles that aspects of identity such as gender, race, ethnicity, age, and ability play in people's attachment to place and use of space, and their participation in cultural, political, and economic life. A different mode of theorising space is that draws geographical thinking into the domain of 'philosophical topography' (Debarbieux and Malpas, 2011; Malpas, 2012) as the 'relational' view of space and includes a multi-scale perspective: the formation and operation of distant, local, or intermediate relationships (Moulaert, Schreurs and Van Dyck, 2011). Thus **relational geography** adds a dimension to 'space', which connects time and place with notions of boundedness, extendedness, and emergence, as well as relationality (Debarbieux and Malpas, 2011). In this sense, this study aims to draw geographical thinking into the domain of 'philosophical topography' (Malpas, 2012). In 2016, Bell and Davoudi (2016) published a cross-disciplinary examination of '*Justice and Fairness in the City'*, critiquing the concept from different perspectives, including that of environmentalism. A component of spatiality concerned with the environment looks at how environmental benefits are distributed and whether the physical impact on a deprived area is noticed; such perspectives are embedded in the intent to judge environmental justice claims (Bell and Davoudi, 2016, p.26). However, whereas the perspective of Bell and Davoudi (2016) is founded on a

paradigm that examines environmental justice, this research seeks clarity on the scale of governance accountability in relation to processes of regenerative policy interventions. Thus, this research approach encompasses social and economic spheres as well as environmental spheres of activity. The **values of 'spatial justice'** have therefore been deconstructed into components that relate to the practice of spatial interventions and their management. As proposed in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1), they entail:

- **Philosophy**, theory, and concepts;
- **Scale** or level of governance;
- Translations through **politics and policy**;
- Mechanisms/interventions in **the practice of regeneration**; and
- Consequences, experience, and **reality**

These **'component layers'** are used the interpretation of results for professional practice in the concluding chapter (Figure 8.7). Here, the components show where the key criteria are located as research parameters on regeneration and provide the groundwork for seeking indicators to test for 'spatial justice' in outcomes (Figure 3.7).
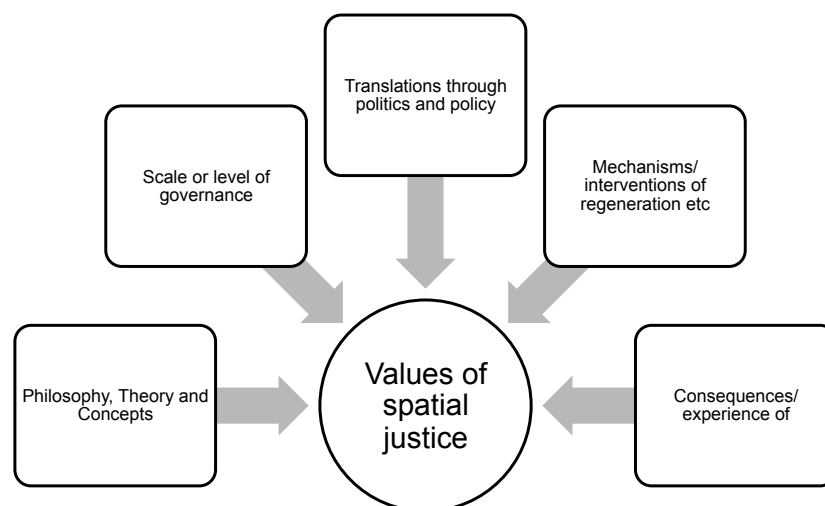
Figure 3.7 Illustrating where key criteria are located as research parameters

3.3.3 Implications for research by defining key criteria

The search for criteria that might entail representative elements of the concepts of 'spatial justice' is therefore to be sought in the three spheres of social, economic, and environmental components of regeneration. This approach is compatible with the UK's current planning framework and guidance (CLG, 2012, p.2). Here, the three spheres are acknowledged (CLG, 2012, Paragraph 7) as comprising the sustainable development of

the practice of planning, itself defined as 'meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (UN General Assembly Resolution 42/187). The UK 'guiding principles' for achieving sustainable development include ensuring a strong, healthy, and **just society** and promoting **good governance** (Wong, et al., 2008), in addition to dealing with a sustainable **economy**, living within **environmental limits**, and **using science** responsibly. For the purpose of this research, then, these three spheres are used to classify how liberal democratic values are encompassed within a notion of 'spatial justice'. Conversely, these spheres begin a process of categorising values of spatiality and how they might be assessed in relation to **key criteria** for study in this research. Criteria were extracted from the literature by searching for the spatial expression of social justice, i.e. the working definition of 'spatial justice' for this research. The consequences of these 'spatial justice' measures would be in performance outcomes compared in practice and their interconnectedness between one another.

3.4 PROPOSING INITIAL INDICATORS FOR THE KEY CRITERIA

3.4.1   Components of 'spatial justice'

From an initial search into what key 'spatial justice' concepts and relations might be comprised of through reviewing and evaluating published literature on theoretical and practice-based information, a first-stage conceptual framework was developed and articulated. In this sense, components relating to 'spatial justice' within the theory and practice of regeneration were identified during the literature evaluation and six categories emerged (illustrated in Figure 3.8):

- Justice, theory of justice, injustice, and spatiality;
- Social justice and the contested 'spatial justice' concept;
- Urban areas, city-regions, regions, and small urban settlements where regeneration is located;
- Defining regeneration, redevelopment, and major infrastructure developments;
- Place and space; time; longitudinal measures of spatiality; and
- Levels and scales of democracy, accountability, responsibilities, and governance.
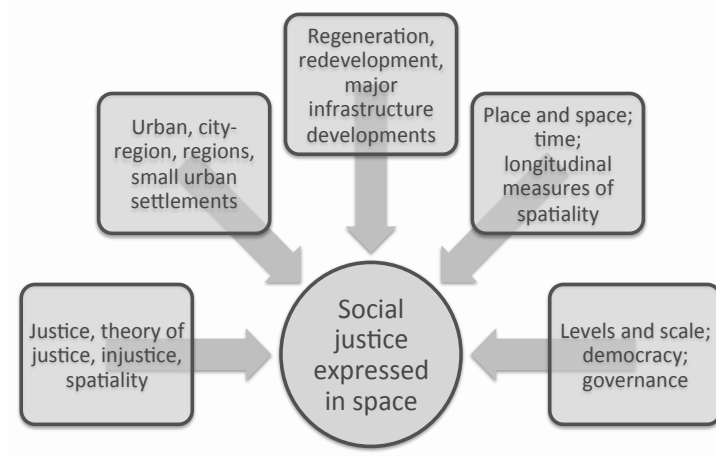
Figure 3.8 Developing where values and components integrate

3.4.2   Developing evaluative measures

The next step was to relate key evaluative variables derived from the C/F for testing regeneration outcomes. These variables were selected from the evaluation data of completed programmes, from preliminary programme objectives, and from literature sources (theory and practice), as explored in Chapter 2, e.g. whether housing accessibility and affordability, environmental quality, health outcomes, or levels of governance in place contribute to measurable changes, from conception to completion and some years afterwards, on regeneration outcomes. The variables for evaluating 'spatial justice' were identified through the evaluated literature and by organising them into the three spheres of regeneration, their overlapping areas, and their time dimensions. Thus

The process of **evaluation and appraisal** as a key tool in regeneration practice assessment emerged from the literature evaluation (Lawless, 2007b). As the term implies, 'values' are entailed in 'evaluation', thus more nuanced consideration of this aspect of assessing regeneration is expanded in the theoretical approach of the research in the research design and methodology (Section 4.1). **Sustainability** has a contextual definition in regeneration that goes beyond its original environmental meaning as well as its later development as a tool for assessing financial viability. For regeneration, the concept of the sustainability of a community – its continuity – has significance in the criteria of a successful regeneration programme. Some practitioners, evaluators, and policy makers identify 'Partnership' as a key criterion for regeneration success. **Design** and planning form a significant measurable mechanism in the delivery of programmed interventions. Indicators and measures have been established in relation

to this aspect of the assessment of regeneration programmes. **Housing people** as both the intention and the outcome of regeneration is also viewed as an important mechanism for assessing the success of regeneration by comparing initial and completed outcomes (e.g., Lawless, 2007a). Indicators for monitoring planning and related spatial interventions required indicators that fitted how outcomes will be delivered (process targets), the effects of policy on the three areas of regeneration (i.e. the social, environmental, and economic), the legislative context in which policy operates, and output measures, such as housing trajectories (PACEC, 1999; Wong, 2009; CLG, 2012).

In the selection process, the potential indicators' relevance in relation to the researcher's professional experience and data accessibility for conducting a longitudinal study were taken into consideration. In addition, the prospect of usable research outcomes in relation to the proposed measures of 'spatial justice' contributed to the selection of a comparative case study.

Indicators had been developed by theorists who had analysed the components of values and justice in, for example, urban form (Lynch, 1984), justice outcomes in place (Fainstein, 2010; Moulaert, et al., 2011), and environmental justice terms (Harvey and Braun, 1996; James, 2014; Sovacool and Dworkin, 2015; Bell and Davoudi, 2016). Indicators for improving outcomes from social research have also been identified (Innes and Booher, 2000), where importance is given firstly to system performance indicators which provide information to the public about the overall health of a community or region. Policy and programme measures are also emphasised so policy makers can measure the efficacy of specific programmes and policies. These, and other proposed systems, confirm that there is no simple formula for systematically developing indicators – each community and region requires the opportunity to build a system which matches their particular circumstances.

Having identified potential key success criteria for regeneration outcomes in 'spatial justice' terms and derived categories of measures for these criteria, initial indicators for measuring outcomes can be proposed for testing in this research.

Indicators had to pass the condition of being **accessible** and obtainable by the researcher. They were also proposed to be potentially **replicable** in future research scenarios (Diamantopoulos, 1997; Gray, 2009; Thomas, 2016). The indicators would be providing the **mechanism for testing** the qualitative data collected in interviews and surveys, with quantitative data accumulated by desk research in journals, online data sources like NOMIS, historical documents, and vision statements (Bastow, 2014). The

boundaries to the indicators were that they should be related to regeneration as defined, that they should represent the arenas in which regeneration takes place, and they should be readable as proxies for values of Liberalism. In the theoretical perspective of critical realism being adhered to in this project, the assignment of selected indicators to the social, economic, and environmental aspects of regeneration was accepted as an appropriate **'warranted assumption'** for the research (Johnson, et al., 2007). An exploratory project into translating intangible values into tangible measures for the contested concept of 'spatial justice' requires taking some bold steps in respect to testing this interface. A **pragmatic** approach was used in selecting indicators, based on what evaluative practice was already doing and what categories would entail the spatial implications of regeneration. Because of this pragmatic approach, **conclusions** drawn will necessarily be **limited by conditionality**; nevertheless, this approach is presented as a method for gaining new insights into value/outcome connections.

In summary, the initial proposal covered three spheres of interest – **social, economic and environmental** – and **their overlaps**, in addition to encompassing **time comparisons** between them all. Limitations of the proposed indicators and how their dimensions are specified will be detailed in the analytical framework (see Chapter 5), whereas the translation from value to measurable indicators will be proposed in the following section.

3.5 CONTEXT OF INITIAL CRITERIA

3.5.1   Establishing values for translation into measurables

With Liberalism proposed for this research to be expressed in varying degrees, in the values, rights, and resources made available to citizens in the UK (Paragraph 2.5.2 and Figure 2.7), The stance taken is that basic values of justice align to Liberalism to a greater or lesser extent (as Paragraph 2.5.1). When seeking to describe the values of Liberalism that would represent where policy and practice might best be linked, there is wide-ranging discourse. In the literature review, current discourse has been led by academics such as Dikeç (2009a), Fainstein (2009; 2013), Harvey (2007), Massey (2005) and Soja (2009) building on the philosophical explorations of for example Lefebvre (1991), Rawls (1999) and Sen (in Nussbaum, 2003). Foundational normative philosophies, for example, Nozick (1974), Walzer (1980) and Barry (1977, quoted in Kincaid, 2012, p.582) have enabled a more precise expression of values. Other discussions have referenced pragmatic thinkers, such as Maslow, who identified basic human needs as a connected series going from the safety and security of a person to the achievement pinnacle of 'self-actualization'. These ideals for the individual have

been used in management practice, borrowing from the discipline of psychology, into a sought-after attainment for communities, for example, in the Egan Review (ODPM, 2004b). Here the research conceptualises connecting this hierarchy of basic needs with values of the contextual degree of Liberalism (Figure 3.9) generated from previous diagrams (Figure 2.7 and Figure 2.8 above).
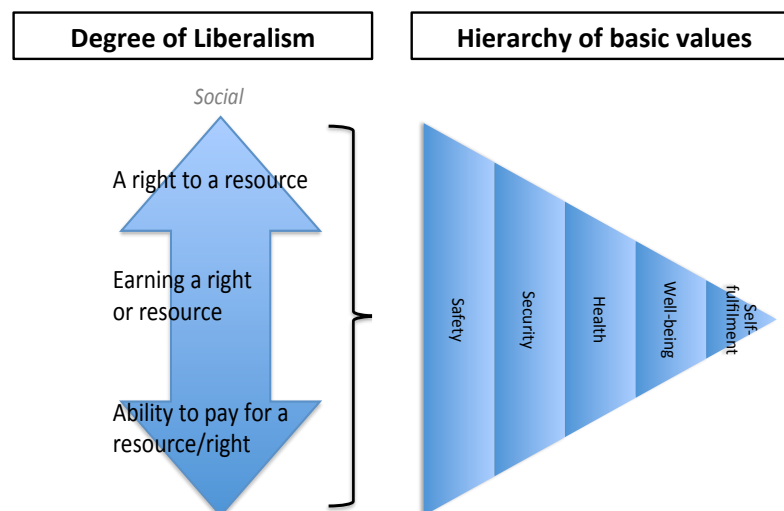
Figure 3.9 Proposing Liberalism's values as measurable outcomes (adapted from sources: Maslow, 1948; Rawls, 1972; ODPM, 2004b; James, 2014; Bell and Davoudi, 2016)

Connections (represented in Figure 3.10) offer a distillation of these elements so spatial values might be sought for a community's hierarchy of needs. An ethical position would be that individuals and groups comprising the community, such as households and families (Rawls' basic institutions described in Paragraph 2.3.2), would be to have the right to have the ability to choose to live a healthy and self-fulfilling life without causing harm to others (Paragraph 2.5.2). Can the link between Rawls's expression of political liberalism entailing principles of equity, difference and avoidance of harm be expressed through the hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1948) (Paragraph 2.6.3)? This conceptual tool has been used by other disciplines: social, organizational and indeed into urban theory, acknowledging limitations in for example cultural and social interactions (Gambrel and Cianci, 2003; Trigg, 2004) or in the ordering of hierarchical outcomes (McLeod, 2007). For the exploratory position in accordance with the theoretic perspective of this research, the Rawlsian concepts of Liberalism (Cohen, 1997; Rawls, 2005; Sen, 2011) and evaluative categories for sustainable communities (ODPM, 2004a; 2004b) are synthesised. They are set out in a relationship of degrees of Liberalism with possible

representative categories as translations towards measurable indicators illustrated in Figure 3.10. This diagram is adapted from an interpretation of *Political Liberalism* (Rawls, 1972), *Sustainable Communities: the Egan Wheel* (Egan, 2004), *Urban sustainability in theory and practice: circles of sustainability* (James, 2014), and *Justice and Fairness in the City: a multidisciplinary approach to 'ordinary' cities* (Bell and Davoudi, 2016).
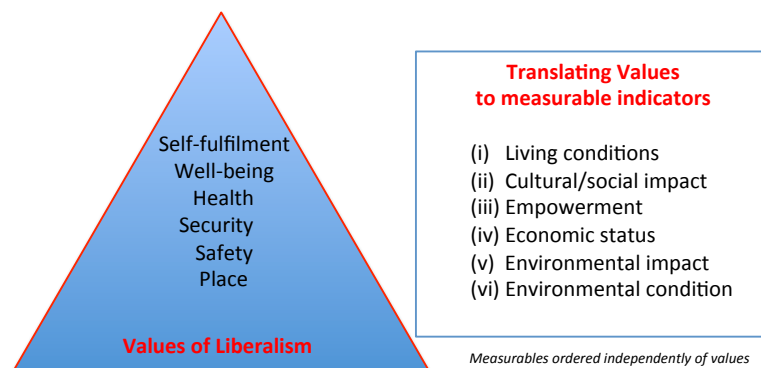
Figure 3.10 Developing initial criteria for translating values to indicators

To summarise, the research aims to connect high-level strategic thinking with deep-seated values and principles through the prism of a locally-based regeneration programme. By examining philosophical theory and drawing connections with regeneration practice, the research aims to develop contextualised conceptual conclusions where the degree of Liberalism is defined (Figure 2.7). The purpose is to reach from the theoretical to the practical and shed light on the latter's everyday meaning. In selecting methods within a critically realist approach, the linkages between empirical evidence and the focal theory are organised into a format for testing (Trafford and Lesham, 2008).

3.6 SELECTING INDICATORS AS PROXIES FOR VALUES IN REGENERATION

3.6.1 Research context

So far, three strands have been examined. The **first strand** is understanding the concept of Liberalism in such a way that its 'values' could be translated from intangible to tangible elements, providing six component layers. The **second strand** is to identify the location of regeneration in the practice of strategic planning in order to provide a lens through which such values of 'spatial justice' might be examined. The **third strand** is to further dissect the components of regeneration practice into those with spatial implications. Synthesising the tangible components into three arenas of regeneration

with the six component layers of 'values' of Liberalism, there is in Bayesian terms a probability of addressing the research problem (Vaccaro, Smith and Aswani, 2010). By taking a post-positivist critical realist perspective, indicators are systematically selected for testing on the probability of whether they throw light on (a) the measurability of deep values, (b) whether professional tools of evaluative practice might be better scoped, and (c) whether there is a reasonable expectation that the current state of knowledge on possible correlations between indicators might be improved. The **arenas** are defined by existing practice; in this sense, the NPPF provides the main arenas; the **types of indicators** emerge from a review of current evaluative practice, while the exact **nature of the indicators** is derived from research and professional experience. Thus, the values to which tangible measures could be allocated are selected and articulated as an interface between the theory of Liberalism and the practice of regeneration and its evaluation. The overlap between tangible and intangible (e.g. Key Performance Indicators and some Vision Statements) then becomes the focus for the research study. Therefore with six socio-economic indicators selected as proxies for the six component layers of values, progress is made in scoping a route from theory to practice and translating back to theory again. The methodology is then geared around collecting data relating to the provisional indicators to be tested, highlighted in red in Table 3.1. The indicators become the primary components for collecting data and analysing the research results (Paragraph 2.6.3). The six levels of values are used to structure the interpretation of research outcomes for insights into professional practice and interpretive conclusions. The degree of success in achieving the 'spatial justice' criteria in areas of regeneration might indicate whether that area has been successful in becoming more spatially, keeping in mind the values were selected pragmatically based on availability, accessibility and relevance to current evaluative practice (Section 2.7).

Table 3.1 Test indicators selected from regeneration arenas (adapted from sources: CLG, 2012; James, 2014)

Social	Economic	Environmental
Living conditions and cultural/social impact:	*Empowerment and economic status*	*Environmental conditions and environmental impact*:
• Housing tenure type • Quality of housing • Affordability of housing • Training for jobs • Educational attainment • School places available • Community and cultural resources	• Accountability • Voter registration • Engagement/participation • Equality in resource accessibility • Employment rate • Household income • Transportation	• Access to health facilities • Healthy living • Predicted life span • Noise • Open space • Air quality • Water quality

Indicators in each of the three arenas of regeneration are defined by the NPPF as having spatial implications for sustainable development (CLG, 2012). Choices are taken in their selection and reviewed when research outcomes are analysed (Sections 7.8 and 8.1). The six indicators proposed for testing are:

- Affordable housing;
- Educational attainment;
- Voter registration;
- Level of household income;
- Predicted life span; and
- Air quality

These indicators act as proxies for the values of Liberalism and are representative of the socio-economic and environmental context of regeneration.

3.7 RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Having developed a theoretical perspective and an initial conceptual framework, the interweaving of the three strands of conceptualization are defined (Figure 3.11).
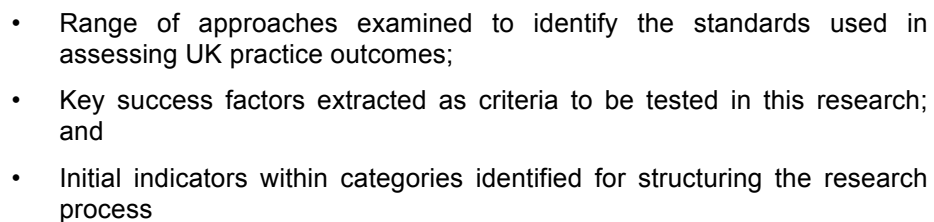
- Range of approaches examined to identify the standards used in assessing UK practice outcomes;
- Key success factors extracted as criteria to be tested in this research; and
- Initial indicators within categories identified for structuring the research process

Figure 3.11 Strands of conceptualization

They provide the route as to which methodological approach is selected and which research methods used to answer the research question. The focus is on outcomes of regeneration practice including the perceptions of stakeholders involved with outcomes and impacts of interventions, with professional interests in delivery or empirical knowledge, or each of these. The research components extract tangibles and intangibles including the 'values of society' (Figure 2.2), deep values of Liberalism attached to these elements (Figure 3.9), and arenas of regeneration incorporating spatial implications defined by the NPPF (CLG, 2012) (Figure 3.10). With this in mind, the methodological approach to this research is articulated in the next chapter, based on bringing together the strands of conceptualization (Figure 3.11) in Stage Two of the conceptual framework as outlined in Figure 3.12 below.
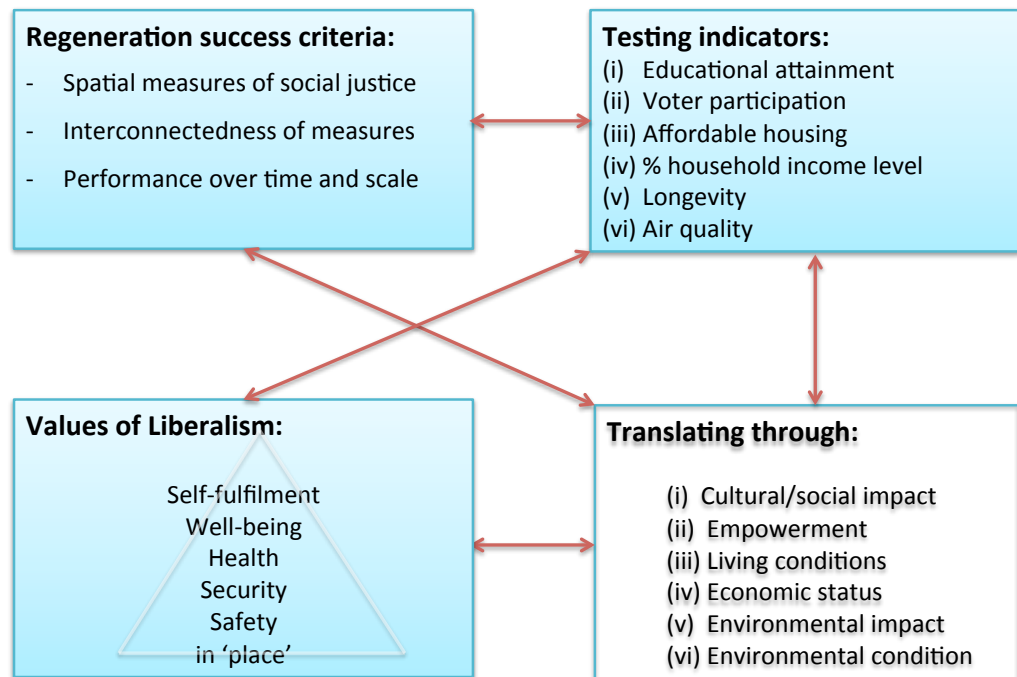
Figure 3.12 Stage 2 conceptual framework

PART II Research stage

Articulating the research design, analysis, and interpretation

Chapter Objectives

- Select methodology and research techniques to deliver professional practice insights and maintain a robust research view
- Assess qualitative-quantitative methods for a case study approach
- Illustrate the design of the case study with an outline of data collection techniques

4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND STRUCTURE

The selection of the conceptual framework for the research strategy was set out in Section 3.1. Here methodologies from within Constructivism and the selected theoretical perspective of Critical Realism are assessed. Methods for researching the theoretical and empirical questions raised in the thesis will be considered. Using a case study methodology a research structure will be formed for achieving insights into regeneration practice outcomes. A choice of methods will be considered for how best to explore indicators that are proxies for liberal democratic values, concluding with a proposed format for this research.

4.1 SELECTING FROM METHODOLOGIES TO STRUCTURE THE DESIGN

4.1.1 Research strategy outline

A theoretical perspective has been located within constructivism, where social constructs define the view of the (organisational) world. This position provided a direction for the research strategy (Figure 3.2*)* and shaped the conceptual framework. By defining dimensions of 'social justice' in spatial terms and linking examples to the theory of justice, these spatial examples were translated into relevant socio-economic indicators in order to identify measurable values. Through these steps, the conceptual framework was conceived with the aim of measuring the reality of outcomes in regeneration programmes.

4.1.2 Epistemological context

The post-positivistic paradigm adopted for investigating regeneration required a methodology that could be flexible in its use of methods and techniques in relation to the objectives of the study, which includes addressing the complexities of real-world

phenomenology at the same time as adding to an interpretative approach by testing measured outcomes (Paragraph 1.3) where measures of spatial justice can be located. As this project is concerned with the real world, a critical realist perspective using qualitative and measured outcomes in a post-positivist paradigm would assist in delineating the study (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2007; Gray, 2013).

In the **context** of this study, the research methodology supported the journey of a professional doctorate based on an iterative cycle of practice-theory-practice, situated within a phenomenological approach to 'real-world' problems (Gray, 2013; Smith, 2013). A key aim was to bridge the gap between the conceptual and the everyday practice of delivering regeneration policy. The appropriate research methodology needed to be a satisfactory vehicle for exploring theory and practice outcomes. Original content would be required in order to fulfil the requirements of a professional doctorate, so the methodology had to be able to develop a theoretical proposition for predicting or explaining outcomes in a practice-based scenario. In addition, possible implications for theory were also sought as part of the research development. In seeking links to other disciplines, the 'dispositional knowledge' (Jeffrey, 1975) that bridges the gap between professional and practical knowledge was a further desirable outcome.

4.1.3   The paradigm

A paradigm for understanding whether regeneration outcomes are 'successful' needed to entail how this success would be understood. While no facts are independent of the theory or paradigm into which they fit, facts may differ depending on the worldview in which we situate ourselves (Kuhn, 1962). A postmodernist perspective would not prevent choosing a methodology approach and relevant methods which could shed light on the reality of regeneration and its spatial outcomes. The practice of regeneration was the professional base from within which the research question would be addressed, and the research proposal had been designed to fill or narrow research gaps and consider possible applications in regeneration knowledge that might be further developed, converted, or extended for practical application through enquiry into theory. A post-positivistic paradigm regarding the practice of regeneration was evaluated as fulfilling such requirements.

As a strategy for designing research, 'methodology' is understood as a plan of action or a process for the choice of particular methods, which connects to the results being sought and the theoretical perspective being taken (Crotty, 1998). The approaches of **phenomenology,** intentionality or 'referentiality', and studying the 'lived experiences of a person, where the experiences are conscious ones, then developing descriptions of

the essences of these experiences' (Crotty, 1998, p.44) supported the research objectives (Creswell, 2013b), which in this case aim to uncover a truth in the practice and reality of regeneration This study of regeneration was planned to use spatial outcomes as the phenomena that people experience, with the intention of proceeding further than phenomenology by including analyses of outcomes and explanations not ruled out (Crotty, 1998; Gray, 2013).

Research was not planned to be used immediately, nor was it planned to seek knowledge without an application in mind. Combining strategic and applied research clarified the direction into which the research question had been probing: to narrow a gap in knowledge and its (possible) application in terms of a philosophy of space-based distributive justice, in addition to enquiring into acquiring or extending knowledge for practical application in terms of planning theory and regeneration practice. Within these two strands of research (strategic and applied), the notion of theoretical knowledge was also considered, for example, where **theory building** would be brought about through two methods of accessing knowledge: Mode 1 and Mode 2.

Firstly, as the literature evaluation sought theories of spatial and political structure in which regeneration might be situated, the research would be designed to acquire knowledge by **observing,** describing, and measuring **phenomena**. **Mode 1 knowledge** about the world stems from theoreticians providing "traditional 'truths' accumulated over time…universal, objective, disciplined, planned, tested, and reliable findings" (Edwards and Usher, 2002, p.8), but theory development would be limited through this approach alone. By applying Bayesian terms to test this position, Jeffrey (1975, p.106) argued that 'the truth appears to be that neither falsification nor verification are possible in principle, in the case of serious scientific hypotheses'. For this research, while theories may not be provable, they would provide a guiding framework for understanding predicted outcomes of practice and would benefit from employing Bayesian logic that could support evidential probability in problem-solving (Vaccaro, Smith and Aswani, 2010; Sovacool and Dworkin, 2015).

The second approach, defined by **attributes of the phenomena observed**, involves **Mode 2 knowledge** of the world: 'know-how'. By analysing the relationships between categories defined and outcomes observed, a deductive approach would predict from a model or structure or information, set a framework or typologies, and predict constructs from this analysis. Alternatively, inductive reasoning would observe constructs and measure them, ascribe or categorise upon the attributes of phenomena, and arrive at a statement of association; Mode 2 works within a context where problems are **trans-**

disciplinary (Nowotny, Scott and Gibbons, 2006). In the case of this project, inductive reasoning categorising attributes devised from professional knowledge and more than a single disciplinary base aided the exploration of deep philosophical values in tandem with knowledge of the real-world outcomes from regeneration interventions, thereby crossing the boundaries of more than one discipline. While the process of regeneration practice is argued to be better observed in reality (Schlichtman and Patch, 2014; Jones, 2015) and would appear to benefit from a Mode 1 knowledge approach, the approach advocated for research in a professional doctorate supports using Mode 2 knowledge (Fink, 2006; Trafford and Leshem, 2008).

4.1.4 Assessing methodological approaches

In order to arrive at a methodology suited to this topic, a number of approaches were considered. **Grounded Theory**, aimed at 'constructing middle-level theories directly from data analysis' (Beck, et al., 2004, pp.440-444) and built on strong empirical foundations, was also considered as an alternative method for collecting and analysing data. In addition, **Action Research** was assessed as an applied methodology for trying out social policy and amending or adapting it according to the results. However, neither approach fitted the research as defined for this project.

Ethnomethodology stems from a sociology which focuses on common-sense knowledge used to extract 'shared meanings and social order from conversation and social interactions' (Payne and Payne, 2004, p.76). In the case of a researcher being engaged with the researched community, **an auto-ethnographic approach** would legitimately be referenced as part of the research stance (Anderson, 2006).

The paradigm approach chosen for this thesis, **the case study methodology,** has a perspective and format which supports research into observable phenomena in the form of spatial outcomes and also address less observable phenomena nested within that format (Creswell, 2013a). As a case study can contain a geographic focus, can be longitudinal with 'snapshots' (Dunleavy, 2003), can incorporate observable phenomena, and can also question the 'underlying real order that is observed as the phenomena' (Payne, 2004, p.172), this approach was assessed as a good fit with the research objectives. The case study methodology gave a focus to the **real-life phenomenological** approach and a pathway along the continuum of spatiality and justice. Working definitions of this continuum (Section 1.4) are synthesised from the perspectives of Marcuse (2009) and Dikeç (2000a; 2009b), as well as theorists such as Harvey (2009; 2012), Soja (2010), and Fainstein (2009; 2013) (Paragraph 2.4).

In appraising the ontological approach of this research, the relationship between reality

and the researcher was broached at the commencement of this study (Paragraph 1.2). Arguably, there is a positive contributory technique to use in investigating that reality (from Perry, et al., 1997, p.547, based on Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The case study approach would positively contribute to a critical realist perspective (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007; Bhaskar, 2013) and provide adequate criteria for judging the validity and reliability of qualitative research outcomes.

4.1.5   Assessing research methods

A **phenomenological** approach to research leads to choices of survey and interview methods to uncover real-world information, such as community experiences of regeneration in the current research. An autoethnographic contribution for delivering emic 'insider knowledge' and empirical understanding were included and care was taken to avoid subjective bias or reliance on anecdotal evidence (Creswell, 2013b). For this research, borrowing from an approach that would fit environmental social research design was explored. The methodology benefits from seeking complementarity between qualitative and quantitative methods on many levels to deal with the complexity of, for example, inter-related environmental issues, by a systematic collection and analysis of some quantifiable information from examining data deriving from specific types of indicators (Vaccaro, Smith and Aswani, 2010). There, a multi-disciplinary approach is combined with making assessments over different time periods, with a series of research methods, a valid and necessary stage for covering spatial and social research issues. The application of this approach is interpreted as meaning that one discipline will need adjustments to meet the requirements of another discipline. For example, where areas of interest in spatial and social research overlap, methodologies will be diverse and appropriate to those interests. Translating features of a quantitative approach for example principle component analysis (PCA) into a qualitative mode could assist providing clarity on what decisions and choices were made for accepting representative indicators of spatial justice outcomes (Jolliffe, 2005). This translation would encourage asking why the data matrix was collected and what the experimental measurements might show. In seeking possible patterns, adapting this form of enquiry might aid discovering new perspectives in broad terms between values and indicators. Drawing on a **methodology specifically addressing spatiality** was helpful in identifying methods appropriate to this research project. By combining qualitative data accumulation and quantitative analysis within the proposed case study approach, the aim was to bridge the '*frequentist* or classical approach to statistical inference' and the **Bayesian approach** (Glickman and van Dyk, 2007, p. 319). The aim was to research patterns of association and causation which could be evaluated through empirical investigation.

Interrogating documents with key research concepts would address the first point, and conducting interviews to accumulate a qualitative evaluation of these concepts would satisfy the second point (Cook and Richardt, 1979). An observational study of regeneration's spatial outcomes provides robustness for developing a theory framework. Observation in a longitudinal study of regeneration required measuring, describing, categorization of phenomenological attributes and thereby using inductive reasoning. Overall the approach was assessed to be one of a social science investigation, with the aim of systematically collecting data and using previously tested methods with rigour. In addressing justice in spatial outcomes of regeneration, both quantitative and qualitative data would provide useful analytical information.

4.1.6   Methodological approach to data

The purpose for producing data for the current research is to connect social issues with objectives of delivery in space. When qualitative and quantitative approaches combining localized and multi-sited research were considered for researching environmental justice, the contextual language of present day analysis and concurrently the historically developmental approach contributed to discursive, statistical, or spatial analyses for examining that measure of justice (Vaccaro, Smith and Aswani, 2010, p.3). So taking a synchronic-diachronic perspective from a cultural theory concept relating to linguistics (Edgar and Sedgwick, 2007) – combining a multi-disciplinary approach and making assessments over several different time periods – the use of a series of research methods as in 'mixed methods' was assessed as being both valid and necessary to manage data for this measure of justice.   The research approaches that suit one discipline were re-adjusted to meet the requirements of another discipline so spatial and social research interests would overlap and methodologies would therefore be diverse. Thus a mixed methods approach was selected as an appropriate combination (Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, 2003; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011; Mertens and Hesse-Biber, 2013). Reflecting on future use that could be derived from the research, practice and theory on information technologies and communications will progress and develop (Kitchin, 2015). **Data collection methods** for spatial information will be increasingly able to rely on 'big data' from sensors and user devices and by applying Geographic Information Systems (GIS) thus revolutionize the 'analytical potential of social sciences to document and explain how human communities interact with the landscape' (Vaccaro, Smith and Aswani, 2010, p.9) where 'environmental research produces multi-level scalar data that produces a spatial component to social practices'. That type of exercise has the prospect of uncovering data correlation that links spatial and social information for analysis (Kitchin, 2015;

Chandler, 2016). Further, qualitative research may be enhanced by visual artifacts, for example images, and contribute to a better understanding of the human condition (Prosser, 2005).

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN POSSIBILITIES

4.2.1 Selecting a 'Mixed Methods' research approach

Designing from a 'mixed methods' research approach provides adequate flexibility to follow a qualitative line of enquiry that adds clarity with quantitative assessments of results. However, as Mertens and Hesse-Biber (2013) clarify, 'Mixed Methods' research is not simply mixing and combining methods: it has links to specific epistemologies and theoretical perspectives. Seated in the Constructivist engagement in a **post-positivist paradigm**, this research is designed to combine results from both types of data collection. Analysis might therefore uncover if there are linkages between research outcomes. If such linkages are discovered then there is a prospect of confirming the reliability of such findings. The linkages between the ways of seeing problems in the context of a socially constructed understanding, coupled with a hybrid Mode 1 and Mode 2 approach to knowledge for a professional doctorate is a foundation to a theoretical perspective of Critical Realism, that is interpretive, phenomenological, and post-positivistic (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007). This perspective is arguably a fruitful approach for framing multiple views and interconnections between them in the context of research social justice (Mertens, 2007). **Triangulation of methods** as well as methodologies stemmed from Denzin in 1978, as reported by Johnson, et al. (2007, p. 121), with four types combining in a study of the same phenomenon: data sources, investigator, using multiple theoretical perspectives, and multiple methods for researching a problem. However, the distinction between multiple quantitative or multiple qualitative approaches cannot avoid a replication of a weakness within one paradigm. This understanding supports the notion of a mixed-methods approach to lessen the concern of researcher bias as alluded to in relation to **auto-ethnographic evidence**. This source contributes a perspective provided from contemporaneous images of a local community actively responding to spatial interventions, and a comparative perspective some four decades afterwards (Prosser, 1998). In examining values and measurable indicators of regeneration delivering spatially just outcomes, the approach has the strength of taking different perspectives on the same problem, exploring a contested concept in different paradigms, and providing a source of corroboration through triangulation (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2007; Gray, 2009). The broadening of the enquiry into the subject beyond a community-focused approach, a

professionally-based examination or a theoretical exploratory view entailed good research practice and supported verification of results (Cook and Richardt, 1979; Guba and Lincoln, 1994). As proposed in the combination of an auto-ethnographic view of regeneration practice (see Paragraph 4.1.2), with qualitative data acquired and quantitative data available would support overriding any inbuilt methodological error replication.   Johnson's critique on mixed methods supports the use of qualitative research in a Constructivism epistemology and identifies post-positivism's connection to quantitative research (Figure 4.1). A justified approach when seeking tentative answers in an exploratory or innovating research project is that of **pragmatism** for mixing approaches and methods, and introduces 'commensurability validity' or 'legitimation' that takes 'the cognitive process of Gestalt switching and integration' (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2006, p. 57) thus providing for a 'typology of … validity …for mixed methods research'.   This analysis supported the use of a mixed methods methodology constructed to minimize weaknesses which might occur by taking only one perspective, to help achieve **commensurability across different paradigms**, and to enable extracting multiple validities from the research. Although other research theorists (Creswell, 2007; Gray, 2013; Thomas, 2016) are less specific about this broad application for achieving validity, this research combined results from both types of data collection, to uncover through analysis if there are linkages between research outcomes, and if so whether the reliability of such findings could be confirmed.

4.2.2   Research methods

Recognizing that this type of research has limitations on its generalizability, particular methods were considered. The case of North Kensington has specific attributes because of its location (viz., Notting Hill race riots of 1956; Notting Hill Carnival; a mid-1990s film titled 'Notting Hill'; Portobello Market as a tourist destination). However, the research aims go beyond that interpretation, to extract insights into professional practice from the case study; to supply transferability for reapplying the research methods in other places; and to produce findings inductively arrived at from the particularity of the case (Gomm, 2000, pp.98-99). The research proposal showed that a good quality of qualitative data could be collected over the time span of the study that the community was likely to have changed significantly from the study's planned timing, but that some quantitative data would be difficult to access (see Appendix 5). Thus aligning the research purpose and its resources, the following methods were assessed: (i) document analysis (including visual artefacts), (ii) interviews and (ii) local contact with existing residents. Theming and codification of data was considered as an analytic tool in developing the framework. In the case study, the examination of documents, interviews

and survey was conducted through interrogating on indicators that were thought to reflect criteria of 'spatial justice' following the evaluation of relevant literature including evaluative practice and theories of spatial planning. The criteria initially selected (Table 3.1) are summarized as: spatial measures of social justice, their interconnectedness, and the identification of any performance gap in regeneration policy delivery, at the selected time points in the area of study. Indicators were selected in relation to values interpreted to be proxies of those of Liberalism (Figure 3.11). Case study research aided connecting criteria and indicators through document interrogation, survey and interviews, thus giving the research strategy shape (Diamantopoulos, 1997; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011; Bastow, Dunleavy and Tinkler, 2014; Thomas, 2016). The methodological approach employed these methods to deliver a clear insight into strategic and local outcomes, at critical points over time, and incorporate a mix of evidence sources.

An area-based regeneration programme in London was selected as the case focus with a four-decade span springing from the researcher's previous research into North Kensington, its housing finance mechanisms and gendered outcomes from the local plan for the area. A brief comparative case study area of a regional city urban programme followed. A suite of techniques from qualitative and quantitative sources was chosen and tempered by a Bayesian approach and inductive reasoning (Leonard and Hsu, 1999; Thomas, 2006; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007). Benchmarking was through contextual comparisons of theory, source data, policy and practice. A range of measurable indictors gave validity to the research (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011). The research methodology suggested the prior evidential probability was determined to be likely, used 'to express belief in a statement about unknown quantities' (Glickman and van Dyk, 2007). The approach aligned concepts, theoretical perspectives and methods of implementing the case study as illustrated in Figure 4.1 (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2007; Gray, 2013).

Another case study would be unlikely to produce the same outcomes, if only because the range of people and nuances of place and their interactions in an area of change was highly complex and unlikely to be exactly replicated, with low generalizability. Nevertheless, research results may indicate future policy direction acquired through the longitudinal data comparisons. The use of mixed methods was selected to resist bias from the researcher inadvertently pursuing confirmatory answers to the research, by providing a means of triangulation. The researcher took an ethical stance of designing-in balance in retrieving data from a range of sources while also contributing eyewitness autoethnographic artefacts for the two studies. As there is little likelihood that this type of

analysis in this particular case study could be repeated, arguably its prospects for 'reliability' are low (ibid, 2016, p.65), so taking several evidential sources, accepting a Bayesian interpretation of probability in collecting new relevant data, and using qualitative and quantitative data appropriate for area-based regeneration, supported a balanced approach to addressing both validity and reliability (Jeffrey, 1975; Lawless, 2007a; 2007b; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011).
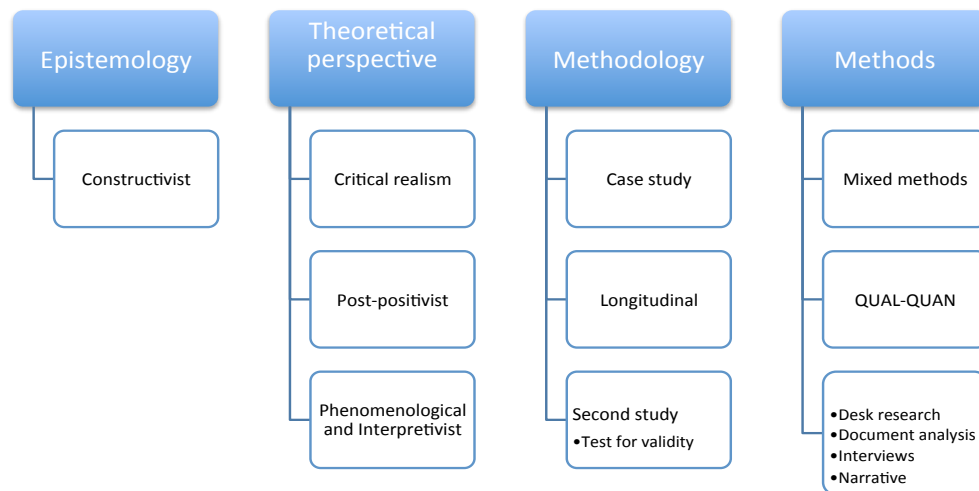
Figure 4.1 Theoretical perspective and methodology linked to research methods
(adapting Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2007; Gray, 2013)

4.2.3   Summary of research strategy

The approach was to be analytical, with a periodized account of regeneration in a bounded geographic programme (Dunleavy, 2003; Bastow, Dunleavy and Tinkler, 2014). Results from data collected within the case study structure would provide a basis for an analysis of how 'spatial justice' can be measured and communicated. As the research was also designed to uncover philosophical underpinnings to the original policy and plans of a regeneration programme, both outcomes have implications for understanding the value-based impact of digital technology on urban form, as the geography of a digital society. Comparative results were sought in order to point to why and how anomalies occur in terms of justice outcomes in the regeneration of place. Any resulting differences between planned regeneration results and the social reality were predicted to indicate where a potential for improving the democratization of spatial outcomes exists thus what might be, for example, the conditions for justness in the (digital) city. The research strategy adopts an iterative process, returning to the literature and adjusting the staged conceptual framework as new material emerges in the case study 'container'.

4.3 CASE STUDY DESIGN

While there were several design frames available (action, comparative, or evaluative research, or experimental), this **case study** format showcases comparisons (e.g., national and city region as local and strategic elements of regeneration) and supports evaluating the mechanisms and outputs of policy over time (e.g., contextually). It was designed as a means to illuminate the detail of 'what *is* happening compared with what *has* happened' from conception to completion of regeneration interventions. The research aim and objectives were tested through the research methods of document analysis and interviews within the case study frame. The concern about the case study approach in relation to reliability and validity of the research has been discussed. Area selection was bounded by professional experience, longitudinal data accessibility, and relevance to proposed measures of spatial justice. These tools are combined to provide a systematic analysis of regeneration outcomes measured through proxies of value: in a specific area, North Kensington (Dearlove, 1973; Robert and Sykes, 2000; Foden, et al., 2010; Lawless, 2011) and retested at a different scale in Peterborough. This supporting study uses contexts of the city-region of London and the Peterborough city region of East of England (Boddy and Hickman, 2013; Blyth, et al., 2015) with a view of capturing whether any impact of whichever strategic level of governance is relatable to regeneration outcomes as assessed in this research. As with other sections in this research, selections and choices are necessary. Here, a broadly comparative form of region level governance is to be the control between the main case study and its follow-up 'mini-study' (see data dimensions for Peterborough in Section 7.2).

4.3.1   Choosing a voice

There were several points for choices to be made in a forty-year longitudinal study. The researcher acknowledged 'positionality' in relation to the case study areas at the outset. That position is encompassed as a positive contribution to the type of research into regeneration that affects neighbourhoods and communities over decades often with the consequence of 'gentrification' of an area (Caulfield, 1994; Lees, et al., 2010; Schlichtman and Patch, 2014). A second contribution of 'positionality' relates to professional understanding through the Professional Doctorate process using 'Mode 2' knowledge, that of 'know-how' as explicated above (Paragraph 4.1.3). The second type of 'positionality' applied to the validity testing proposed through the second case meeting a requirement of a professional doctorate to be aligned with practice interests as well as academic and theoretical explorations. Therefore an 'auto-ethnographic' position was taken in relaying some conditions and context of the London case study through a

photographic record of the area, generated by the researcher who was part of the community in 1976 and an urban planning student (Bissett Johnson, 1978). Using photography not only as a medium to represent, but also as a technology to communicate concepts of spatiality, trigger imagination and communicate emotions as well as reality (Prosser, 1998; Hall, 2001). The material later formed the source of a photographic exhibition about regeneration at the Urban Design Group, London (Bissett Scott, 2012). Images used for this research give an eyewitness account from which comparisons can be made at the post-intervention points of the study on context, housing conditions and community amenities. The analytic auto-ethnographic approach (Anderson, 2006) is appropriate for this study as a necessary component of conveying the reality of change in a 'gentrified' neighbourhood, viz., Schlichtman and Patch (2014) who encourage such an approach. Further, an adaptation of ethnography has been used in appraising evaluative practice (Figure 2.8) and when researching Peterborough: these examples relate directly to outcomes of the researcher's professional practice in Luton and in Peterborough. Other sections of the research were founded in etic research practice (Guba and Lincoln, 1989; 1994).

4.4 DESIGN OF CASE STUDY

4.4.1 Meeting the aims of the research

This section contains the detail of how the case study was conducted, as encouraged by Trafford (2008) for meeting the Professional Doctorate requirements. The research was designed to measure results of planned regeneration in terms of socio-economic data related spatially, at several stages of the programme. The dimensions of the measures were spatial, temporal and organisational. Measures of space, time and scale provided the scope of indicators being testing through the case study method. The results sought to measure regeneration impacts in an area of a community, its component households and individuals. The interest is to identify change over time, during and after a programme of intervention. The contribution of scale of governance to outcomes and perception of change is also being considered. The research process was designed to systematically check the research actions with findings, practice and theory.

4.4.2 Starting the research

Good qualitative research practice requires **research ethics procedures** be put in place and confirmed with the University's Faculty Board to begin with. Plans were made for managing data collection and confidential storage, complying with arrangements to ensure researcher personal safety, and providing a clear statement for survey and

interview participants and providers of data about protection and use of information gathered. Signed copies of Participant Consent forms are on file secured by the researcher with the generic form attached in Appendix 3.

4.4.3   Case study form

The case structure was adapted from an approach used in life sciences laboratory experiments, and from practice examples, e.g., the researcher's professional engagement for Luton (1992 to 2001) and Peterborough, Stevenage, Northamptonshire and Leicester City local authorities (between 2001 and 2010). The form has distinct steps on when and why a case study would be actioned, what resources it entailed and how outcomes would be measured. Its methodical approach to nominal data such as the unique naming and location, timescales and generic information is positivistic in that it references a science-based approach to gathering evidence. It also regularises the recording of data required for the analytical framework, and socio-economic indicators of selected success criteria for spatial justice in regeneration outcomes.   The structure provides a container for data as it is collected and the data records of each case study (Diamantopoulis, 1997).

4.4.4   Data collection in the case study

Case study data were to be collected through the stated techniques (Figure 4.1) and desk research, in line with the conceptual framework (Figure 3.12).   Categories of information sought data about resources, people and funds in time scenarios, from start to completion and post-completion of interventions, and according to scale of governance from local neighbourhood through borough or city, to city-region or region.

The **process** of managing data involved collecting and recording the data, codifying results on the basis of established criteria (Figure 3.11) and then deducing any commonality as themes. To boost the reliability of interpretations, the process was repeated in a reduced form to re-test a different geographic area taking particular interest in governance levels (Section 7.2). Programmes were not synchronic with the first study so national data were used for benchmarking outcomes: the purpose was to explore if any impact on regeneration outcomes could be detected in relation to a strategic level of governance.   Analytical outcomes are presented in a narrative as a record of the case study interpretation (Section 7.4). The test indicators as possible measures of spatial justice were examined from qualitative and quantitative sources and synthesised as interpretive findings (Thomas, 2016). The process of analysis is set out in Section 5.1.

The **choice of data collection methods** was bounded by pragmatic issues such as managing the magnitude of the study, availability of sources (especially longitudinally), and the degree of comparability of available data. This research has been carried out on an individual basis and has consequential constraints of funding availability. The timespan of the study meant that personnel and projects changed significantly over the four decades of the longitudinal study and had important changes in the second study. As data sources and types were not collected in the same way by the primary sources or labelled differently by different collection sources, there were consequences for the consistency of data for comparability (Brace, 2008; Trafford and Leshem, 2008; Gray, 2013).

A judgment was taken by the researcher in assessing methods available in the selected paradigm of post-positivism, that **structuring the choice of participants** would provide a clear and bounded focus for analysis to achieve reliability, support validating results and lower any prospect of bias within the limitations of a case study approach. The researcher's professional experience of appraising regeneration outcomes led to a reasonable expectation of some test indicators having correlation (Glickman and van Dyk, 2007).

4.4.5   Research methods designed into the case study

Connecting the research interests with the criteria and indicators structure of interrogating documents, survey and interviews provided a process for structuring questionnaires (Brace, 2008). Linking the identified criteria and indicators (Figure 3.11) with the research question defined the overall research drivers, developed as the Analytical Framework (A/F) (Section 5.4) so outcomes (performance) of regeneration could be measured in spatial terms that relate to the working definition of spatial justice values.

4.4.6   Balanced distribution of data sources

Balance and transparency were systematically addressed through out the project. In the method of selection of documents and interview participants, it was for local:strategic and historic:recent balance; and for inclusion of the three spheres of regeneration of social:economic:environmental, as illustrated in Figure 4.2.
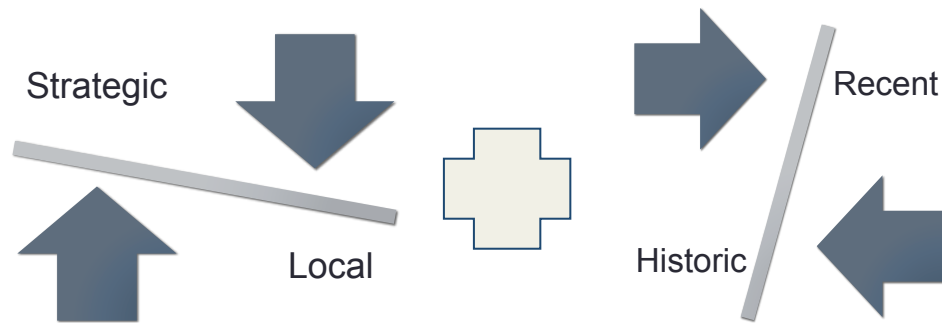
Figure 4.2 Balancing non-probability selection to data sources

The combination of local and historic, and recent and strategic was represented schematically. Data sources were attributed to the schemata quadrants to indicate visually the balance of distribution of documents to be analysed and participant selection (Figure 4.3).
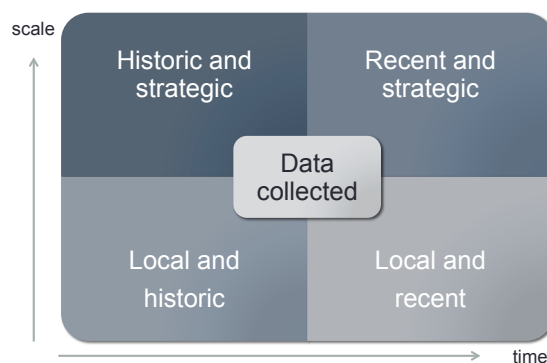
Figure 4.3 Schematic diagram for method checking balance between data sources

4.4.7 Design of document analysis

The case study research was designed to discover goals or decisions taken that would support or deny identified 'spatial justice' values. Documents as 'material culture' being a rich source of information, a set of records, documents, archives and artefacts was listed for analysis and reference. A comparison was planned between types of documents over the four quadrants (Figure 4.3) for a range of mission or vision statements by the relevant council; information from or about committee or board meeting minutes; brochures and non-technical explanations of regeneration programmes for communities; evaluative studies at programme completion; and local history archives (Diamantopoulos, 1997; Bastow, Dunleavy and Tinkler, 2014; Thomas, 2016).

4.4.8 Choices in visual appraisal

The idiocyncracities of everyday life, the historic view of structural change and the meaning of (urban) landscape are clarified by visual evidence (Lewis, 1979, pp. 25 and 28). By re-viewing the urban landscape in the case of the regeneration of North Kensington, there is a mechanism for 'strong evidence' being provided of the kind of people we are, we were, or are in the process of becoming (ibid.). The photographs in Section 6.5 are from a collection taken by the researcher in 1976 for a postgraduate urban improvement project (Bissett Johnson, 1978), and reviewed and digitized for a photographic exhibition on London urban regeneration (Bissett Scott, 2012). The selected images contribute to a perspective on change in the area over four decades.

4.4.9 Case study action plan

The case study was implemented through desk research and fieldwork that was recorded in a format supporting the research strategy. The checklist of research actions deals with project managing research actions and aids research being replicable (Mack, et al., 2005).

4.4.10 Document selection

Document were selected:
 - from a range of local to strategic, and historic to recent;
 - with reference to four 'success' criteria earlier identified as indicative of 'spatial justice':
 community engagement, life quality, social continuity and housing/income;
 - from archived artefacts such as letters, photographs, graffiti, and
 - from contextual and background information in relation to e.g., levels of governance, and
 - to give a sense of the original research environment.

The documents were categorized into (a) which one (or more) of the three defining spheres of regeneration they relate to: social, economic and environmental, and (b) the time point to which their content relates, i.e., historic, middle range, or recent. The final number reduced to twenty with some documents covering multiple scale, time and regeneration link as illustrated in Figure 4.4.
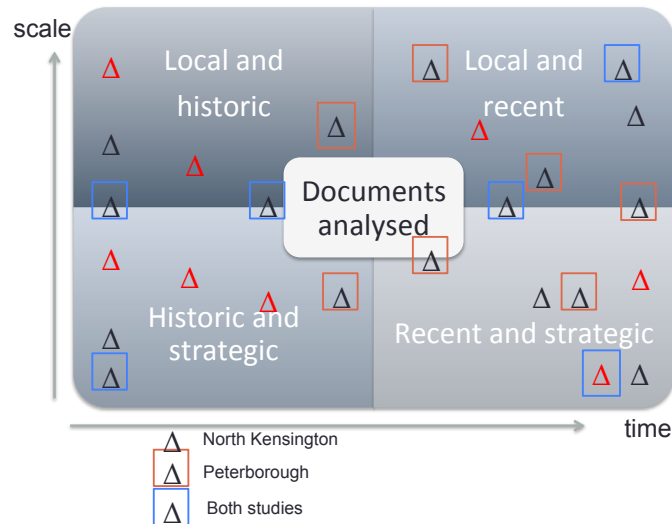
Figure 4.4 Distribution of documents analysed for CS1 (indicated by Δ)

4.4.11 Document interrogation

Documents were interrogated in relation to the case study about 'spatial justice' (spatial expression of social justice) from **historic/recent and local/strategic** perspectives in the two case study areas and at national/regional level. The questioning provided a systematic way of recording scalar and practice-based context for regeneration outcomes and evidence-gathering to cross-reference from multiple sources.

4.4.12 Survey design

The survey design was focused on residents and community-based organisations. The key criteria of 'spatial justice' were used to develop questions about the neighbourhood to find out about the respondents' local experience and perception of regeneration in their area. Questions were designed to relate to the criteria being investigated.

As the survey was an evaluation of regeneration at neighbourhood level, the questionnaire wording matched that approach: informal and non-technical. Open-ended questions gathered undirected qualitative responses from the local community and current residents. An online survey was distributed by establishing contact with local elected representatives and through the local authority regeneration team, requesting re-distribution of the link to the survey and encouragement to respond. Key community resources were emailed with a 'flyer'. Initially the survey was open for six weeks from early December to end of January 2016. However, the closing date was extended several times to bring in more respondents, and closed in early May 2016.

4.4.13 Implementing the interview design

Participants targeted for interviewing were from a different range of contributors than those invited to respond to the survey. They were 'expert stakeholders'. Their selection was also balanced by local or strategic and historic or recent knowledge. The criteria to be tested were presented differently from those reviewed in the locally-based survey. The purpose of the interviews (see Questionnaire at Appendix 4) was to elicit professional or empirical judgments on proposed indicators from people with a knowledge of the area or specific knowledge about an aspect of regeneration and draw out information about policy, values and measures of spatial justice, what funds might have been employed; and what measures were available (and what was missing). The open-ended questions provided a method for people with a professional or representative interest in the area to elaborate on their views and provide rich seams of knowledge in a qualitative format for later analysis. Two questions in particular sought to provide measurable responses: testing the rating of the proposed indicators (Question 5), and the range and length of experience in aspects of regeneration (Question10). Background research information about the semi-structured interview can be viewed in Appendices 1 to 4.

4.5 CASE STUDY FIELDWORK

4.5.1 Ethics

Before interviews were set up, a summary of research for participants and a consent form (Appendices 2 and 3) were agreed with the ARU Faculty Board and gained **ethics permissions** as set out in Paragraph 4.4.2.

4.5.2 Pilot interviews and participant selection

A list of potential interviewees was drawn up. A pilot questionnaire was tested, and adjusted. The distribution of possible participants was checked against a distribution matrix that sought balance between local and strategic contributors, and recent and historic contributions. The interview participants were located indicatively on a matrix relating the key data dimensions of time and scale using the same method of checking for the balance of distribution as for documents. The **selection of participants** was influenced by non-probability factors such as 'convenience', but the systematic appraisal of distribution countered selecting for anticipated results (Diamantopoulis, 1997). The simple matrix visualized the distribution of participants (and as above also for documents analysed), so non-probability sampling was shown to be systematically checked against the planned research data dimensions of time and scale.

4.5.3   Scheduling interviews

A planned schedule was drawn up around the same time as the residents' survey was released. Tentative arrangements were made with the first three participants for January 2016, and confirmed.   **Recording** equipment was tested and set up to enable transcriptions. Interviews in most cases were scheduled to have some days between, to enable transcription and evaluation of notes to be conducted separately for each event. The interviewing schedule fitted the indicative distribution matrix, but changes to dates and types inevitably had to be adjusted to fit participants' availability or to substitute comparable representation (see Paragraph 7.6.2 about changes and the effect on research results). The scheduling aim was to achieve a balance between local detail and a higher-level more strategic view over time (historic, mid-term and more recent perceptions) taking account of the three spheres of regeneration (social, economic and spatial environment).

4.5.4   Conduct of interviews

The interviews each started following confirmation of a **signed consent form** (if it had not already been sent to the researcher).   The researcher began with an introduction about the purpose of the interview in relation to the thesis. The audio-recorder was started up and a statement read with the name, then allocated letter (A to L) and a reminder that the interview was a confidential, non-attributable structured discussion, unless specific permission given to quote by their name. A working definition of 'spatial justice as the spatial expression of social justice' enabled participants to focus on their relation to the topic. Interviews typically took an hour to one and a half hours. Notes were kept on a printed questionnaire sheet, with more detail written separately, kept with the printed sheet and later the transcribed notes. Interviewees often offered further written information and artefacts and these too were added to the participant file to aid the later process of analysis (Mack, et al., 2005).

4.5.5   After the interview

Each participant received a card of thanks at the completion of the interview. The card related to the regeneration area. A follow up email was also sent, thanking the participant for their time and letting them know the anticipated timescale for results to be compiled. This second 'thanks' often elicited additional information or leads to other contributors.

4.5.6   Recording outcomes of interviews

Fieldwork undertaken by the researcher included transcribing the audio files notes as

soon as possible after the interview was completed: within 48 hours was the gold standard (Mack, et al., 2005). The researcher transcribed the first ten minutes of audio files as a quality check. A full transcription was commissioned from a commercial company, reviewed by the researcher in comparison with the audio file. Some participants re-contacted the interviewer because they were interested in the research results. The researcher followed up three of the participants to clarify points made and to be assured that the quotes used from the interviews were acceptable. All participants had been assured of anonymity and attribution would be personally checked with them. The planned interview schedule covered specific links to spatial justice. These categories were achieved although in fact participants' contributions changed and the timetable extended into May 2016.

4.6 RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Having selected the methodological approach, data was acquired using the case study format for the main study of regeneration in North Kensington and the secondary study. The analytical framework is developed in the next chapter (5), data dimensions and limitation recorded, and a pilot of the case study format which would lead to adjustments.

CHAPTER FIVE:

AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK TO INTERPRET

RESEARCH OUTCOMES

Chapter Objectives

- Outline the analytical framework (A/F)
- Develop data dimensions of evaluation criteria and indicators within the A/F
- Note limitations to data collected
- Specify research drivers that engage with data recorded
- Present identified themes as data codification methods

5 DEVELOPING THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter proposes what research mechanisms are required in an analytical framework (A/F) for collecting new and relevant data as evidence. The research review has made an assessment of Liberalism and values entailed in it, how those values might be correlated to 'place' in a liberal democracy and what approach would make best use of a case study methodology to generate data for comparison through desk-based research and fieldwork. The exercise paves the way for interpretation of research results. The A/F is formulated by **identifying research drivers** and providing information about the balance of time and scale that connect the approaches. **Dimensions and limitations of the data** are set out. A **pilot study** tested A/F components in a preliminary run through of the case study design. Data sources were explored and adjustments made on how evidence through indicators would be collected.

5.1 PROCESS

5.1.1 Purpose of analytical framework

How will the **analytical framework design** assist in identifying if any measurable correlation might be shown between regeneration outcomes and the basic values of a liberal democracy? The A/F is devised for 'posterior evidential probability' to confirm or reject expected outcomes (Vaccaro, Smith and Aswani, 2010; Chun, Kim and Campbell, 2012). The combination of mixed methods in researching prospective sources of data, and capturing patterns or themes in data would shape a framework for analysis (Diamantopoulos, 1997; Patton, 2002; Bastow, Dunleavy and Tinkler, 2014) as shown in

Paragraph 4.1.1.

5.1.2 Scoping the components of the analytical framework

Having prepared the ground for the A/F to test indicators for their capability of predicting, measuring or evaluating regeneration, the exploratory nature of the research requires extracting a reasonable set of assumed values that would match the political philosophy of Liberalism. The metaphor positioned for translating the intangible values into a phenomenological condition, is that of the 'hierarchy of human needs' (Maslow, 1948), This hierarchy, originally used in psychology, is a tool used in current management and local government professional practice, and aids moving understanding from more practice-based approaches into the conceptual realm of the philosophy of Liberalism. Siting regeneration practice as an element of strategic planning provides the bridge between planning theory and the research focus on distributive justice outcomes, So values translated into the measurable terms of six test indicators would require a frame of analysis for identifying outcomes in the regeneration arenas. These arenas of social, economic and environmental concerns with spatial implications provide the A/F components for synthesizing the six indicators.

The extent and contribution of a **scalar level of governance** is included in the research question. Defined in this research as an attribute, it was included in testing the research results for two purposes. Firstly, the contribution of governance as an indicator of 'empowerment' was to address the concept of what would be the necessary 'basic institutions' required for delivering the distributive element of 'spatial justice'. Secondly, capturing whether some indicators would require strategic (in addition to local and national) governance to achieve spatially just outcomes from spatial interventions. This intervening level of governance would entail specific forms for analysis.

In summary these components form a framework that structures analysis and interpretation of research results, providing a route for a retranslation of measured outcomes back to values of spatial justice. On the outward research route, there are values to proxies, and on the return analytical journey are the components of the A/F (Table 5.1). The outcome, it was anticipated, would provide insights into the methodology of articulating spatial justice equivalence thereby identifying whether an evaluative framework was emerging, and whether within such a framework, the level of governance could be identified as contributing to improvements in spatial justice from for example regeneration interventions.

5.1.3   Applying components to form the A/F

The research question asks whether it would be possible to distinguish an evaluative framework of regeneration to show if values and principles would be exposed through this style of measurement. Three steps have been taken so far to engage with

Table 5.1 Contents of research and analytical frames

Research frame
- Theories of Liberalism
- Theories of Justice
- Theories of space
- Planning theory
- Planning police and practice
- Strategic planning
- REGENERATION outcomes and values

Analytical frame
- REGENERATION OUTCOMES tested in relation to values
- Strategic planning in planning policy and practice
- Planning theory
- Theories of Space
- Theories of Justice
- Democratic Liberalism entailing SPATIAL JUSTICE

this conceptualization: (a) examining the standards currently used in assessing UK practice outcomes; (b) extracting key success factors as 'success criteria' to be tested in this research; and (c) identifying initial indicators within the 'success criteria' categories which structure the research process for testing the parameters of a possible evaluative framework of 'spatial justice'. The A/F is then used with comparative data (longitudinal and geographic) from the selected regeneration projects taking account of dimensions and limitations of data (Figure 5.1).
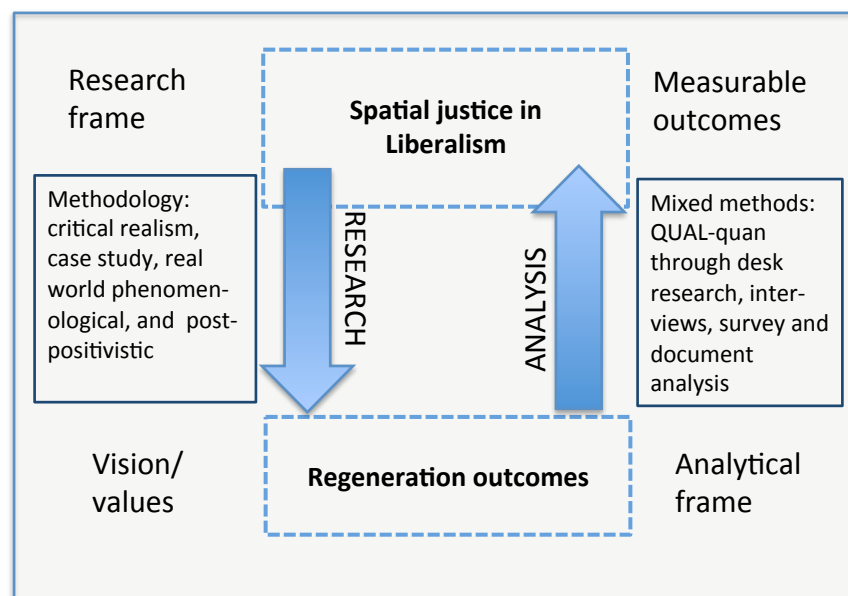
Figure 5.1 Analysing research results: linking vision, values and measurable outcomes

The A/F is contextualised by (a) advances in technologies for acquiring and sifting benchmarking data (Foth, 2015), (b) increased capabilities for the analysis and visualization of data acquired (viz., Pettit, 2015), and (c) flexibility for the choice of which data can be input (e.g., (Teevan and Zhou, 2015). Theory-practitioners such as Lynch, Sykes and James have drawn together integrated analyses of form or well-being or programme assessment. Measuring processes (as well as their acquired outcomes) have been subject to critical assessment (e.g., Lawless, 2007), developing technologies such as ATLAS continue to make practical advances in acquiring evidence-based data prior to decision-taking (Gov.uk, 2017). Thus this research seeks to develop a new exploratory value-testing framework for analysis.

5.2 DATA DIMENSIONS AND LIMITATIONS

For this study, availability or access to data has constrained choices. Nevertheless, the opportunities for intellectual exploration within the study had prospects for probabilities to become reasonable expectations by applying a Bayesian approach. If frequency or propensity of phenomena could be interpreted conditionally, the state of knowledge or quantification would enable reasoning to be engaged beyond personal belief (Glickman and van Dyk, 2007; Chun, Kim and Campbell, 2012; Sovacool and Dworkin, 2015).

5.2.1   Research boundaries

The **choice of case study areas** was assessed on several criteria (with details of the reasoned choices. By providing comparative data over time, that is, longitudinally, and at different (local to strategic) levels of geographic accountability, the analysis is framed to examine:

A. the extent to which regeneration practice has been successful in producing spatially just outcomes in a specific area from inception to completion, and at post-completion; and

B. the degree to which such outcomes are enhanced or diminished by a planned or an ad hoc approach to levels of accountability.

As the purpose of the data collection was to assess whether and to what extent there is any correlation between different or improved outcomes, over time, together with the scale of governance that is functioning, limitations are likely in that consequences to some changes will not be measurable for some years.

The main study, **CS1**, is located in the Royal London Borough of Kensington and

Chelsea, west of central London, and focuses on the Notting Hill area in North Kensington. North Kensington in 2012 and at points back to 1976 are compared, and the relationship of each data set is analysed with reference to the London-wide (city-region) of the Greater London Authority (GLA from 1996) (previously the Greater London Council - the GLC up until 1986)

The study **CS2** is of an inner-city ward of a regional city at several points in time. These dates were selected to spotlight the role of the regional level of governance in centrally-funded regeneration and whether an impact could be measured. The resulting data are expressed in Section 7.4 as a narrative critically assessing the social justice outcomes of regeneration temporally and spatially, with reference to a programme's strategic vision and in relation to the available local to strategic levels of accountability.

5.2.2   Data dimensions

The **time points selected** corresponded with the date range 1976-78, 1986-88, and 2012 for the London case study; and for the Eastern region study 1994, 2002 and 2012 in line with Peterborough's Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) funding application, two years into having the East of England regional authority (EEDA) in place, and finally two years after the dissolution of that regional development agency (RDA). For the purposes of the case studies, the focus of values for spatial justice in regeneration is assumed to span affordable housing location and urban centre diversity. Analysis time points for a regeneration area were selected in the approach detailed in Chapter 3. The selected analysis points were at start up/visioning for the programme, then at completion, and finally at post-completion. However, availability or access to data has required pragmatic decisions: therefore points correspond with a date range of 1976-78, 1986-88, and 2010-12 for the London case study. For the Eastern region study selected points were 1994-96, 2000-02 and 2010-12 (Boddy and Hickman, 2010).

5.2.3   Research data dimensions of time and scale

The data collected were first recorded in categories of time and scale. Data based on the initial indicators had been recorded as a benchmark, for each study's time points at the appropriate national, regional and borough/district level, if it were available. Some data fitted more than one study, for example national level, for coinciding time points. A clear interest was in whether a regional or city-region governance and administration was in existence and whether that structure may have inferred any influence on regeneration indicator outcomes. Excel worksheets were compiled in a format to use averaged out data over a three-year period, to take account of (a) changes in governance such as the abolition of the GLC and its later replacement with the GLA; (b)

variation in the scope of data collected, for example the name and nature of information collected about housing tenure with later categories of 'intermediate housing' or housing association rentals being separated out as types of rental accommodation available at different times; and (c) the non-collection of government-based data in some years viz. CSO Social Trends not in place in 1978 but restored in 1979 – critical points in the main case study of North Kensington in west London. As in other studies of regeneration, a benchmarking framework for comparing outcomes over time is the indexation of deprivation indicators. Over the period of this study, the naming of the index has altered from 'Deprivation Index' used in the 1970s, 1980s and into the 1990s. Its scope was altered and it became the Index of Multiple Deprivation, including 12 indicators. Over the first two decades of the 21st century, the specific indicators have again changed in acknowledgement that some issues of poverty and indications of poverty have been successfully removed: that of indoor lavatories for example. Further sources are defined by the accumulation of data from the Census Output with the lowest levels of analysis for census data being 125 households. Class and gender are encompassed through this examination of deprivation indices to expand the usefulness of an area-based approach.

Table 5.2 Criteria and contextual indicators for measuring 'spatial justice'

Measure 1 Space
Spatial expression of the socio-economic factors of people, resources and funding in a regeneration area

Measure 2 Time
Comparisons between these socio-economic conditions at the start/original vision, completion and post-completion stages

Measure 3 Scale
The level of governance and accountability is examined in relation to the two research measures of space and time

Dimensions to any claim of justice in relation to social attributes that enable or empower individuals from a community refer to this point (Bell and Davoudi, 2016, p.28).

5.2.4   Sources

The Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) is officially defined as the current measure of relative deprivation for small areas in England, the Lower-layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs). Combining information from seven measures within an LSOA provides an understanding of what deprivation stresses there are in a defined area such as a ward. The LSOA area itself is about 1,200 households and is often a lesser area than a ward

and more accurately assessed than an enumeration district (ED) used in data from for example the 1971 Census. An Enumeration District (ED is a basic area for collecting information in the Census, representing the area covered by Census enumerator handing out and collecting questionnaires with information collected this way being analysed for use by ward, constituency and local authority (Palmer, 1980, p.17)

5.2.5   Limitations of data

Limitations to proposed indicators were anticipated, e.g., the different naming over time of some components, the non-collection of some information at different time-points, and changing boundaries and governance. Therefore results of data collection, its analysis and interpretation require specific attention to spelling out a robust and clear approach to what was the nature of data and whether it is comparable. The objective of providing information that would feed an interpretative analysis was not abandoned despite difficulties identified. Identifying these limitations (Schlichtman and Patch, 2014) was a planned element of the process of data collection and analysis, and a function of the research.

A **balanced range of indicators** is being used for a study of manageable size to provide empirical evidence for a fresh view on measuring and evaluating regeneration outcomes over time. Thus, the indicators form the basis for collection of qualitative data (through images, survey and interview), and quantitative (through document analysis and statistical sources).

In the main case study, the researcher has an 'insider' position in the historic analysis of the selected study of North Kensington, and later a professionally engaged position with the comparative study of Peterborough City Centre.   The consequence of having 'positionality' is addressed in the research design and uses the positive attributes of this perspective in examining the specific issue of changing social profiles of areas that are labelled as 'gentrified'. The purposeful approach of the professional doctorate is to translate experience into theory, and on to providing professional insight. Therefore professional knowledge – Mode 2 'know how' is a positive attribute (Nowotny, Scott and Gibbons, 2003). Nevertheless some social scientists might have concerns about objectivity of data from researchers who have inside knowledge. The recommended response is to ensure that triangulation is robust (Trafford and Leshem, 2008). For this research, the triangulation includes document analysis of local historic sources, comparative benchmarking material from government departments, the ONS, and relevant peer-reviewed journal sources. While not unusual, the approach is stronger for being clearly identified from the commencement of the research project. The

methodology applied is designed to be transparent, for example in how material had been acquired and analysed. The nature of the research question follows this style as it is posed with the purpose of extracting an unbiased response in support of critical and curious enquiry.

5.2.6   Dimensions and limitations for indictors being tested

(i) Housing Affordability

For **dwelling stock data**, the Census's definition has changed over the research period. For example in 1991, the Census defined a dwelling as structurally separate accommodation. The 2001 Census defined dwellings as either containing a single household space or several household spaces sharing some facilities (ONS, 2017). **Social affordable housing** provides accommodation that is **affordable** to people on low incomes through limiting rent increases by law. **Intermediate housing** is when property is let at a subsidised **rent** from for example a Registered Social Landlord (RSL) enabling households without funds for a deposit an opportunity to obtain a home (ibid.). **Affordable Housing** is defined as being for people whose needs are not adequately served by the **commercial housing market.** The definition was included in the National Planning Policy consultation on proposed changes (CLG, 2012). The government's definition of renting affordable homes is that they should cost no more than 80% of the average local market rent and be able to remain at an affordable price for future eligible households. In this **definition of affordable housing**, the government information website states it must be provided at a level at which the mortgage payments on the property should be more than would be paid in rent on council housing, but below market levels (ibid.). There is a further debate on **need and affordability** (Whitehead, 1991; 2007) and its relations with degrees of Liberalism (Beer, et al., 2007) that is beyond the scope of this research project.

(ii) Educational Attainment

Educational attainment refers to the highest level of schooling that a person has reached. This measure for GCSEs was not static over the study period. Data in Social Trends Nos.1 to 9 were based on GCEs, for example. The research accumulates data that were equivalent and combined information about girls and boys to give an average figure.

(iii) % Household income ≤ 60% median UK income

This figure was used to indicate a household's income in line with the UK definition of relative poverty (ONS, 2014). The data were available for each selected time point. or was calculable from ONS sources, for example, from data on households below average income (HBAI). The selected data was limited as a comparative figure also because the median figures were changing but that reference point was not included in data collected. The research in this case is exploratory and post-positivist, seeking only to find a broad-brush indication of change.

(iv) Voter registration: voter participation = % turnout

Preliminary outcomes from research on national level benchmarks had accepted pragmatic limitations based for example, on what historic data might be available. Therefore the case study proceeded using the turnout figures nationally, which were then to be compared with turnout figures in the area for national elections and as close as possible to the key research points (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007). Then time points had to be selected to have equivalence with the study points.   The range used for other indicators had already been set at a three-year slot for each time point (1976-79, 1986-89, 1996-98, and 2010-2012). Therefore the four General Elections selected were 1979, 1987, 1997, and 2010, which gave sufficient equivalence to contribute useful data to the study. These percentage turnout figures were incorporated into the national benchmark. While causation or even correlation would not have validity from this result, the longitudinal views on national figures local area figures, and to assess them in relation to evidence from other sources (historic documents and interviews, for example). A second limitation was discovered however. There was unevenness in comparing the constituency covering North Kensington between 1976 and 2012. Boundary changes meant that for periods of time, the study focus of Colville (Kensington North until 1974) was in Kensington constituency, then in Regent's Park and Kensington North from 1997 to 2010 (Kensington and Chelsea covered the south of the borough) and again Kensington constituency in 2010 (BBC, 2016; Electoral Commission website, 2017).

(v) Longevity (life expectancy at birth)

Life expectancy at birth is defined as 'the average number of years that a newborn could expect to live if he or she were to pass through life subject to the age-specific mortality rates of a given period' (ONS, 2017). The measure has been used to compare the health status of the population of England and Wales since the 1840s (ONS, 2014)

and was used to illustrate the differences in mortality experienced by populations in different parts of the country, as an indicator of geographic inequalities in health. It continues to be a consistently available figure, with ONS studies showing geographical variations in life expectancy possibly accounted for by area based deprivation and therefore a useful contributing data source for this study.

(vi) Air quality

Using an indication of **air quality** over time to represent a bridging measure between health and environmental access, an approach supported by Kensington and Chelsea which declared all of the Borough an Air Quality Management Area (AQMA) in Y2000 because two pollutants - NO2 (nitrogen oxide) and PM_{10} (a measure of particulates) – exceeded standards set by government (RBKC, 2009). This indicator can be inferred to have a relationship to the impact made by different levels of governance. Some decisions on air quality respond to very local interventions like traffic calming or support for CHP (Combined Heat and Power systems), while others have strategic relations, for example, for policies on cycling or congestion charges, and speed limits on motorway routes, use of biomass or low-emission heating.

5.2.7   Implications of noted limitations on research

The research design took account of **limits** of the data available. In the preliminary analysis of material resources, its accessibility, its quality and the 'amount of quality', choices were made on which case study area to examine, to what level of governance, and what sources of data and information would be accessible, described in Chapter 3. Additionally there were limits to the data because of complex array of data that required streamlining while maintaining validity and reliability of outcomes (Trafford and Lesham, 2008). These boundaries took account of the limits of time and resource available to the research project. Nevertheless, benefits were acquired from taking a reductionist approach to supports a generalist appraisal of the story of the case study. Therefore, each identified indicator had limits acknowledged and embraced as contributing to the purpose of the research.

5.3 TESTING THE CASE STUDY

This section assesses the case study structure by running through trial indicators within one area then testing them through national level comparisons for the time points, and checking on regional or city-region availability of usable data. Limitations and availability of data led to adjustments to the case study structure, for example, the limitations of comparative figures on some indicators led to a narrowing of the comparator indicators

from six to five for quantitative comparisons. Some benchmarking data were expanded to include figures for national, regional and city-region levels. Seeking data linked to regeneration programmes had predicted difficulties so an averaging technique spanning these points was applied. This approach also helped with addressing unexpected or unusual events. Primary sources were compiled from and include historical eyewitness accounts, legal documents, statistical data, pieces of creative writing from community archives, and photographs of changes over time in each area. Secondary data defined as information collected by someone other than the user and came from research reports on the area, local government reports, census data, weather reports, interviews, the Internet, reference books, organisational reports and accounting documents.

5.3.1   Developing research drivers

Having developed a research strategy, with an overview, description of fieldwork and bearing in mind the research focus, the process of laying out dimensions and limitations of data was tested (Figure 5.2). By combining the elements of analysis with the proposed indicators, a mechanism for driving forward the research through the case study structure was developed. Through an iterative process, each component was brought together to show a robust procedure for acquiring data from different sources. Sources were lined up to be interrogated by measures of the indicators.
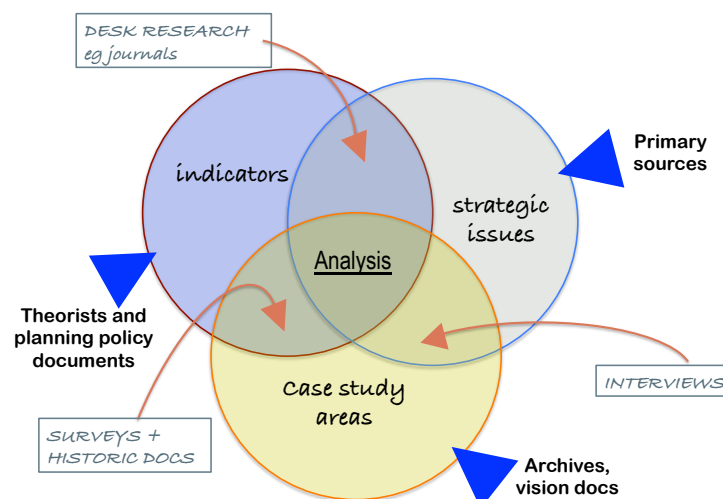
Figure 5.2 Sketch of research practice testing case study format and data retrieval

Would these measured outcomes fully support their representation of 'spatial justice' values, or partially? Or would the measured outcomes be ideally supportive or perhaps only in a disguised or uninterpreted or hidden way. One final step was required, to appraise the data collected against their contribution to the proxy outcomes for 'spatial

justice'. Weighting the outcomes was considered from empirical experience in regeneration programmes in Luton, Stevenage and Peterborough where 'weighted scorings' were used by the researcher as practitioner (see Paragraph 2.7.1). Theories were considered on assessed values in urban form (Lynch, 1984), urban sustainability (James, et al., 2014). Lynch refers to 'normative theory' uncovering 'generalizable connections between human values and settlement form'. James's perspective is about the sustainability of a particular city or urban settlement (or indeed region), with an assessment of four domains: ecology, economics, politics and culture, each domain with seven sub-domains, and assessed on a scale from 'critical' through 'satisfactory' to 'vibrant' (James, 2014, p.xiii). In the 'Atlas of the Indices of Deprivation, 2010', the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) were shown spatially by combining seven indicators of deprivation by taking regard of advice of social scientists in considering the academic literature on poverty and deprivation, as well as the levels of robustness of the indicators (CLG, 2016) For the purpose of this research, weightings as the IMD were not applied and scoring was limited to whether 'weak' 'strong' or 'neutral' (see Section 7.4 for interpretation of results).

5.3.2   Codifying results

After the data in the case study were retrieved from primary and secondary sources, they were placed into social, economic and environmental elements of regeneration. The selected indicators were purposefully selected to represent these categories and their overlaps, based in current practice. They were also shaped by professional judgment on how likely data of equivalence would be available longitudinally.

The type of evidence for collection was categorized by its level and time (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Evidence to be collected and scale/time

Evidence	Scale/time
Data on problem(s) identified and the vision of how to address these problems	Local and strategic
Indicator data for programmes in both studies	Historically and recently
Data on the six test indicators (or closest comparable indicator)	National, regional or city-region
Data on six test indicators (or closest comparative indicator) for comparative analysis	Historically and recently
Information on context of legislative measures and interventions used	Strategic and local
Eye witness photographs of North Kensington	1976 (pre-regeneration stage) and 2012 (post-completion)

5.4 THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK IN THE CASE STUDY FORMAT

5.4.1   Testing the A/F as a pilot case study

'Success criteria' were compiled into an Excel workbook, measuring indicators at selected time points and at different governance scales. After testing the case study, the structure was altered to present a consistent pathway for tracking changes as the research progressed and so the study could be replicated in CS2 with new parameters about governance scale. The aim too was to form a data bank for 'pattern seeking', extracting themes from acquired evidence.   Several adaptations were required after trialling data collection on indicators for national, Greater London and North Kensington at four time points (Table 5.4).

5.4.2   Relating national to regional or city region in data presentation

For CS1, selected city-region data are presented within North Kensington, the study area.   When Kensington and Chelsea data are related to Greater London, then the information is shown in CS0, the overview and data control perspective.

Table 5.4 Scope of testing case-study level data accessibility

	Area/neighbour-hood	Borough or City council	City-region or Region	National or Central Government (CS0)
Benchmark	Ward/neighbourhood/ development area	London borough, or district or borough council	City-region or metropolitan area; LEP or sub-region	UK-wide, England and Wales, or all English regions
CS1	North Kensington/Colville ward	RBKC: Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea	Greater London/GLC or GLA	England
CS2	Peterborough City Centre/Gladstone area	PCC: Peterborough City Council	East of England/ Cambridgeshire & Peterborough LEP	England

Mid-term data: With the abolition of the Greater London Council in 1986, there is a gap in data or data accessible online in relation to London or Inner London. However, some information could be gleaned from the Greater London Development Plan, published in 1984 and based on 1981 Census data. For example, employment rates across London show that North Kensington had high rates of unemployment at 11% and over for economically active persons of working age (GLC, 1984). Rates in northern parts of Kensington and Chelsea were comparable with the highest rates of unemployment of the southern and east London inner boroughs. Thus 1980s data for northern parts of

Kensington and Chelsea continued to show that it as an area suffering high unemployment. By inference this measurement indicates a reasonable probability of a high number of households with below median household income. As this measure is one of the test indicators for spatial justice, for the purpose of this research the data showing high unemployment in North Kensington is therefore interpreted as new relevant data concerning spatial justice in North Kensington in the mid-term of the case study.

Strategic data dimensions: For this research, 'city-region' refers to the example of London on the boundaries for Greater London, with or without a strategic governance level. In the second decade of the twenty-first century, the GLA has different powers in Inner London, Outer London, and has not incorporated the City of London in its governance. The phrase 'city region' however refers to Greater London and its hinterland of small urban settlements, market towns, green belt land and countryside (Murray, 1990; Tillett and Jacob, 1995; Blyth, et al., 2015). Outside London, the notion of an East of England region has been variable over time. In the 1980s, there were

Table 5.5 Deprivation in CS1 and CS2 measured by the IMD 2010 (from DCLG, 2011)

ID	LA NAME	Rank - % of pop living in most deprived area	Rank - rich to poor	Rank employment	Rank - Ave Score
20	Kensington and Chelsea	94	108	110	103
108	City of Peterborough	56	85	91	71

outposts of Whitehall departments in Cambridge in the form of the Government Office of the Eastern Region (GOER) and in the late 1990s administrative areas of interest were documented as rapidly changing over several years (CSO ST27, 1997 and ST28, 1998). There was debate about boundaries right up to the delivery of legislation and accompanying practice, before the (now defunct) regional development agency (EEDA) was invoked in 1999. No national spatial plan exists at the time of this research, nor an up-to-date regional spatial strategy for the East of England. However, informal and non-statutory structures have existed over the research period, for example in the form of SERPLAN, LPAC and EERA; the non-statutory LEPs have replaced EEDA in some respects and some informal groups still meet such as the 'Committee of the Regions' group. At writing, there were Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) who

continue to represent their constituents at a regional scale of governance.

Recent data: Data retrieved from DCLG IMD figures via The Guardian online datastore (The Guardian, 2011), show the City of Peterborough (ID108) 56 of 326 local authorities and Kensington and Chelsea (ID20) ranking 94, in the percentage of population living in

	Second decile of measured deprivation using IMD
	Third decile of measured deprivation using IMD
	Fourth decile of measured deprivation using IMD
	Fifth decile of measured deprivation using IMD
	Sixth decile of measured deprivation using IMD
	Seventh decile of measured deprivation using IMD
	Eighth decile of measured deprivation using IMD
	Ninth decile of measured deprivation using IMD
	Tenth decile of measured deprivation using IMD

Figure 5.3 Proportion of SOAs in each region by IMD 2010 and by decile (DCLG, 2011)

5.4.3 Evidence of a continuing high level of deprivation in North Kensington recent (2010)

Local: The Atlas of the Indices of Deprivation 2010 for England referred to above is the online resource in the National Archives of the ONS, and was interrogated for the state of deprivation in the ward of Colville in Kensington and Chelsea. This map (Figure 5.4) shows in dark blue areas with a combined high level of deprivation for the comparative IMD level and seven measures listed above. North Kensington, the northern part of the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (RBKC), still had measurably poor levels in

*t*erms of the IMD. The key shows the degree of measured deprivation (orange lines) for Colville ward marked in orange. Colville Ward remains in one of the highest levels of deprivation on two counts: 'barriers to housing and services' and in 'living environment' although overall its combined measures on the IMD have reduced to far closer to the national average. In 1976, at the time of designation of the GIA in the North Kensington ward of Colville, the borough comes 8th on the list of areas of deprivation with 57 EDs being in the worst 15% in the country, only superseded by Islington in London and in England by Liverpool (CSO ST No.6, 1975).

5.4.4 Focus of research activity in CS1

The suitability of the area chosen to research was measured by fulfilling the criteria of researcher experience, probable accessibility and availability of data. The case study contains an interest in levels of governance which has changed over time, and it has specific community structures that would provide data for analysis at a local level. Acquisition of national and regional data about test indicators was anticipated as having challenges because the original gap in knowledge was about the lack of a specific data group being drawn together. Therefore, from the research outset there was an expectation that those data sets would be partial. Indicators were used in the IMD and weighting based on 'academic literature on poverty and deprivation, as well as the levels of robustness of the indicators' (CLG, 2016). It uses intervals of 10% for the regions of England to show regional variations in the amount of measured deprivation using the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). This chart shows that the East of England and London (as well as the South East) at a regional level were suffering the least deprivation in England on these measures of deprivation. However, data presented within the regions of the East and London are based on five of the six indicators being investigated provides evidence of significant levels of deprivation in 2010, with regional variations in the amount of measured deprivation based on the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) (Figure 5.3). See below for Kensington and Chelsea (Figure 5.4) and Peterborough (Figure 5.5) for at least two of those measures in 2010. Thus, although deprivation of LSOAs measured regionally has East of England and the South-east in 'not so bad condition', at a more local level examination both North Kensington and Peterborough (inner) City areas continue to have measurably low socio-economic and environmental conditions on some indicators contained in the IMD LSOAs. Further data from the Marmot Review (Marmot, et al., 2010) on health indicators compared by local authority areas in the 'recent' past also indicate that the higher level figures can mask lower layer problems, and that averaging on, say, longevity should be examined in more depth to uncover localised disparities. For example, as the year spread between lowest

and highest life expectancy at birth (LE) in Kensington and Chelsea was 8.8 years while the LE was higher than the national average, and the worst scenario was lower than the national average. In Peterborough, the discrepancy in LE was higher at 9.1 years. Maps of the 'spatial expression of government policies and programmes' (Wong, et al., 2012) shows the type of data that was either available or has been chosen to be included directs the overall view of what indicators are deemed to be an expression of policies. The data infer ideas of core values, policies and issues that the government had wanted expressed and therefore wanted to manage to improve. The mapping demonstrates where unevenness existed at the end of the first decade of the 2000s.

While improvements have been won by RBKC to 2011, deprivation issues in the borough remained. RBKC 103rd worst on the list of 418 borough and district councils, and Colville Ward in the worst deprivation measure in access to housing and services and living environment (highlighted in orange in Figure 5.4). A critical fact difficult if not impossible to establish is the issue of community continuity and community resilience. Therefore in terms of who, and not just where, gains have been won in reducing

Graphic by ONS Data Visualisation Centre. Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2011.
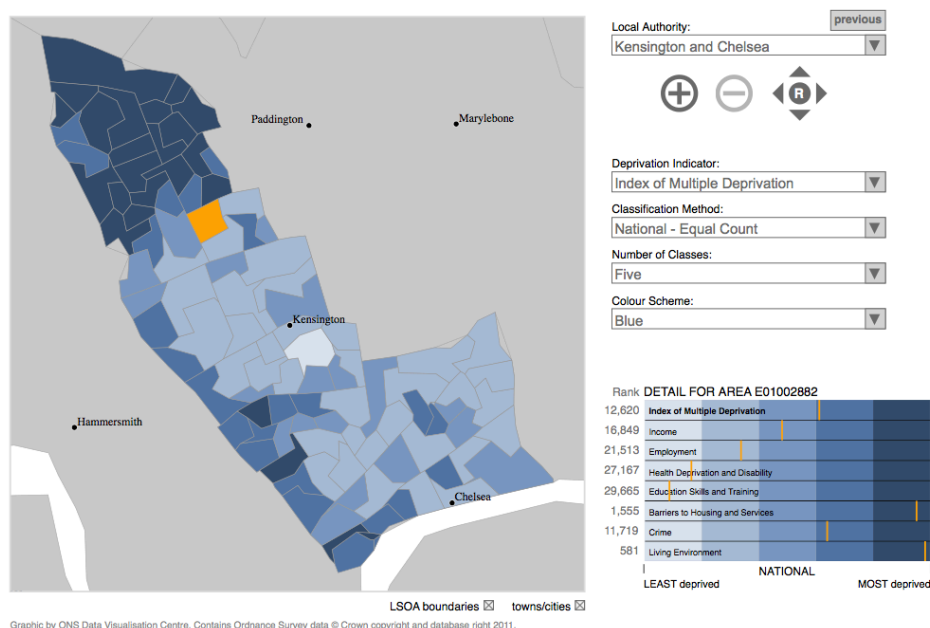
Figure 5.4 Measures of deprivation in Colville Ward RBKC by national indicators, 2010 (DCLG, 2011)

deprivation, the benchmarking evidence is difficult to obtain with the resources available for this research. Similarly in Peterborough, located in the region formerly known as "East of England" (now in the non-statutory LEP sub-region of 'Greater Cambridgeshire and Greater Peterborough') the inner city area of Gladstone can be seen to have a

concentration of deprivation in the inner areas of Greater Peterborough. Specific deprivation measures remained at a high level on four counts for specific indicators with the ward being in the 2010 10% 'most deprived' overall category for England as the orange markers in dark blue show in Figure 5.5.
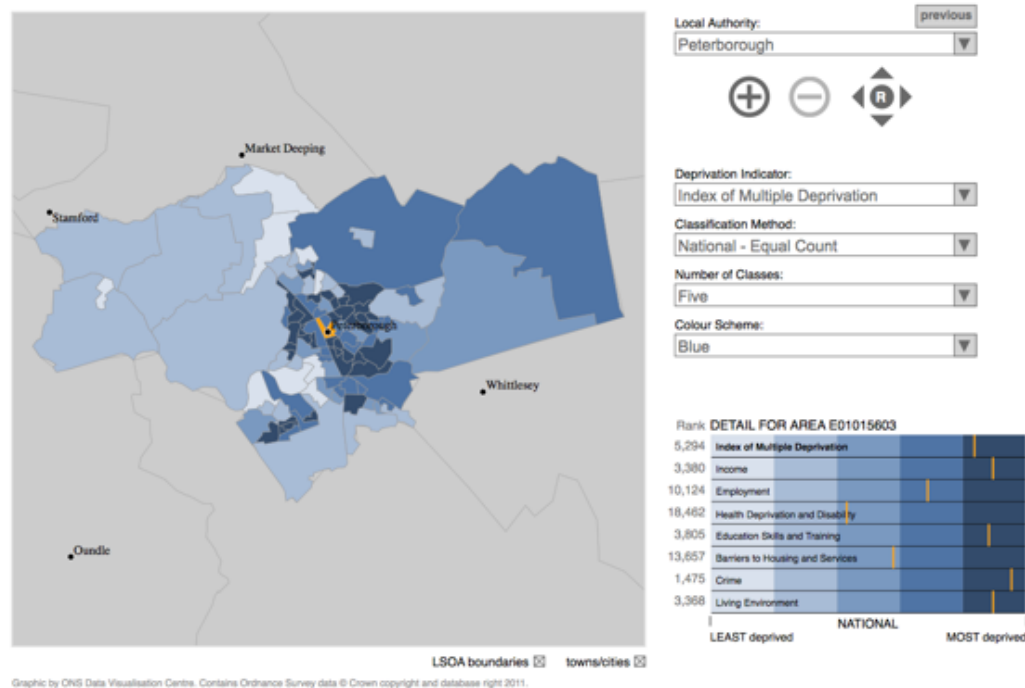
Figure 5.5 Measures of deprivation in Peterborough by national indicators, 2010 (DCLG, 2011)

5.5 RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS FROM TESTING A/F IN CASE STUDY FORMAT

5.5.1   Adjustments to the case study format

The **first adjustment** was that each section of the study should be reporting on its own conclusions, in addition to the conclusions emerging out of the planned narrative of the case study analysis, and conclusions related to theory and practice in Part C of the thesis. The layers of *types* of conclusions would then become readable as (i) conclusions that would be general to the indicators or (ii) conclusions specific to the research area, or (iii) conclusions that would be about the outcomes of analysing the combined and comparative results of the research activity.

The structure that emerged after this test-run was then more robustly constructed for achieving a consistent profile from the empirical studies insofar as the limitations of available and accessible data would allow. For example and as detailed earlier, data dimensions had changed over the study focus time: the taxonomy of housing tenure and

its affordability changed. The value underpinning from seeing housing as a right changed to housing as an earned right, and more recently, to a right that could be bought.   Further, good practice from programme and project management (Paragraphs 2.5.4 and 2.7.3) and a science-based approach were brought to bear in the study by the use of unique naming and location, and date of conducting fieldwork. So the **checklist for case data collection** activated this identification process and included an explanation of the container for analysis of a specific area and data collection timescale. A context that identifies a common background was given through national, legislative, funding and governance information applicable to both studies. The data sought for the research drivers were listed with methods and procedures for data management, and the data collected (Mack, et al., 2005).

5.5.2   Adjustments to the indicators

A **second type of adjustment** following the test-run was a refinement of measures. For the main case study, a fifth socio-economic indicator was added for assessment at each of the specified time-points. The four initial indicators were (i) the percentage of affordable housing, (ii) percentage of 16-18 year olds achieving A*-C GSCE (or equivalent) as a measure of educational attainment, (iii) a measure of air quality in the Ward area, and (iv) the percentage of voters registered and participating as explained in Chapter 6. A measure that related to income and employment accessibility was added to the initial four indicators proposed. This fifth indicator was selected as a measure that could be consistently collected and calculated over time, being **the percentage of households in an area living on less than 60% of the national median wage.** It did not however lend itself to being included in either the interviews with stakeholders or the residents' survey. The indicator measure is based on quantitative sources: it appears in the historic 'Deprivation Indices' and later in the Indices of Multiple Deprivation, the IMD. It has limitations for time comparisons as that median wage will be rising and must be located also in relation to the cost of goods and services available. This fifth research indicator raised other questions of validity as a robust measure for socio-economic analysis. For example in terms of permeability of an area in accessing employment, possible 'off-shore' sources are obscured in local assessments of income (Rogers, 2012). Nevertheless, for the purpose of this research this indicator is being taken as a sufficiently robust test for whether employment is available and accessed by locally based residents.

These five indicators were complemented by **voter registration as a measure of participation and thus empowerment** in a locality. Again, this measure had

anticipated limitations with key examples being: who will register, will that individual exercise their right to vote, and is the opportunity to vote for a representative candidate available (see Paragraph 5.2.5). In the process of gathering research data, a measured ratio of eligibility to vote (in local elections) compared with actual registration proved too complex for the scope of this research. Figures for national level voting trends were possible to compile. Finding data on the numbers within voting-age groups eligible to vote tempered by criteria about fitness to vote was not available in a meaningful way.

The existence or not of city-region governance (and thus voting records at that level) was beyond the resourcing available for this research. Further, differences between local authorities' local election arrangements, for example voting by thirds (and county-voting every fourth year). Therefore a focus was applied to this indicator on two counts: (i) that it should be for national figures as a control and for local ward results of General Elections for the closest year to the national year; and (ii) that the available figures for percentage turnout (the ratio of participation to registration) should be used. 'Turnout' indicates how many people vote out of those who have validated their right to vote by registering to do so. Although these complexities in acquiring these data, the contribution of having this type of data for analysis remains undiminished: such data is likely to be more readily available as more sophisticated technological solutions are developed.

Table 5.6 Voter registration as % turnout (compiled from sources: ONS, BBC, UK Electoral Commission websites)

Year of General Election	1974 (Oct)	1979	1987	1997	2010	2015
% turnout (votes cast/ electoral role	72.8	76	75.5	71.3	65	66.1

5.5.3   Adjustments to specific indicators

A further adjustment for supporting data being collected, the indicator selected and tested qualitatively in interviews for **'air quality'** was not cross-comparable along the time line of the case study. National figures were accumulated in the historic section of the case study in terms of 'emissions' and 'pollutants'. These data were aimed at measuring an earlier problem of 'black smoke' and of industrial pollutants, mainly sulphur dioxide that had caused serious concerns in urban areas often near the northern and Kent coalfields. Another problem became apparent: that of emissions from vehicles using leaded petrol. Once identified (and campaigned for), legislative steps were put in place and this source of pollution measured and reduced in the middle years of this

study's interest. Climate change fears linked to carbon dioxide emissions then came to the forefront in the 1990s. Little attention was paid to nitrogen oxides and low level ozone creation (from sunshine on vehicle emissions) until the first decade of the 21st century. Overall then measures of air pollutants and the quality of air have not been evenly accounted for over the period of the case study for benchmarking from national figures or from any point locally or regionally. This difficulty was compounded by the closure of scientific monitoring facilities such as the Warren Spring laboratory 'atmospheric pollution division' in 1994 (National Archives, 2016). Figures even during the monitoring operations of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research came with specified limitations about the quality of the data's prospects for comparison year on year or region by region. The measures collected for 1976 to the mid-1990s are from different perspectives: emissions of pollutants and different types of pollutants (for example CS0 ST 10 to 22, 1980 to 1992). The notion of measuring for 'good quality' rather than for poor quality is an issue only recently receiving attention publicly (The Guardian, March 2017). Some countries such as Canada use an Air Quality Index (AQI). AQI values reflect air quality management objectives based on the lowest achievable emissions rate, with a separate AQHI taking account of pollutants affecting human health (Canada, 2017). As air quality monitoring is so complex, the figures for this research have been separated out from the five other indicators being tested. Time-related figures have been included in the evidence of a locality's environment in narrative form. With other indicators being more easily cross-assessed, and having quantitative validity. Health research shows a causal relationship between air quality and environmental (MoL, 2012). For example, the impact of poor air quality in a neighbourhood has a significant detrimental impact on health. City-wide research has shown that Kensington and Chelsea, Westminster and the City of London have the worst health outcomes from air pollution in Greater London. The borough had 8.3 % of mortality attributable to long-term exposure of the particulate density of $PM_{2.5}$, in line with figures from research in 2008 by the Institute of Medicine (2008). This level was nearly 60% higher than the UK average (MoL, 2012, pp.17-18) Therefore, the valuable insight the indicator of 'air quality' might provide means that while not presented so quantitative measures are being compared, data acquired will be presented in narrative form and included in conclusions to the results of research into CS1 and CS2.

Additionally, when testing **voter registration as a benchmark**, distinguishing between different scalar measures of voters brought in the need to address assumptions. In the case of voters, a 'warranted assumption' (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007) was taken that those registering did so to activate their option to vote. However, levels of

participation fell during some years (speculatively, because of disillusionment with the political process and options to choose representatives, changes in systems of registration to for example to the 'Individual Electoral Registration (CO, 2014) and rose at other times, for example increased registration in response to the referendum on Europe in 2016 (ONS, 2017). Further, limited data were available on actual numbers of voters registered at particular times, so derivative figures have been generated using data at times of General Elections in the United Kingdom. The calculations are applied in above and include addressing issues of:

- **time** of counting is at the General Election nearest the selected regeneration review. So, for example, for the 1976-78 research time point encompassing the problem-identification and the vision for action in the case study, there was a choice between the October 1974 election and the 1979 election for the national benchmark on voter registration. The earlier date of October 1974 was selected as being more representative of what was wanted from the national level administration rather than the later point where the government may have been seen as responsible for local conditions changing during that interval. Other General Elections (1987, 1997 and 2010) fitted within selected research points (1986-1988; 1996-1998; 2010-2012). This approach is supported by guidance in research methodologies by, for example, Diamantouplis (1997) where justification for judgments on data compatibility is a recognized technique.

- **scale** of counting had several issues. First the UK figures were available for each of the chosen dates of registration. However, figures for England were harder to come by. For 2014, the ONS estimated that of 45,325,100 people registered to vote in the UK, 37,851,600 are registered in England (ONS, 2014) This ratio of UK:England for the electoral roll is 83.5%. It was then used to derive the approximate numbers of people in England registered to vote, at general elections from 1974 to 2015. These data are benchmarking for other layers at which voter registration is being examined in this research. There are many complexities masked by deriving these figures in this way, for example that British people who are resident overseas are 'parliamentary electors' but not 'local government' electors while at least until 2017 the reverse is the case for EU citizens who reside in the UK - they are not registered as parliamentary electors but they are as local government electors (ONS, 2017). However, for the purpose of a broad-brush approach in achieving a national-level view on this indicator, this approach was regarded as suitable in line with a critical realist and post-positive exploration of a range of complex and inter-related facts (Burke Johnson, 2007).

- **purpose** of registering to vote might be different from seeking empowerment: for example around the time of the EU Referendum vote in 2016, early studies indicated that some people registered to vote in order to confirm their residential rights while other groups of people made decisions in relation to tax liabilities on not registering. Again, for this research, these basic figures make a contribution in the exploration of measuring voter empowerment as indicated by registration to vote at the parliamentary level and at the local level. The 'real-world' phenomenological outcomes are available for interpretation by this type of data acquisition.

5.5.4   Revised case study format

The outcome of the adjustments to the research indicators as set out above was that there were now working indicators tested for each of the categories of social, economic or environmental category. Thus the six indicators albeit with the limitations specified were now addressing spatial implications of regeneration relating to the identified values (Paragraph 3.5.1). Adjustments were necessary to the planned case study structure:

- removal of numerical data on funding because of complexity of accessing accurate figures, non-compatibility of timescales, lack of clarity of whether figures would apply to the specific areas being researched
- increase in number of indicators being tested, to include a representative measure of income/economic activity in the form of census data on percentage of households in an area having an income of less than 60% of the UK median income, and
- using national electoral figures in place of local voting patterns.

While the research design had been that the concluding section of each case study would be allocated to the final chapter, it became clear that preliminary case study conclusions would impact on how the next study could be improved. Secondly the accessibility of the research would be enhanced by a summary concluding each study.

5.5.5   Concluding research implications for the A/F tested in the case study form

This process enabled parameters related to governance scale to be considered fulfilling a research objective. Sufficient information was compiled to examine changes in governance level seeking any correlations, thereby in Bayesian terms seeking posterior evidential probability in the light of new relevant data (Glickman and van Dyk, 2007). Results are to be presented during the general, specific and validating exercises for CS0, CS1 and CS2 so themes can be identified and tested. Each exercise contains context, problems and vision, interventions, outcomes and measured gap.

Chapter Objectives

- Present data collected through qualitative and evaluative methods
- Show evidence in relation to local and strategic perspectives, and historic and recent contexts
- Specify outcomes from research into measuring change over time because of spatial interventions
- Apply primary themes to data to evidence to relate indicators to 'spatial justice'
- Set up results for analysis in Chapter 7

6   DATA PRESENTATION

6.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Building on previous chapters where the methodology, research design and analytical procedures were presented, this chapter presents data (longitudinal and geographic) for the case study of North Kensington. National comparators are presented as data control for the case-based data that follows. This stage of the research had two purposes: (a) to give data that would show changes over time in indicators of regeneration being tested as proxies for values; and (b) to provide evidence of problems and the original vision at and before the commencement of the regeneration intervention, and then in more recent scenarios. The research connection between the proxy indicators and intangible values has already been established, predominantly in Chapter 3, as the base for these research activities. Data collected in a quantitative form were taken from archived documents and more recent online sources; qualitative data were from expert stakeholder interviews, an analytic auto-ethnographic set of images of the area in 1976 and 2012 (Anderson, 2006), and responses to a local online survey. Case study evidence in this chapter has been presented in bands of historic and recent, local and strategic, and the type of source: documents analysed, responses from the local survey and information from interviews. Images from the auto-ethnography have been inserted with the locally-based survey to add to the 'feel' of the neighbourhood in 1976 and 2012. Reasons for this approach to data presentation were set out in the Analytical Framework and described in Chapter 5 (Mitchell, 2008). For convenience the control study of

national figures in Section 6.2 is labelled 'CS0'. Sections 6.3 onwards have data collected from the main case study about North Kensington. The six test indicators shaped data for the triangulated analysis given in Chapter 7. The presentation of results for CS0 and CS1 contains context, the problem being tackled and vision for addressing that identified concern, including the interventions brought into action, outcomes and how they were measured. For ease of reading the evidence presented in CS1 and CS2, headlines for test indicators have been colour-coded in Table 6.1. Where necessary additional information about indicators has been included under headlines for 'other' (vii) or 'unsuitable' (viii) indicators when information emerged from evidence sources.

No.	Test indicator for 'spatial justice'	Headline colour code
(i)	HOUSING AFFORDABILITY	
(ii)	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	
(iii)	VOTER REGISTRATION	
(iv)	% HOUSEHOLD INCOME ≤ 60% MEDIAN	
(v)	LONGEVITY	
(vi)	AIR QUALITY	
(vii)	Other Indicator	
(viii)	Unsuitable indicator	

Figure 6.1 Legend for headlines about test indicators

6.2 CSO EVIDENCE AT NATIONAL LEVEL

Evidence has been collated about the context and problem, vision and regeneration actions taken, and the changes and results from these actions. The limitations of data availability over the length of the study required the research to be sufficiently flexible about timing and naming of information could be acquired for the set of test indicators selected as proxies for values, the case for this approach having been discussed in Section 5.2). This section contains data for the purpose of providing control for CS1 (North Kensington). National comparisons via city-region (London) data are included. A second iteration of CS0 data collection about regional level comparisons for CS2 is included in the next chapter.

Evidence about national levels of indicators in relation to London

Data about areas being assessed were set out in the following section in broad terms. Evidence availability matched the objective of showing whether spatial data about deprivation measures at a national level were sought to provide a comparison with what indicators would show for the case study area of North Kensington at comparative times.

thus acting as benchmark data. Sources for national level data about the time points showed uneven results in types, time frequency, and boundaries, as anticipated and addressed in the research methodology employed. Assumptions about data unevenness for example naming and time scales had been incorporated so this exploratory research could be progressed.

(i) HOUSING AFFORDABILITY

The National Audit Office's (NAO's) benchmark for the period 2011 to 2020 was that housing has become more affordable for those already owning property, but less so for those in social housing tenure.

> "...at least 227,000 new households [will be] formed each year between 2011 and 2021. This is substantially higher than the annual average of 166,000 extra homes in England over the last 10 years".
>
> "…Housing has become more affordable for existing homeowners, with the proportion of owner-occupiers who spend at least a quarter of their disposable income on housing falling from 40% to 19% of people with a mortgage. By contrast, housing has become less affordable for first-time buyers, and social housing rents have been increasing faster than earnings since 2001-2" (NAO, 2017).

Figure 6.2 CS0 Housing affordability

Benchmarks thus point to housing in the social rented sector becoming more expensive in relation to income; quantifying at the national level showed a fall from the 1976 level of 35% to 29% in 2010.

Table 6.1 Percentage tenure of affordable housing, nationally (ONS, 2011)

UK/Eng	1976	1986	1996	2010
% tenure of affordable housing	35	35.7	29.3	29

(ii) EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

GCSEs attained by 16 to 18 year olds was used as a measure for this research; in 2010, the percentage of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs grades A*-C (or equivalent)

including English and mathematics GCSEs. The figures compiled are, as detailed in Chapter 5, equivalents fro the GSEs of 1976, and they are combined figures for boys and girls. There is a marked increase from just under a quarter of 16 to 18 year olds in 1976 to two thirds of the age cohort by 2010, with a steep increase from the mid-point data (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Percentage of 16 to 18 year olds with 5 GCSEs at A*-C (or equivalents), national position (ONS, 2011)

UK/England	1976	1986	1996	2010
% 5 or more GCSEs A*-C	23.6	40.7	44.3	66.7

(iii) VOTER REGISTRATION

As discussed in the limitations to data in the previous chapter, the figures available and useful to this study are the voter turnout at national level as a measure of participation. This figure has been used as a proxy for empowerment as the number of people using their right to participate in the national electoral process for a local representative, at time points related to the case study time points (Paragraph 5.5.2 and Table 5.6 for limitations and assumptions). Nationally, turnout was in the top end of the third quartile for two thirds of the case study, thus in the terms of this research expressing a degree of empowerment embodied in the electoral process (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Percentage turnout at General Election, national position (ONS, 2016)

Year of UK General Election	1974 (Oct)	1979	1987	1997	2010	2015
% turnout (votes cast/ electoral roll)	72.8	76	75.5	71.3	65	66.1

The longer term GE election turnout figures appear to show a fall off in participation in the electoral process from Y2000 having been constant in the post-1945 period, relevant to this research only to point out that in the two decades of the 21st century up to 2017 voter participant is noticeably lower than the previous five decades (Electoral Commission website, 2017) (Figure 6.3).
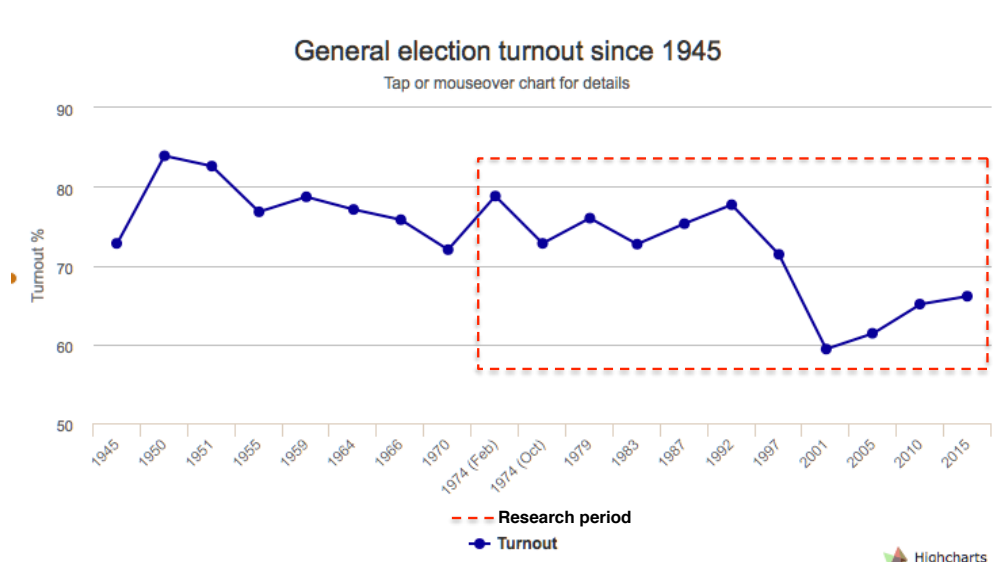
Figure 6.3 National (English) voter participation defined by voter turnout at General Elections (Electoral Commission, 2017) (results 1974 to 2015 highlighted---)

(iv) POVERTY OR UNEMPLOYMENT

The indicator of '% of households on 60% or less of median income' was equated with LSOAs that are most deprived in England. ONS figures obtained from CSO Social Trends from 1976, 1986 and 1996 gave this measure as 32% with a steady downward trend to 17.9% by 2010 (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Percentage households in poverty, national position (ONS, 2016)

UK/Eng	1976	1986	1996	2010
% in poverty (60% of median income)	32	27	24.7	17.9

(v) LONGEVITY

The measure of life expectancy at birth, averaged between men and women has increased steadily from 1978 to 2010, compiled as described in the data dimensions: over a three year period the average of male and female life expectancy at birth is combined for an indicative figure of the national trend, and as a comparator for the same compilation for the case study area and its borough and city-region (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Life expectancy at birth, national position (ONS, 2016)

UK/Eng	1976	1986	1996	2010
Life expectancy in years (M+F ave)	72.5	73.9	76.9	80

(vi) AIR QUALITY

In a briefing for directors of public health, the LGA in conjunction with Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) and Public Health England, acknowledged that local authorities have a central role in achieving improvements in air quality. Annual $PM_{2.5}$ concentrations are associated with all-cause mortality to a high level of confidence, and with much greater certainty than in 2005. 'There is no evidence of a safe level of exposure to PM or a threshold below which no adverse health effects occur' (LGA, 20. Negative health impacts have been found well below current EU and UK limits.

6.2.1 Outcomes at national level for indicators

Overall, the test indicators have steadily improved between 1976 and 2010, with the exceptions of the proportion of affordable housing available, and the change in air quality, with a narrated fall in the emissions recorded from 1976 to 1996, but a continuing increase in particulates measured.

6.2.2 CS0 benchmarks

A summary of the changes in the test indicators is shown in Figure 6.4. Preliminary outcomes from research showing national level benchmarks had accepted pragmatic limitations based on what historic data might be available (see Townsend, 1979, for

example), the case study proceeded using the turnout figures nationally, which were then to be compared with turnout figures in the area for national elections and as close as possible to the key research points (Burke Johnson, 2007). Following the presentation of the acquired data set out in a further adjustment was required on time points in order to have equivalence with the study points. The range used for other indicators had already been set at a three-year slot for each time point (1976-79, 1986-89, 1996-98, and 2010-2012). Therefore the four General Elections selected were 1979, 1987, 1997, and 2010.

National benchmark on five indicators

Legend:
- % tenure of affordable housing
- % 5 or more GCSEs A*-C
- % in poverty (60% of median income)
- % turnout at nearest GE (votes cast/electoral roll)
- Life expectancy in years(M+F ave)
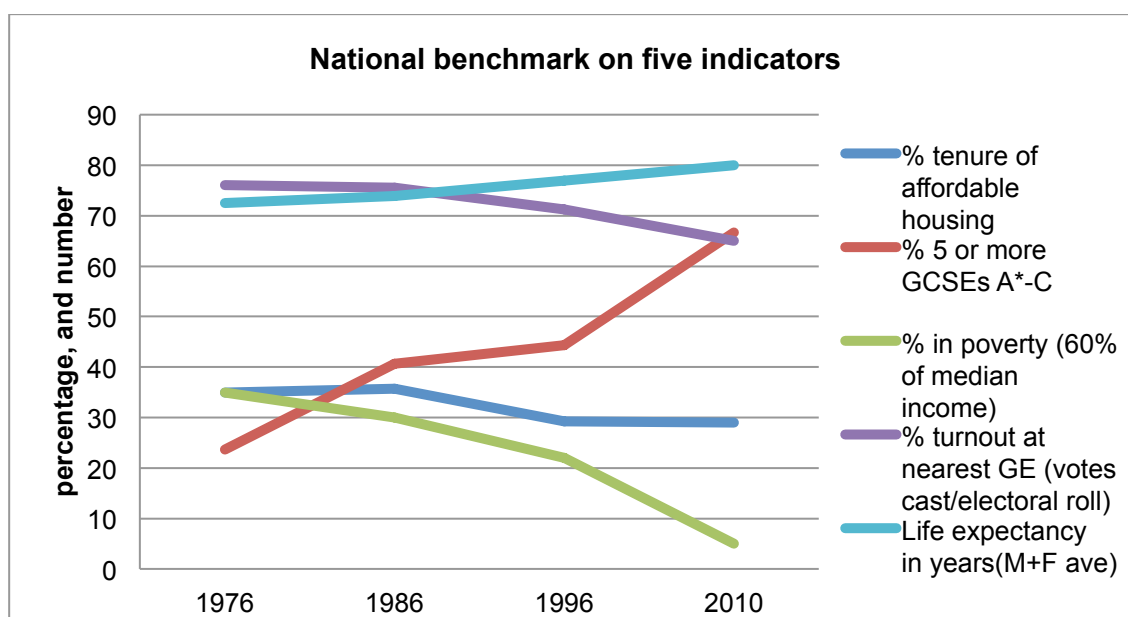
Figure 6.4 National benchmarks for five indicators (i) to (v)

Therefore the percentage turn out figures were incorporated into the national benchmark giving a chart that showed what was happening nationally on each indicator, (i) to (v). While causation or even correlation cannot validly be drawn from this chart in this research, the longitudinal views on national figures are provided with the purpose of viewing similar figures for the local area under review, and to assess in relation to evidence from other sources (historic documents and interviews, for example).

6.3 CS1 NORTH KENSINGTON CASE STUDY DATA

The design of the research process set out in Section 4.4 provides a themed approach for presenting data, starting with the **context and problems** of the study area. **Data collection** for North Kensington is summarised in the section below. **Results** from

these sources are included in boxes. **Fieldwork** for the North Kensington case study was undertaken between January and May 2016. Writing up was on-going parallel with the fieldwork. Some participants were re-contacted towards the close of the study. **Benchmarking data** was acquired while piloting the structure in October 2015.

——	Colville GIA 1976
——	Colville Ward mapped in 1974
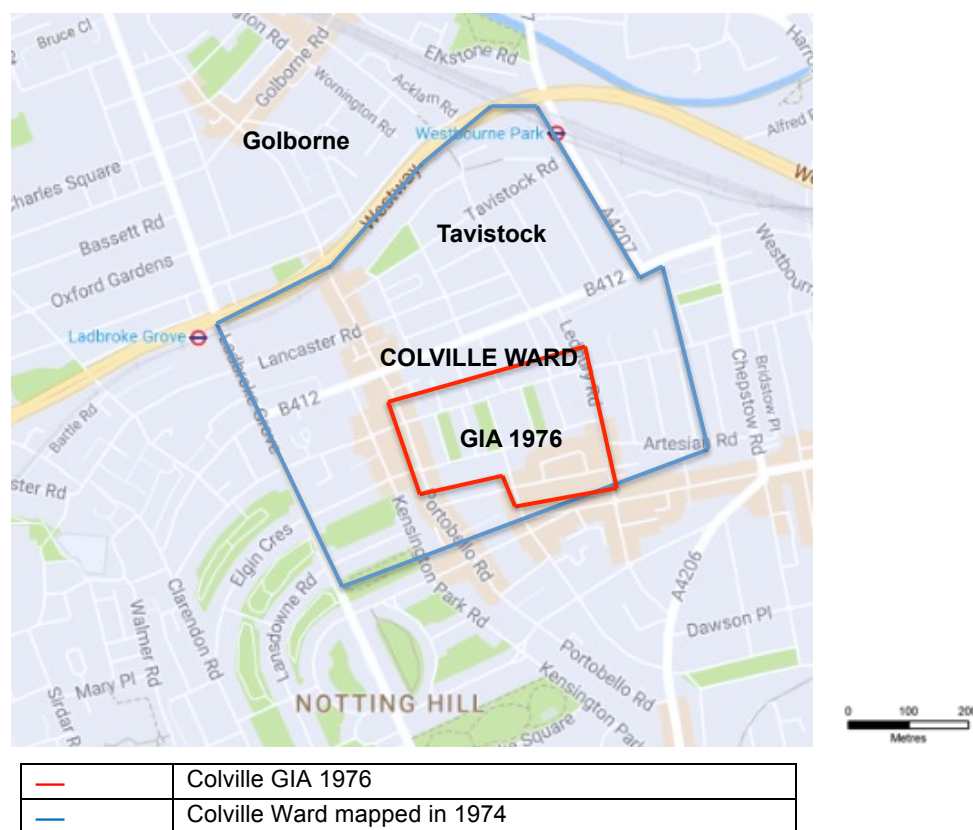
Figure 6.5 Map of Colville Ward showing GIA 1976 (adapted from Bing.com and D-5); scale is indicative

6.4 CS1 EVIDENCE FROM ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS AND ONLINE SOURCES

The **documents** range from the preparation for the initial period of the longitudinal study (1967-1976) to documents from the past several years, viz., a recent consultative local plan document that examines the Portobello neighbourhood encompassing Colville Ward (2015). The results are in the form of text narrative, tables, graphs, diagrams and photographs. Documents analysed (Appendix 6) show where key quantitative data were sourced as described in the case study design (Section 4.4).

Evidencing the problems in North Kensington

The documents examined for CS1 (see Appendix 6) identify that there are problems at the city-region level of London and local levels in the early survey of Notting Hill (D-1), in the Colville-Tavistock study (D-2) and the CDP report on inner city deprivation (D-3)

(Figure 6.6). Results from interrogating other documents (viz., D-18, the Atlas of the Indices of Deprivation for England, 2011; D-19, the websites for ONS and National Archives, 2016; and the online GLA Intelligence and Analysis Unit, 2016) rank Kensington and Chelsea as a borough of extremes of wealth (mainly southern wards) and deprivation (often northern wards). W.10 and W.11 postal codes cover North Kensington and include Colville Ward. Results from documents checked for the vision for the area and approach identified that the original study (D-1) had confronted the notion that primary conditions were 'a matter of opinion on the part of community workers and clergy' and were instead presented with 'sociological precision and accuracy' (D-1, Foreword). This historic 1967 study provides facts about the condition of the neighbourhoods of Golborne, Colville and Tavistock. Other studies that followed, such as the Colville-Tavistock study in 1972 (D-2), lead on to the evaluation of the
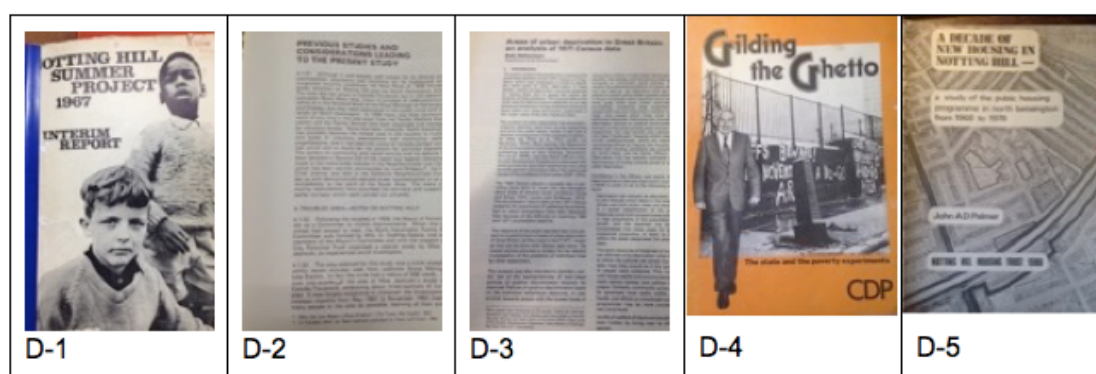
Figure 6.6 Snapshot of key documents evidencing North Kensington study

area's housing programme between 1968 and 1978, 'A Decade of New Housing in Notting Hill' (D-5) which analyses what improvements were made in Colville Ward in that period. Evidence from this survey (D-1) of the Colville neighbourhood (then within the Golborne ward) identified a number of deprivation issues to be addressed for improvements for the housing stock and for the residents. Deprivation measured showed population demographics with a higher proportion of skilled, service and semi-skilled, and unskilled workers in the area and a low percentage of non-manual workers (17.1%) compared with the area of North Kensington (36.4%)and the overall borough percentage of 45.0%. Housing tenure was heavily biased towards the private-rented sector in this specific area: higher than the overall proportion of the north of the borough of Kensington and Chelsea (75%), which in itself was higher than that of Greater London (32%), the South-east of England (24%) and nationally (21%). This high proportion of privately rented accommodation was also linked to overcrowding that had been

identified in the Milner-Holland Committee report in 1965 (Glass and Westergaard, 1965). The physical fabric of the area was poor, with old and decayed housing lacking in investment even for statutory standards required then. In other words, the residents of Colville were suffering housing stress exacerbated by the challenges of low incomes related to the occupational status of heads of households. The problem had been identified through a complete survey of all households.

This **intense survey** resulted in a 65% response rate verified by random testing and was a credible assessment of the conditions and types of community located in the area at that time. It involved nearly 200 volunteers mainly attracted through the University of Sussex and was carried out over several months that summer. The report that followed, The Interim Housing Report **(**D-1), identified viable leadership qualities and local skill within the community from the early outset of the area's housing redevelopment plans.

> "...what can be done by the ordinary citizens of a twilight neighbourhood when they decide to act for themselves. There is enough local leadership and local skill to mount a successful and sustained campaign, [and] will be the first of many enduring pieces of community work by the people of Notting Hill" (D-1, Foreword).

Figure 6.7 Evidence of a historically resilient North Kensington community (NHHS, 1967)

In 1971 in the Colville-Tavistock study area, Enumeration Districts (EDs) identified through the Census in the worst 10% in Inner London. These areas are mapped in Figure 6.8 with diagonal striping in the NHHT 1980 programme evaluation (D-5, Figure 7, p.27). Scale is indicative. The **strategic understanding** at that time was the major part that rents play in an area of poor housing and where a considerable percentage of the population have low incomes. (D-1, p.34). The overview of the time was that 'questions of social justice and fairness cannot … be ignored in further analyses' (D-1, p.34). With evidence of a significant problem of deprivation in the Colville area, several further steps were taken to scope the issues to be addressed. A consultation report was prepared by the RBKC Director of Redevelopment, Frank Clinch, in 1972. The council gave the director a free hand to explore what was the problem and how it might be solved. The report, the Colville-Tavistock Study (referred to as D-2 in this study), was known as 'The Clinch Report' and addressed a number of issues to do with social and building conditions, setting out a vision and a range of proposed solutions for rehabilitation and redevelopment. The proposed solutions were not linked to the announcement of a GIA until the mid-1970s.

—	Colville-Tavistock GIA 1976
—	Colville Ward mapped in 1974
▨	Worst 10% of Census EDs within Study Area (D-5, Figure 7, p.27)
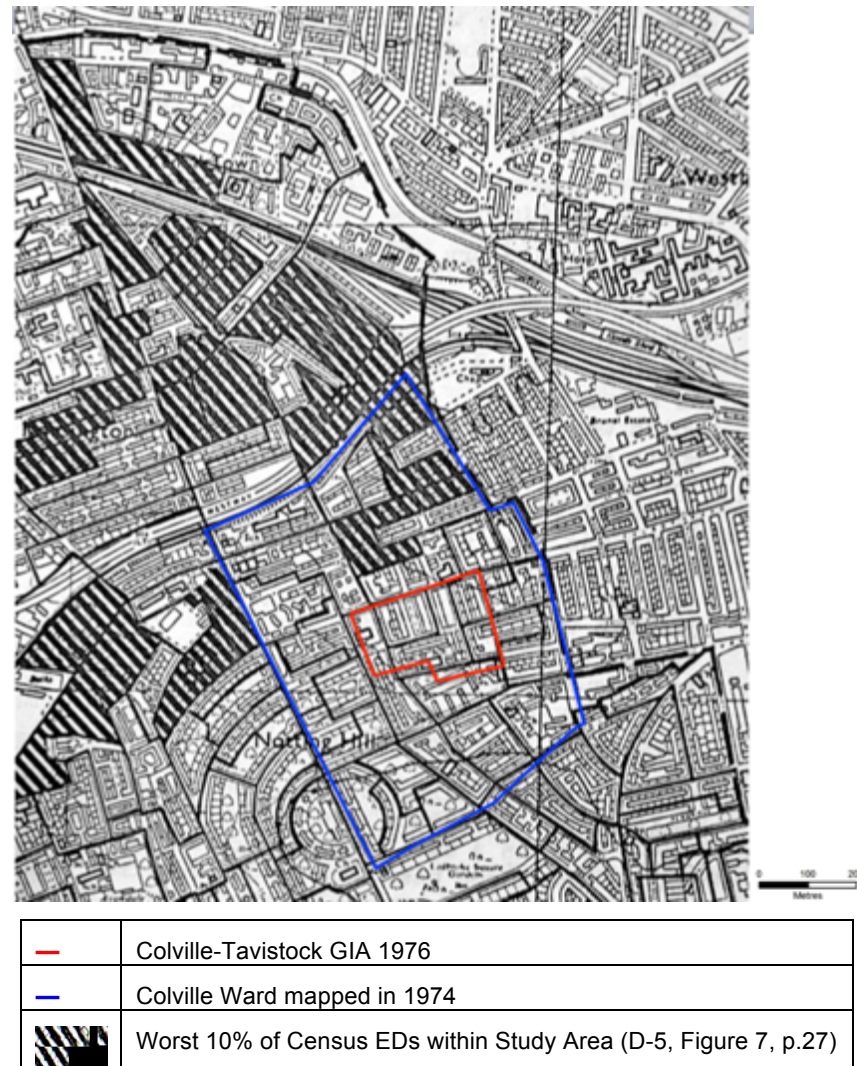
Figure 6.8 Worst 10% of Census Enumeration Districts in Inner London within Study Area (D-5, Figure 7, p.27)

The 1971 Census identified that out of the 25% of the Greater London private sector rental accommodation, a high proportion was in Kensington and Chelsea and other western Inner London boroughs (Westminster, and Hammersmith and Fulham), providing nearly 20% of London's private rented sector (figures obtained from CSO Social Trends Nos. 1 to 9, 1970-1979, referred to as D-3 for this study). At that time, overcrowding and poor physical conditions were linked to this rental sector. Kensington and Chelsea was showing more than 10 EDs in the worst 15% of EDS on each of three counts in relation to housing, social and economic stress factors, and thus was ranked the eighth worst area national after cities like Glasgow, Birmingham, and Liverpool, as reported in a research project commissioned by Notting Hill Housing Trust published in 1980, 'A decade of New Housing in Notting Hill: a study of the public housing programme in North Kensington from 1968 to 1978' (referred to as D-5 in this study).

Context, Interventions and Measuring / Evaluative Practice

Locally, the council approach was to bring in central government grants to address and improve the problems of the area. Report recommendations to the RBKC Planning Committee were that the grants would encourage the provision of family dwellings. The council also specified that, prior to the Right to Buy legislation of the early 1980s, it would sell converted flats to tenants thereby moving property from public into private ownership. The council also used housing associations such as Notting Hill Housing Trust to complete redevelopment. It compulsorily purchased multi-occupation housing that were without proper amenities. Overall it sought to recondition the area using central government funds for this type of regeneration. Interventions concentrated on the 'northern fringe' of the Colville area. (D-5, p.37) Thus, steps were taken to bring in public money to address housing problems in the area with the prospect of improving property in the area. The vision set out by the council was that standards of accommodation would be improved in the Colville-Tavistock area where there were poor housing conditions, and other measures of an area deprived of a spatially just environment, as defined in this research. Addressing the problem of the quality and condition of housing, a measure of 'spatial justice' at that time in that area was to be addressed through grant support from central government. The legislative context included funds for improving the area and for taking action about housing. The mechanisms used were General Improvement Areas and Housing Action Areas.

General Improvement areas: Part II of the Housing Act 1969, which came into operation on 25 August 1969, conferred power on local authorities in England and Wales to deal with the improvement of living conditions in predominantly residential areas and improve amenities or dwellings of such areas, or both. Grants approved relate to the total of improvement, conversion, intermediate repairs and special grants approved by or for local authorities for the improvement areas (D-4). **Housing action areas** were introduced in Part IV of the Housing act 1974 in England and Wales and consisted mainly of housing accommodation where the local authority considered housing and social conditions unsatisfactory and could be made within a period of five years to improve the dwellings and the well-being of persons and to secure the proper and effective management of housing accommodation within the area. The strategic context for area-based interventions was that using an action-research formula; the CDPs had each been set up with a local steering group, with public and voluntary bodies seeking to stimulate and develop local activities and developed into a more strategic approach. By 1974, about 50 areas in England and Wales, and 40 areas in Scotland had been started up. There was some disagreement as to whether there were small

pockets of 'intense urban deprivation' or if comprehensive programmes for whole local authority areas should become part of a local authority's corporate approach (D-4, pp.14-15, quoting Home Office Minister, Alex Lyon MP, Hansard, 29.7.74). These interventions were applied in the Colville-Tavistock area; it took the Council some time to agree on the designation of 'General Improvement Area' (highlighted by a red line in

---	RBKC HAAs 1976
—	Colville GIA 1976
—	Colville Ward mapped in 1974
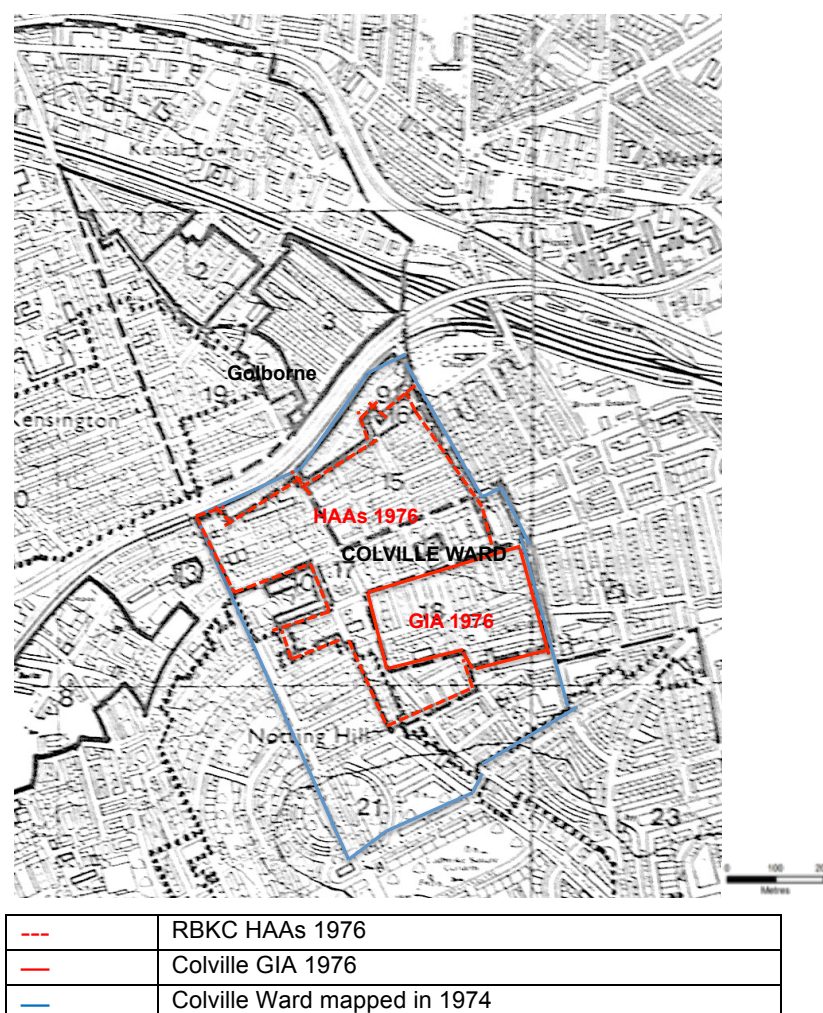
Figure 6.9 Regeneration programmes in Colville Ward, 1976 (D-5) (scale indicative)

Figure 6.9 above, and also three 'Housing Action Areas': HAA1, HAA1A, and HAA2 (shown with dashed red line) in the same neighbourhood. (D-2; Dearlove, 1973; D-5, p.41) Numbered '15', '16', '17' and '18' on the NHHT 1980 study map, the RBKC programme covered more than 50% of the ward; redevelopment on the north eastern fringe of the ward was mapped as '9'. Conservation areas (marked with dotted lines) were left to private market initiatives in Colville and contiguous wards (D-5). Limitations to the degree of trust that both residents and researchers held in the approach of this and other councils to address urban poverty had now been confirmed through surveying

the residents of the area (D-2; D-5). A nationally contextual report by the Community Development Project (referred to in D-4) caused concern because it reversed its analysis, from seeing poverty as the outcome of people who found themselves 'poor', to being the consequence of multiple deprivation caused by macro-economic changes like de-industrialization (D-3, p.54). The Portobello neighbourhood is indicated in relation to the GIA of 1976 in Figure 6.10.

| --- | Portobello neighbourhood 2011 |
| --- | Colville designated GIA 1976 |
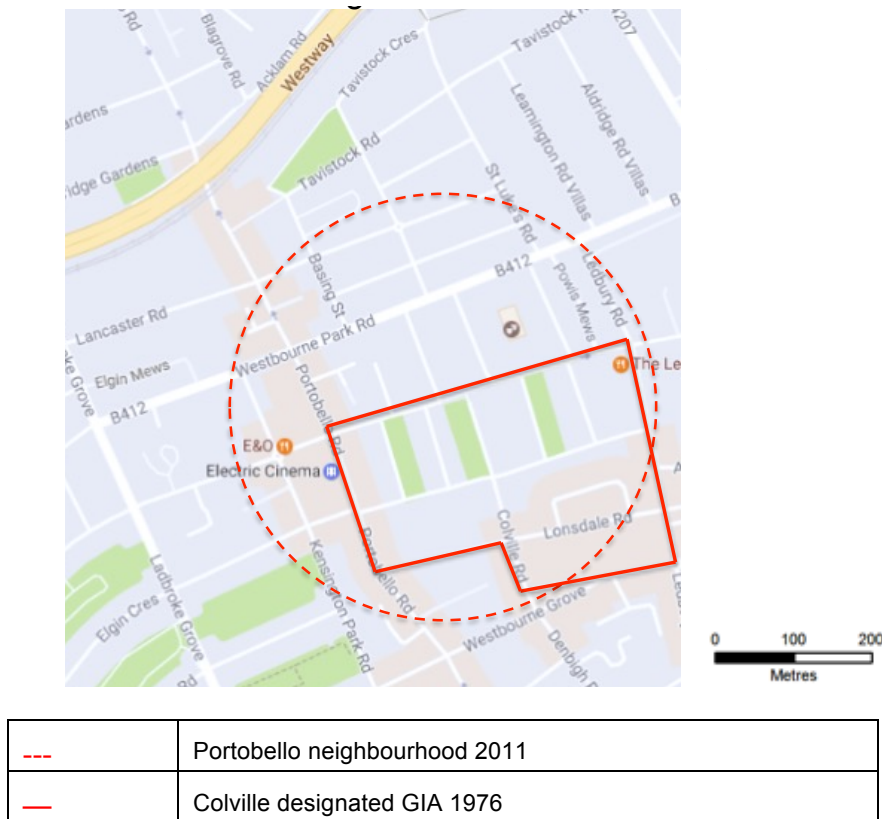
Figure 6.10 Portobello neighbourhood 2011 in relation to the Colville GIA 1976 (map adapted from Bing.com and D-5) (scale indicative)

In the mid-1960s at the start of the CDP programme, the Home Office had based the programme on three assumptions: i) the deprived themselves were causing urban deprivation, ii) the problem was people's apathy so promote self-help, and iii) local research would bring changes in local government and central government policy. These assumptions were quickly questioned. The purpose of interventions 'to supplement the government's other social and legislative measures in order to ensure…all our citizens have an equality opportunity in life' (D-4, p.4; ibid, p.10 quoting Hansard, 22.7.68) gave a contextual picture of the recognition of strategic and Central Government requirements to be in dialogue with the local about forces outside the control of ordinary communities, even outside their own councillors. The study armed

tenants with information based on research, and eventually led to some of the projects being closed (D-4). In North Kensington, the context was that quoting *Survey of London* Vol. XXXVII, North Kensington, GLC, 1978, p.348 '...residents were not rehoused for two reasons: either they failed to meet the criteria designed to assess whether they 'deserved' public housing; or they could not afford the rents being charged by the Council'. So while the early survey of North Kensington had identified 'social justice and fairness' (D-1, p.34) as a clear direction for uncovering and measuring 'the problem',

---	Colville-Tavistock GIA 1976
——	Colville Ward mapped in 1974
	Purpose-built estates
	Individual properties in social housing ownership
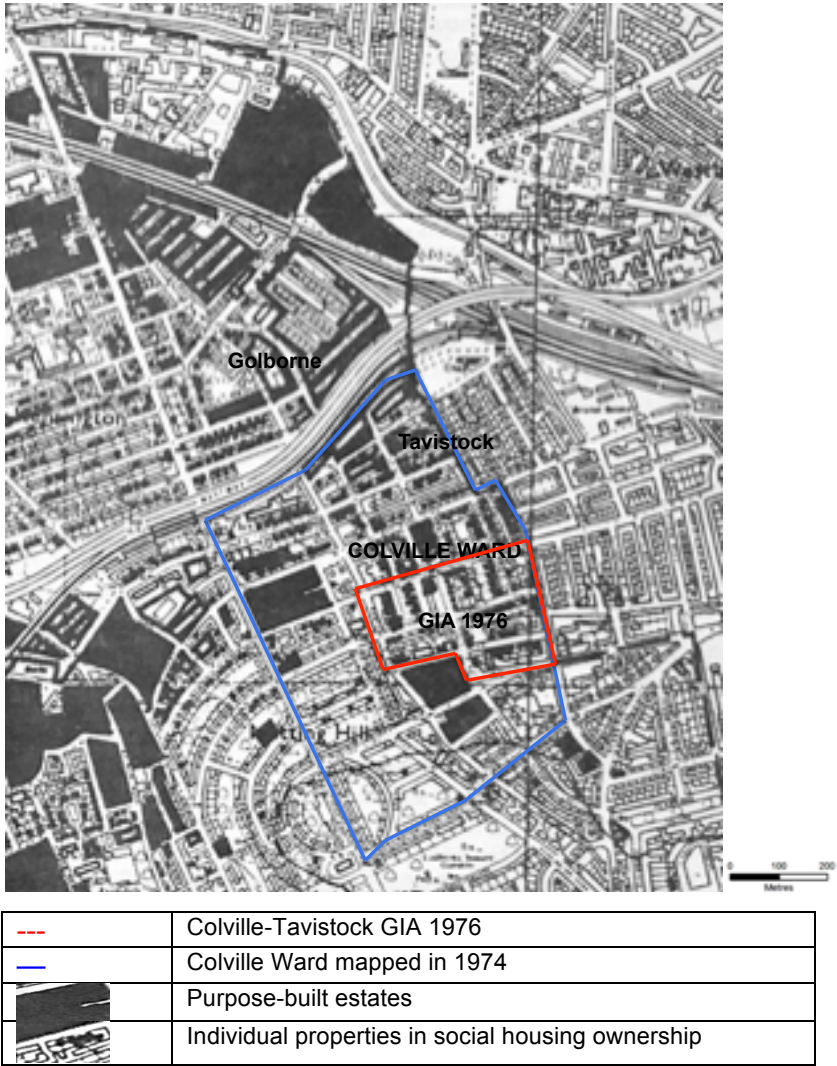
Figure 6.11 Social housing at start of programmes 1978 (D-5, Figure 9, p.41) (scale indicative)

later assessments of interventions were showing a lack of interconnectedness by those applying interventions to deliver improvements (D-5, p.15). The programme of renewal in North Kensington included the acquisition of almost 20% of the older housing stock with some seven and a half thousand houses to be provided through rehabilitation and new build. This scale of intervention was not dissimilar to other areas of London at that

time. Figure 6.11 above illustrates the dense amount of development underway in 1978, mapped in D-5, Figure 9, p.41 with purpose-built estates shown in larger black blocks and dots were individual residential properties in social housing ownership. Outlined areas were earmarked for clearance. Diagonally striped areas were under construction by 1978 (none in the Colville-Tavistock area).

Recent: By 2011 figures were showing increases in social tenure in Colville Ward at an average of 44.6% although a small decline in the overall rental sector from 1976 (73%

---	Portobello neighbourhood 2011
—	Colville Ward
—	LSOAs 2011

Figure 6.12 Map of Colville Ward, Portobello neighbourhood and LSOAs 2011 (Source: GLA, 2016; map adapted from Bing.com) (scale indicative)

from 75%). The rental sector in Kensington and Chelsea is nevertheless high in comparison with other London boroughs, though in line with the Inner London on the west side. The neighbourhood of Portobello is referenced in the recent RBKC Local Plan Review (2015). Its location is highlighted by a dashed red line in Figure 6.12. A blue line

bounds the ward of Colville, and the Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs) which are used by the Greater London Assembly (GLA), are outlined in in light blue. The tones on the LSOAs are used by the GLA's Intelligence Unit to present detailed data relating to the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). For Colville Ward, LSOA 007A overlaps with the old 1976 GIA regeneration area and its light colouring indicates a level of less that 20% social rented housing at 2011. The darker toned LSOAs (004A-D) have social rented housing levels of more than 45%. Housing tenure in 2011 is shown in Figure 6.13 with 007A having about one third of the proportion of social rented housing than the other LSOAs with 004A to 004D having a high proportion of socially rented housing – a tenure type which includes rental or intermediate-type from housing association properties. In more detail, the proportion of each tenure type is shown for LSOAs in Colville Ward. The lowest proportion of socially rented and the greatest proportion of owner occupation in Colville ward are in LSOA 007A, which is a significant overlap with where regeneration was enabled in 1976. The methodology of the research is not designed to drawn a causal relation between these facts, it does purposefully pose a question for future experimental research based on an intense quantitative methodology, in which a high degree of validity might test for correlation.
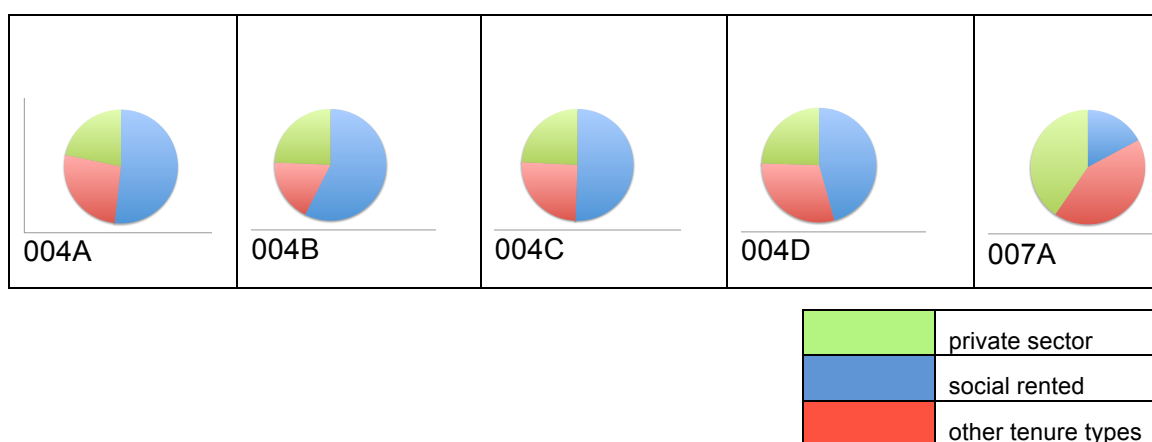
Figure 6.13 Proportion of tenure types by LSOAs in Colville Ward, 2011 (Source: GLA 2016)

Measuring the gap

The foundational survey of Colville covered 33 roads and mews totalling 1,210 houses and purpose-built flats with an estimated 11,620 rooms. Some 15,260 people were living in the total number of rooms surveyed (23,950). (D-1, Table 7, p.20) It was a 100% (not a sample survey) with a 65% response rate across the areas (on checking, refusals and non-responses randomly distributed geographically). In terms of community resilience, the foreword written by The Rev. David Mason, Chairman of the Organising Committee

for the Notting Hill Summer Project that delivered the survey states that its interim report 'shows what can be done by the ordinary citizens of a twilight neighbourhood when they decided to act for themselves with sufficient local leadership and local skill identified within the community of Notting Hill (D-1, Foreword). These activities were clearly those of a strong and resilient community living under housing stress and who with support could deliver clarity on what the problem was and could work together to envisage another future for the area.

Vision and relationship to 'spatial justice'

Basic information meant that 'no longer are these matters [housing conditions] a question of hearsay or prejudice' (D-1, Foreword). A success noted in the early part of the report is the empowerment of the local community, and the consequence of the local community acting together was a stronger outcome than had been expected from those surveying and studying. Their task was then to convey the findings that transcended the anecdotal knowledge of local workers, the community, dedicated contributors from voluntary groups (D-1). Objectives set out for the programme included the improvement of physical and social conditions throughout the Colville-Tavistock area (Figure 6.14). Aims were to provide an adequate standard of housing 'for as many as possible who wish to remain in North Kensington, mix of housing types and community profile, with better environmental standards.

> "The Director of Redevelopment is to organise a social and building survey and to incorporate its findings in a report including **recommendations** designed to improve housing conditions and the quality of urban life **in the Colville-Tavistock area.** A programme is to be presented which would lead to the **achievement of the major objectives with the minimum disturbance of family and community life."** (D-1 Terms of Reference Paragraph 1.01).

Figure 6.14 CS1 Initial vision for Colville improvements

However, evaluators of the first decade of change stated that there was a 'conscious policy decision from the Council, and the way the area's housing deficiencies measured ensured social needs would be of secondary concern.' (D-5, p.30) Further, the council's approach was to improve physical housing conditions, rather than 'making good the area's many deficiencies in the interests of people at time resident in those areas' which was 'at odds with the professional advice from the Council's own planning department as well as other agencies concerned with the area's housing problems' and the

community itself. (D-5, Paragraph 76, p.31) From a contemporaneous study of Council Agendas and Minutes, this was 'conscious policy decision on the part of the Council' compounded by 'measuring' the area's housing deficiencies so social need was made secondary (Figure 6.15**).**

> "There was a clear relationship between the way the problem was defined, the kind of information collected as the basis for decision-making and the designation of programmed areas within which housing renewal was to take place." (D-5, p.31)

Figure 6.15 CS1 Context of problem

Objectives achieved by 2010/12

The Initial Housing Survey led to the Notting Hill Housing Service being established; the Notting Hill Housing Trust grew from around this time as well and exists in the 21st Century as a housing association managing more than 32,000 homes and building others not only in North Kensington but also across London according to the website of the successor organisation, Notting Hill Housing (NHH, 2017). The outputs in relation to indicators in the same format as for the benchmarked indicators in the previous section showed In terms of demographics, the constituency of Regents Park and Kensington North which existed from 1997 to 2010, was not coterminous with the borough boundaries. The constituency of Kensington (formerly Kensington and Chelsea) had 35% home ownership, a 27% social rented sector and 34% privately rented between 1974 and 1997: the constituency included Colville Ward. The northern part of Kensington and Chelsea had LSOAs which continued to have employment and transport connections disadvantages. Rent levels had been low but under pressure and dwelling numbers available were reducing, according to reports of the time (D-2, D-5). However, 1972 documents analysed showed that rents had risen during the previous five years without any significant change in amenities or access to facilities or reduction in overcrowding. The neighbourhood, a magnet for tourism as well as a robust community in itself, was divided about the interventions of the council and housing associations (D-2 and D-5). Forty years on the rents for private dwellings were above London average albeit with a high ratio of price per square metre – in other words close to exceeding contemporary space standards (D-19 and D-20). However, amenities were contained and generally, accommodation in the second decade of the 21st century was acutely better than those that had provoked the disputes up into the 1980s albeit proportionately more expensive that similar dwellings had been, and were in comparison with London's average (but high) pricing for similar accommodation. The results of

changes in indicators over the North Kensington forty-year case study area are charted in Figure 6.16.

CS1 North Kensington study area

Legend:
- % tenure of affordable housing
- % 5 or more GCSEs A*-C
- % in poverty (60% of median income)
- % constituency turnout at nearest GE (votes cast/electoral roll)*
- Life expectancy M+F ave
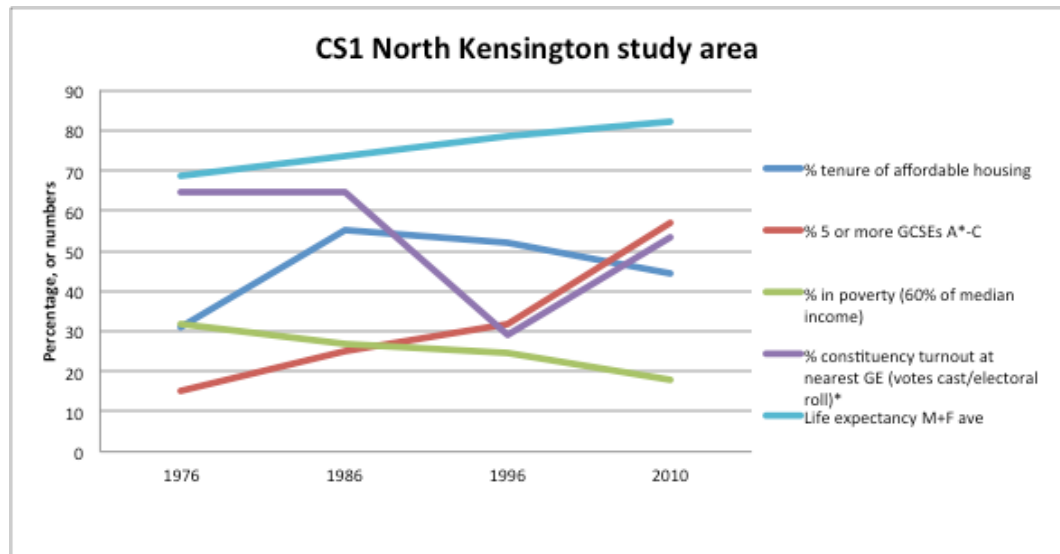
Figure 6.16 Changes in five indicators 1976 – 2010 (ONS and RBKC data)

The gap: The housing solutions that people sought in the period of regeneration in the neighbourhood included taking possession of vacant properties (squatting), applying to go on to housing waiting lists for dwellings owned by the local council, the London-wide authority (the GLC) or local housing associations such at the Notting Hill Housing Trust or Octavia Hill. Some properties in public ownership became available through co-operative ownership. Data on rental levels in the locality were referenced in the previous section of this chapter from contemporaneous documents like the Notting Hill Survey Interim Housing Report (D-1), the Clinch Report (D-2) and the review of the housing programme in the area (D-5). Anecdotally, it would appear that rents and house prices are too high for people on middle incomes nowadays. Publicly available figures on housing price comparison websites indicate that housing costs in the Portobello neighbourhood have increased over the study period by more than a compounded rate of 3.5% p.a. This estimated growth figure is one that has been set in the so-called Local Authority 'purple book', the CIPFA endorsed guidance for generating comparisons over time on salaries or expenses (CIPFA, 2016). A similar figure occurs in the ONS website where comparing their rents data with private sector data (ONS, 2017). If applied to rents registered in Colville-Tavistock in 1978, some scope can be given to what a rent then might be if that indexed increase were applied. There are clearly limitations to this approach, for example with the rent calculated as a ratio of average earnings, or selected as a smaller property. However, by taking a post-positivistic methodological

approach in evaluating a rent then, calculating its increase over time at 3.5% p.a., an insight - albeit not generalizable - may be gained for the limited purpose of this research. From a secondary source that recorded a 'random sample from rent registers' in Colville-Tavistock between 1975 and 1978, a selected example gave a weekly payment in the range £16.46 to £17.78 per week without service charges; by 2012 an equivalence calculation at an average of 3.5% per year inflation gives a weekly rental in the range of £42.42 to £57.27, or about £248.15 per month. A housing association apartment or 'private' rental was in Notting Hill would have been a similar rate. However by 2012, a three-bedroom apartment rented from a private landlord was about £1,240 per week (having risen over 32% from 2009 and some 16% more expensive that outside the capital) (This is Money website, 2012). Contextually, 27% of all London householders in 1972 had incomes below £1,500, for England the figure was £6,256 per annum, falling before rising again in 1978 to £6,915 (The Telegraph, 2011). However, in 2012 disposable income was £33,323 for Inner West London (where RBKC is located), more than twice the national average of £15,709 p.a. (National Archives, 2010), although this figure is listed as £13,980 in the ONS-derived table 'UK real households disposable income' (Telegraph, 2011).

> "…people are still angry and are still protesting even though methods of getting your point of view across have changed. Some of these issues remain current. Some of the imagery has stuck with the popular imagination. There is still plenty to protest about." (RBKC Local Studies, 2017).

Figure 6.17 CS1 Community resilience post-completion

6.4.1   Outcomes in 2012 and beyond

Referenced by Participant L and Respondent 7 below, in RBKC Local Studies Archives (RBKC, 2016) and in a blog on RBKC's Community Noticeboard website (RBKC, 2017) (Figure 6.17 above, and Figure 6.18), the people in the existing community have continuing issues with their council in the North Kensington neighbourhood.
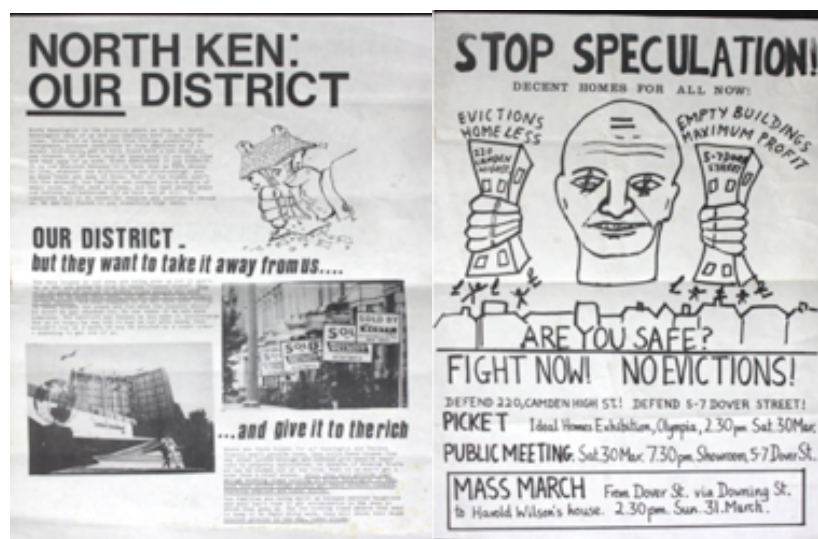
Figure 6.18 Archived protest posters about North Kensington (RBKC, 2016)

Evidence from document analysis in relation to the six indicators

Evidence has been collated in this section from an analysis of documents about the context, problem and visioning of the outset of this study of regeneration in North Kensington in 1976, and at the outcome in 2012, with some information acquired at the intermediary points of 1986 and 1996. In terms of the indicators being researched, evidence from that early picture is shown below in relation to the six test indicators.

(i)   Affordable Housing

Historic: Affordability of housing was important although the problem was phrased differently and emphasised conditions and density, with affordability not as important as security of tenure, condition of fabric of housing, facilities available in housing. Self-management of properties through co-operative ownership was an option.

Recent: Housing affordability recorded as 'social housing' or in local authority or housing association ownership had significant changes over the case study time period. Added categories of 'intermediate' housing had become important (D-20).

(ii) EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Historic: Education was viewed as important with a focus on young people but not specified.

Recent: Educational attainment figures was being well-documented, with data the specific age-group of 16 to 18 year olds available on line. However, meta-data that aided long-term comparisons were less visible (D-11, D-18).

(iii) VOTER REGISTRATION

Historic: Voter participating was not identified as important but empowerment itself was very important

Recent: There were changes in the parliamentary boundaries from the start to the close of the case study.

(iv) POVERTY OR UNEMPLOYMENT

Historic: Measures of income/employment/poverty were import but not visible in terms of measurements.

Recent: This measure of income over the case study period remained a constant measure: the longitudinally comparative information was available in the later compilation of ONS data released in Social Trends (although this source terminated in 2012).

(v) LONGEVITY

Historic: Health and longevity were seen as an outcome not a measure.

Recent: The increasing longevity as a national outcome was visible in the area, The area had started at a slightly lower life expectancy and by 2010, LE was slightly higher, although the figure varied depending on which part of the borough, the north of the borough or even the part of the ward that was being examined, according to environmental health figures linked to air quality (GLA, 2016).

vi) AIR QUALITY

Historic: The quality of air was not identified as such, although the requirement for 'healthy open space' was seen as a strong measure of quality of life.

Recent: Linked to figures on longevity the issue of air quality had become more visible by the early part of this century. Data from data.gov.uk website linked through RBKC Inspire and shows that North Kensington has two air quality monitoring sites (KC01 and KC05) to monitor for pollutants of nitrogen oxides, sulphurous oxide, particulates 10 and 2.5, ozone, benzene and carbon monoxide. The monitoring sites are close to the northern boundary (KC01) near the Westway and to the southern boundary (KC05) of Colville Ward. Both have a start date of 1996.

vi) OTHER POSSIBLE INDICATORS

Historic: Overcrowding and lack of or shared amenities were described in D-1, D-2, D-3, D-4 and D-5 as problems requiring urgent attention. The Deprivation Index measures were the baseline for improvements sought through housing renewal, regeneration or property rehabilitation (D-3) In the study area, these two measures were critical to the direction of regeneration (D-5).

Recent: The Indices of Multiple Deprivation are in use by the later stages of this study.

(viii)   Unsuitable indicators

Historic: The Council's intention for the area programme set into action by 1976 was to improve physical housing conditions, rather than a programme addressing social need, an approach at odds with its own planners' professional advice. Evidence from a study of Council Agendas and Minutes showed a conscious policy decision from the Council compounded by how the area's housing deficiencies were being measured, thus putting social need as a secondary concern. The evidence documented 'a clear relationship' between how the problem was defined, the type of information collected for decision-making and where the programme for housing renewal was designated. (D-5, Paragraph 76, p.31).

Recent: The Council's approach in 2010 was documented in the Local Plan in 2011 (RBKC, 2017).

6.4.2   Initial conclusions from document analysis

The housing and social problems of North Kensington had been of concern up to national level before the ward of 'Colville' was designated in 1974. The 1958 'race riots' happened there, 'Rachmanism' which described the treatment of insecure tenancies was on the edge of the ward, and the counter-culture and excitement of the 1960s and 70s was located at its heart. (D-2; D-5). The research focus of Colville-Tavistock was declared a 'General Improvement Area' in 1976 together with three Housing Action Areas, and these designations cover the major part of this ward.   The identified problems were based on a number of studies and surveys about housing conditions where reports showed a notable degree of deprivation across the community and in the dilapidation of housing stock. A significant amount of public money was fed into the area over some decades but the perception was these funds went mainly into physical improvements, as a conscious decision by the council of the time. The housing stock was improved and much of it went into social ownership, only to go into private hands following Right to Buy legislation (and some prior to that date on an experimental basis)

(D-5). Data shows Colville Ward as continuing to have markers of high levels of deprivation into the 2010s in for example accessing housing and local services in comparison with national and London levels on these measures. (ONS, 2011) The ward had figures equivalent or better on measures of education and longevity, in line with the data acquired from Borough records although with some dips due to the impact of poor air quality on prospective life expectancy.

North Kensington, the two postcodes of W.10 and W.11 in the north of the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (RBKC), was at the case study outset and remained up to the time of writing, an area with measurable levels of deprivation albeit improved levels, according to current and past evaluative practice. The borough of Kensington and Chelsea (RBKC) was listed as 103rd on the list of 418 borough and district councils in 2011, whereas in 1976, at the time of designation of the GIA in the North Kensington ward of Colville, the borough was in the worst 20% on the list of areas of deprivation although it had moved, relative to other London boroughs, to a better position by the end of the first decade of the 21st century, on a level of deprivation that had improved nationally in any event. So the area was showing less deprivation on the IMD while its median income was modelled as in the highest in London (GLA, 2016). The scale and size of problems identified in the area prior to the programme of renewal and regeneration in the 1970s had been at a high level but in the end not overwhelming. The strength of the community of providers and residents working together and sharing knowledge at many stages along the way had been important to this project, succeeding in terms of the then Deprivation Indices in the enumeration districts of North Kensington. As always, looking into the future, even in an apparently innovative era, was challenging and leadership from different quarters was acknowledged at the time as a way of overcoming apparently intractable problems: housing reaching the end of its useful life for example. As houses that were preserved are still in use in the 21st century, this measure was successful with at least some houses remaining in the public realm of housing associations as a direct outcome from the original 1967 study. There is less documentary evidence as to whether community continuity from that time to the case study's end date has been significant or successful.

The way in which the problems of the area were to be tackled, in particular about housing affordability, was fundamentally about housing conditions, legislation to address the scale of the problem, ownership and tenure, and extensive use of compulsory purchase as well as through the open market (D-2). An evaluation of the programme by 1978 identified that social needs were likely to be missed because of limitations of addressing housing stress on an area-only basis, that baseline information from the

Census was inadequate, and that cross-referencing with London-wide assessments would have produced a more strategic view of what the problem was and therefore what solutions should be pursued.

In terms of the evidence base for exploring the research question acquired from the analysis of specific documents, some lessons were learned. The initial survey of the regeneration area was assessed incorporating the professional judgement of council officers, other officials from support services or local providers. This result supports the notion that values were not articulated as measurable; the consequence of the use of professional judgement (and inferentially in other, similar circumstances) is dependent on a number of factors: the quality of the training of the profession judging, the quality of the procedure applied to appoint the professionals involved, the relationship between the local politicians, the balance of power between local and borough wide politicians in this process. The next report into conditions, the Clinch Report, also gave free rein to those examining the problems and envisaging future interventions (D-2; D-5). The post-completion approach remained that while consultation and professional judgement were invoked to assess and deal with issues that required resolution, the Council retained its authority to postpone improvements (D-20).

6.5 CS1 EVIDENCE FROM SURVEY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RECORDS

An online survey for current residents of the area was run between December 2015-April 2016. Evidence from the **survey** of current residents of the Colville-Tavistock vicinity is identified by a respondent number and presented here with comparative data. An ethnographic record of photographic evidence of change in North Kensington is included alongside thereby re-viewing the urban landscape of North Kensington evidencing everyday life and a historic view of structural change.

Results from conducting the survey

Survey respondents were self-selecting: invitations to complete the survey were distributed by two Colville Ward councillors to local groups and individuals. Although contacts had been sought through a residents association and two local community associations, the response rate was lower than the 3 to 10% rate the researcher had anticipated, with only 13 people replying. Responses from those who did complete generated a rich source of local knowledge about historic issues and changes in the ward.

Seeking explanations for the lower than expected returns also led to identifying an issue of the questionnaire having been designed to engage people who had lived in the area some years previously. However, the research was exploring whether the process of regeneration of the area has seen a significant change in the residual community. In effect, connecting with longstanding residents through this route was likely to be difficult if the premise was correct that many former residents had moved out of the area – although there were likely to be other reasons than the regenerative process. So, numerically the survey results turned out to be less fruitful than originally planned. Nevertheless information received from respondents appeared to be considered and thoughtful, and based on long-term experience of the vicinity (Figure 6.19).
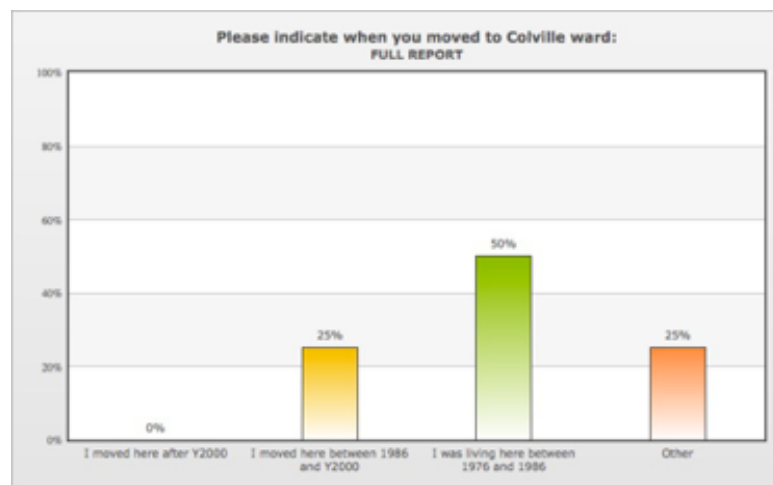
Figure 6.19 Survey respondents: length of time living in Colville

A further factor to the survey's rate of return proved to be whether people who moved into the area in the recent past would be willing or interested to take part in a survey about the locality's changing demographics. At least half of those who did reply were on the lower income layers, which might indicate that they were weathering the neighbourhood's change and motivated to express their view on those changes (Figure 6.20).
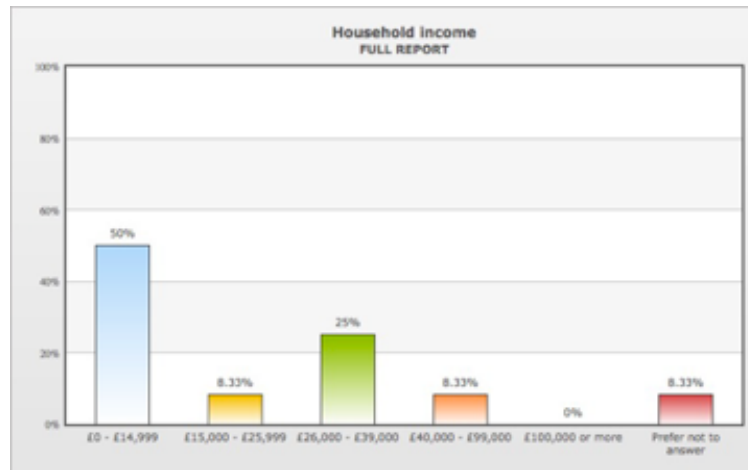
Figure 6.20 Survey respondents: self-reported income level (2016)

Establishing connections with local people through a meeting arranged by the Council in regard to the consultation on the Local Plan review had positive results. The researcher attended the Portobello and Notting Hill area consultation on 3 February 2016 where contacts were generated, contributing to a 'snowball' sample (Patton, 2002) with two residents and businesses in or nearby Colville Ward agreeing to participate in the in-depth interviews or responding to the survey based on postcode analysis. The respondents were for the most part still living there and some had historic as well as recent experience of the area illustrated in Figure 6.21.
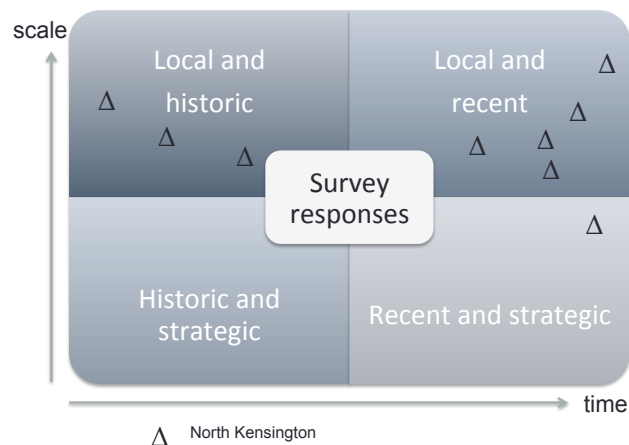
Figure 6.21 Indicative distribution of respondents to survey

The ethnographic evidence

All images are the researcher's own, unless otherwise attributed. Eye witness and photographic evidence of the (pre-) regeneration stage show a lively area in 1976 under

some housing stress, culturally diverse with local food and carpentry stores and an active market. By 2012 in the post-regeneration era, the refurbished area had a retail offer focused more on franchises, coffee shops and 'designer' clothing and shoe shops. The market remains active but in a more organized and managed way. A map of the Portobello neighbourhood indicates neighbourhood locations referred to in this evidence about local conditions. The map shows the focus of the declared GIA (1976-86) in relation to the Portobello neighbourhood referenced in the RBKC Local Plan Review Consultation document in 2015) neighbourhood overlaps with the Colville study area (D-2). Although not all photographs are contiguous with the GIA, they are indicative of the area and its conditions, historically and recently, as shown in maps (Figure 6.22). Where possible, photographs result in evidence as they were taken from similar perspectives in each era (**C** and **c**: Portobello market; **G** and **g**: Fish stall trading by G. Piper and G. Piper and son). Some positions are exact (**A** and **a**: Powis Square with and after the playhut; **E** and **e**: Portobello market; and **F** and **f**: Housing on Westbourne Park Road). The images show changes in the physical environment, some continuity of place and people, and the visible change noted by residents who responded to the 2016 research survey (Mitchell, 2008). The images are used alongside survey responses from Colville-Tavistock residents, presenting analytic artefacts of the past and present neighbourhood. Map scale is indicative, adapted from Bing.com in 2017. Investment [through regeneration] brought improvements when the area had become 'racially divided and drug ridden'. The Westway [the northern border of Colville Ward] was seen as problematic to the area, in that when it was constructed it divided the community. That division of community is seen as remaining with north of Westbourne Grove [the southern border of Colville Ward] being neglected and pollution being a problem especially near the Westway [the northern border of Colville Ward]. Some hostility and distrust was vented about relations with the council and agencies in the neighbourhood, and there was a strong sense that the community had been changed and gentrified in the process, with poorer people and poorer areas losing out. The problem of a continual pattern of property renovations was concerning to longstanding residents.

Portobello neighbourhood 1976

Image locations 1976
A Powis Square
B Local butcher
C Portobello market
D Portobello veg market
E Saturday market
F Housing stress
G Fish stall

- - - GIA focus 1976

Portobello neighbourhood 2012

Image locations 2012
a Powis Square
b Shoe shop
c Portobello market
d Coffee shop
e Friday market
f Housing
g Fish stall

- - - GIA focus 1976

---	Portobello neighbourhood and GIA focus of regeneration 1976
A-G	Images taken in 1976
a-g	Images taken in 2012
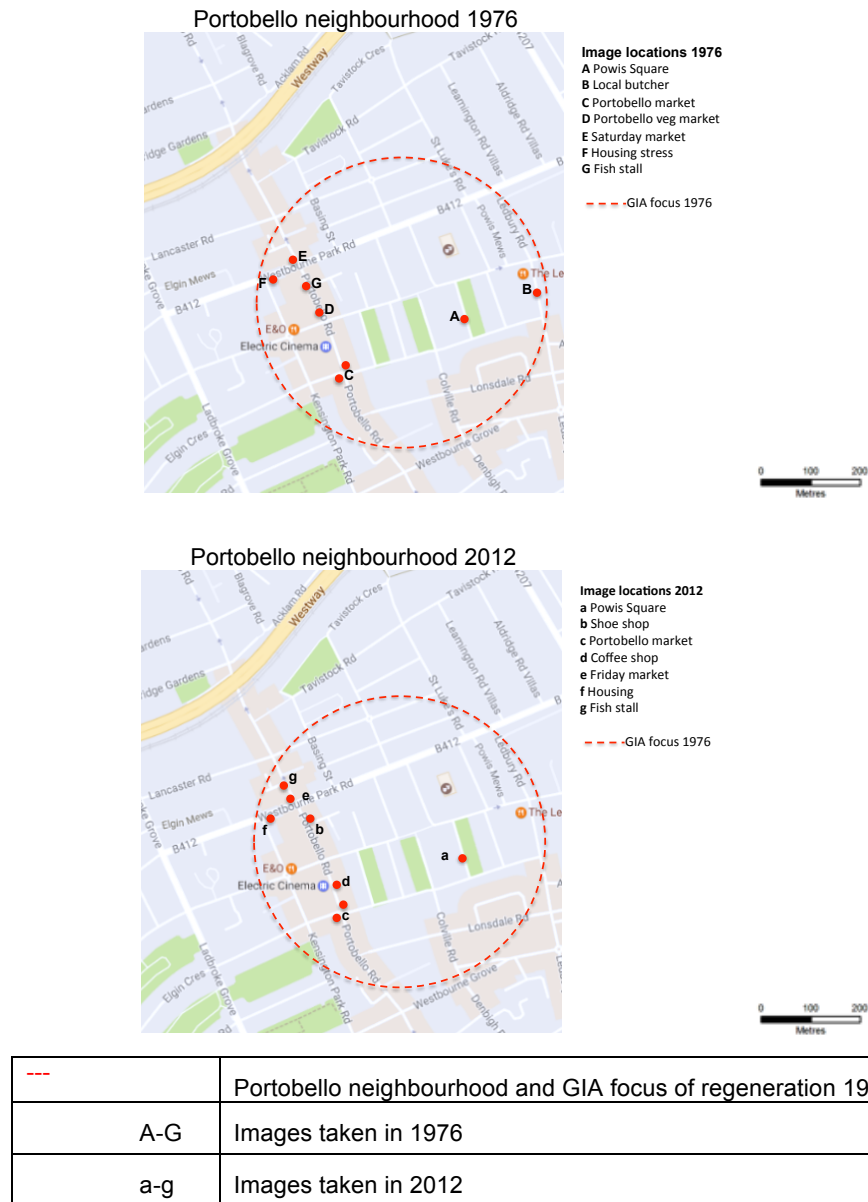
Figure 6.22 Locations of images taken in Portobello neighbourhood 1976 and 2012 (author; map adapted from Bing.com)

"Since the area north of Westbourne Grove is seen largely as low income, it's neglected. The wealthy enclaves have far better paving & street lighting etc." [Respondent 2].

"Most importantly the people themselves have been moving away either forced out by circumstances or cost of living or have simply moved because they don't want to live in a building site with rich house renovators as neighbours" [Respondent 7].

"Public money is spend [sic] on paving stones which are put down again and again in the same streets made by a firm called ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮" [Respondent 3].

Figure 6.23 CS1 Local view of the changing neighbourhood

| **2012 b** | **2012d** |

Figure 6.24 Shoe and coffee shops in Portobello neighbourhood in 2012 (author)

Renting and retail: Respondents noticed a significant change in the retail offer in the area For example one respondent noted that local necessity shops were unable to succeed because commercial rents had risen, so only tourist-type retail was surviving (Figure 6.25 and Figure 6.27)

> "High rent levels in the commercial sector have impacted on the type of retail offer that can succeed in the area. Small shops fail. Portobello is filling with souvenirs and coffee shops. There's no middle market.
>
> Everything seems to be horrendously high end, or trash. The Portobello Market has very little local connection - products are junk, ugly clothing made in who knows what sort of establishments and the food is still not organic on the main stalls" [Respondent 2].
>
> "Too many chain coffee shops and too many shoe shops" [Respondent 5].

Figure 6.25 CS1 Living in the neighbourhood

The quality and cost of housing was identified as a key factor for why current residents saw changes in the community, with housing going from middle income to high income.

1976 E

2012 e

1976 C

2012 c

Figure 6.26 Changing retail offer and gentrified market place (author)

"Increasing incomes of a small section of society has resulted in houses being returned from flats to single family occupancy in some streets, changing the character from being a mix of public housing and middle income housing to public and high income" [Respondent 1].

Figure 6.27 Living in the neighbourhood (2)

Neighbourhood: Community resources in the ward were noted by long-standing residents as being different from the intended outcomes of regeneration, with the council supporting the area as a tourist destination rather than a neighbourhood. In the seventies there was a sense of community in the face of difficulties. Images show historic views and recent record of the local neighbourhood (Figure 6.26 above) with a feeling that things had not changed for the better for the neighbourhood and some people being forced out in that change. The sense of community and empowerment was viewed by some participants as having diminished, from the type of neighbourhood of 1976 to its more recent iteration in 2012 and after (Figure 6.28).

"Now it feels that we should have been more vigilant and we have been slowly losing what we once gained as a community. Most importantly the people themselves have been moving away either forced out by circumstances or cost of living or have simply moved because they don't want to live in a building site with rich house renovators as neighbours in a ghetto of rich house renovators" [Respondent 7].

"Local democracy is a sham. Direct Action years ago did give people more say" [Respondent 3].

"Low income folk are being shipped out en masse, leaving a neighbourhood deeply divided between rich and poor. They pass each other in the street, but live on separate planets" [Respondent 2].

Figure 6.28 CS1 The neighbourhood now

Historic view of Colville Ward

Housing: Of those who had lived in the area while the GIA was in place, all recognized that many of the local flats and houses were in poor condition then.

"There were huge working class families living in appalling conditions. They shopped every day in the markets and local small shops. Post-Rachman conditions improved hugely, but slowly high rents etc. forced such people out. Nothing of substance has replaced them" [Respondent 1].

Figure 6.29 CS1 The neighbourhood then

Figure 6.30 illustrates local butcher and vegetable stalls on Portobello market photographed in 1976, as an example of local independent shops and trading before the area was regenerated.

1976 B

1976 D

Figure 6.30 Portobello neighbourhood shopping in 1976 (author)

The housing type changed with the redevelopment of large terraces previously occupied by several families with purpose built properties in social housing tenure replacing them,

From a physically rundown area with private rented properties, a different mix emerged when properties were rebuilt or restored (Figure 6.31 and Figure 6.32).

"The neighbourhood has gentrified and to the detriment of its poorer residents" [Respondent 6].

"Poor low income people being squeezed out of the area" [Q2, Respondent 5].

"The Tabernacle is a venue rather than the community centre that people wanted. The council wants to make the area a 'destination' but people want a neighbourhood. I feel that tourists must be so disappointed when they come here" [Respondent 3].

"It has been thoroughly 'cleaned up' and refurbished, though I regret it has lost much of its old 'rough-and-tumble' character which originally attracted me to it" [Respondent 4].

Figure 6.31 CS1 evidence of housing tenure type change

Neighbourhood: Respondents were divided as to whether they did have a say in the way the community was changing, with at least one respondent feeling strongly that they did have a say. Most believed that the local area-based nursery was a community asset with three strongly agreeing with this view. The scheme (the GIA regeneration) was discussed locally because some people took up the subject but in general it was not the scheme that was wanted. The funding was wanted. From other contributory evidence

"Increasing incomes of a small section of society has resulted in houses being returned from flats to single family occupancy in some streets, changing the character from being a mix of public housing and middle income housing to public and high income" [Respondent 1].

Figure 6.32 Housing as flats being returned to single family occupancy

available in local studies archives (referred to on the Colville Community Notice Board (RBKC, 2017) and in interviews with Participants D and L, it was clear that there were very different means of communication about area changes. Community newssheets were compiled and distributed, with people with young children for example meeting at

1976 F	**2012 f**

Figure 6.33 Changing housing provision from multi-occupancy to purpose-built social rented housing and single-family private properties (author)

the school gate and joining in with protest meetings at the various halls which existed at the time. Views of local people were expressed in these community newssheets about their concerns on how housing would change. These communications included the

RBKC archive	**1976 F**

Figure 6.34 Examples of community responses before and during redevelopment 1976 (RBKC, 2016; author)

reaction of some groups to what was happening to the neighbourhood with the belief that others outside the community would benefit from house-price uplift. The RBKC Library houses a local studies' archive which has the 'People's News' (Figure 6.34).

Public realm: Survey responses indicated that graffiti was not generally seen as a problem, and at least one person thought that graffiti added to the character of the neighbourhood. Some graffiti showed the response to housing stresses, and the humour

and wit with which the community faced these conditions (Figure 6.35 and Figure 6.36).

> "Artistic and humorous graffiti was not a problem and attracted tourism to see 'Clapton is God' and 'Eat-Work-TV-Sleep-Same Thing Day After Day' and 'Eat the Rich'. The problem came later on when boys started doing tagging and had no respect for other people's artwork" [Respondent 4].

Figure 6.35 CS1 Neighbourhood environment

Figure 6.36 Examples of local graffiti in Portobello neighbourhood in 1976 (author)

Community resources: The local community had resources that it had united to establish and maintain. The Tabernacle, a converted faith centre on the edge of Powis Square, the 'Powis Playhut' popular with some and a source of concern for others, and the community-based Colville nursery on nearby Colville Square. Some of that involved strong interactions with the council at that time. The Tabernacle continues into the 2010s. Powis Square remains public open space although the Playhut was demolished about 1978 (Figure 6.37 and Figure 6.38). Colville Nursery is still operating, as a subsidised business.

Recent view of the Colville neighbourhood: While the small number of respondents were equally divided about whether their neighbours had moved on, they were united in thinking that community feeling was not better now, and they felt they did not now have as much say in what is going on for the neighbourhood as they have in the past. They

> "The Tabernacle was for the West Indian community. This now hardly exists due to impossible high local rents etc." [Respondent 1].

"Powis Square was the focus of conflicts between the K&C council and the community for many years, I remember attending a demonstration there in the late 60s/early70s when the Council was laying concrete over the square to create a car park; followed immediately by a crowd of residents who scraped the concrete off from the ground as soon as it was laid. The community wanted it to remain as a park for recreation and children and the Council wanted to 'develop' and manage it" [Respondent 4].

Figure 6.37 CS1 Community resourcing

1976 A	**2012 a**
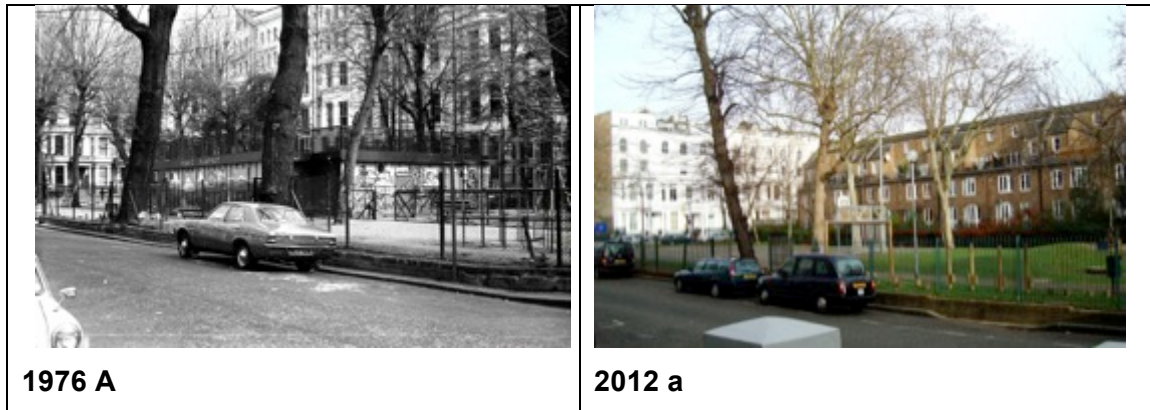
Figure 6.38 Powis Square with playhut 1976 and in 2012 (author)

were divided as to whether the neighbourhood felt safer now or in the past. Community resources like the Tabernacle and Colville Nursery (Figure 6.39) was still operating in 2016 (Participant I) although its business structure and catchment area had changed. Survey responses show local residents were equally divided as to whether there is a better choice of reasonably priced good food to buy locally today compared with the historic recollection of the neighbourhood. The rent level for the same properties has risen from about £8 per week excluding rates (D-5, 1980) and the same two-bedroom apartment advertised in 2012 for £1,300 per week on the property website Rightmove.co.uk in 2012. Within Greater London, the inner west area comprising Westminster, Kensington and Chelsea, and Hammersmith and Fulham, had (and still have) an additional premium of an even higher cost of living than other parts of London. These figures are given as an indication that London's economy was operating separately from England and its regions, both in income terms and housing rental costs, and that even though

Colville Nursery was an asset for parents, but my friend…felt discriminated against there when he went for a job" [Respondent 4].

"High street shops and chains are crowding out local independent businesses and threatening the Portobello Market - which is why

> people want to go there in the first place" [Respondent 5].
>
> "While I've financially benefited from the enormous rise in the value of my property, it's gone much too far. No one on average or even reasonably high income can afford to live in the area."

Figure 6.39 CS1 opinions of the neighbourhood now

Colville-Tavistock has seen rents rise well above the stable long-term average inflationary increase, it is similar to other areas in London and particularly Inner West London. A secondary source reported on the Register of Rents held in North Kensington 1978, also recorded rental increases of around 35% over the two-year period 1976 to 1978. (Bissett Johnson, 1978) Non-legitimate housing solutions to the lack of (affordable) housing were dealt with at a city-region level in an amnesty extended by the GLC to squatters in North Kensington; some people were then able to take up forms of tenure such as co-operative dwelling under the umbrella of housing associations including Notting Hill Housing Trust (Figure 6.40).

> "I was a squatter in Latimer Rd from 1974 until the GLC's squatters' amnesty in1977/8, and in Powis Square 1980/81. After the amnesty many properties that had formerly been run down were taken over by Notting Hill Housing Trust and either renovated for rental or leased out to housing coops such as the W11 Housing Coop or Portobello HC (of which I was a member). The conditions were much the same as when we were squatting, in that we occupied freezing buildings and did our best to make them habitable, but it was a relief not to be criminalised for doing so and to have some measure of security and legitimacy to replace the daily stigmatisation we were used to" [Respondent 2].

Figure 6.40 CS1 Alternative forms of housing tenure

Evidence from survey about the six test indicators, historically and recently

(i)   Affordable Housing

All but one respondent agreed (or strongly agreed) that they couldn't afford to buy a flat (or house) locally by the time redevelopment was underway in 1976. This situation was confirmed for recent times too.

(ii) EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

No specific reference was made to schools or educational attainment. However,

resources for young people was signified by support for use of Powis Square Playhut for youngsters.

(iii) VOTER REGISTRATION

Most respondents agreed that they always voted in local elections.

(iv) POVERTY OR UNEMPLOYMENT

The household income was notable under strain in respondents' view: 'There were huge working class families living in appalling conditions'.

Now, Increasing incomes of a small section of society has resulted in houses being returned from flats to single family occupancy in some streets, changing the character from being a mix of public housing and middle income housing to public and high income.'

(v) LONGEVITY

No specific reference was made to health or well-being except that housing conditions were poor.

(vi) AIR QUALITY

One resident of the Colville area now (Respondent 1) noted that 'Pollution is a problem, especially near the Westway [M41 motorway] and another noted that with all the renovations underway in this decade, 'it is like living in a building site.'

Context, Interventions and Measuring / Evaluative Practice

Respondents were equally divided as to whether they had personally benefited from the regeneration interventions in the area or not or it had no effect. The exercise to connect with the existing local community through an online survey was taken over some months. A limited number of responses were achieved although those that were, were detailed, thoughtful and contributed insights to the research. There is evidence that there is continuity in the Portobello neighbourhood, for example the continuity of family businesses such as the family fish stall on Portobello market as pictured in 1976 and 2012 (Figure 6.41).

| 1976 G | 2012 g |

Figure 6.41 Portobello neighbourhood continuity (1976 G and 2012 g) (author)

6.5.1   Initial conclusions from survey of residents in Colville ward 2016

The expectation that there would be significant numbers of residents still residing in the specific area and then that they could be contacted within the scale of this research programme, was optimistic. Also, of those who responded to the survey, more than half had lived in the area for more than twenty years. Through the process of connecting with the small number of people who had completed the survey, a positive outcome was achieved: the discovery of an archived source of detailed information about the area was not yet publicly available. It was planned to be curated for British Library archives in 2017 (and at the time of writing up this study, the process was well underway). The local community print workshop in North Kensington had kept records and copies of printed material that it produced and related correspondence, relevant to the first stage of this research in the 1970s. Further, during the data collection stage of the case study, the Local Studies section of the RBKC library was open and well-staffed albeit with a real prospect of being closed as public funding for its maintenance was being threatened with withdrawal. These two sources of data provided details about the local community, its organisations and active individuals at key points in the case study examination. As an adaptive research process is often required in engaging in longitudinal studies, these two sources compensated for a lower than expected survey response. Visual examples recording the urban landscape (for example of community continuity) include Portobello family traders such as the market fish stall remaining in the same name, viz., G. Piper in 1976 and G. Piper and Son in 2012, as captured in photographs (Bissett Scott, 2012), identified as an expected outcome from how an ethnographic approach can contribute to analysis (Anderson, 2006) (see Section 7.4.1).

6.6 CS1 EVIDENCE FROM INTERVIEWS ABOUT NORTH KENSINGTON

Evidence from interviews

6.6.1   Results of interviews

A schedule of interviews with stakeholders was activated in January 2016 with the final interview conducted in early May 2016. Interviews with stakeholders resulted in perspectives on 'spatial justice' from residents, community workers, local and regional politicians, theorists and planning professionals. One participant had generalist interests in the local category with expertise that was not specifically 'local' to North Kensington or Peterborough. Other North Kensington participants' background and interest in regeneration stemmed from roles as local authority policy planner, local ward councillor, a long-term housing practitioner and academic, a community resource manager, and a local archivist. An input on public, private and resident and voluntary interests was achieved in part by some interviewees having dual roles (e.g., resident and politician; historic and current interests).

6.6.2   Evidence resulting from interviews

Transcripts from interviews were obtained from a semi-structured questionnaire (Appendix 4), then filtered for patterns and themes by using a word search based on the six indicators. The results show stakeholders' perspectives on the indicators and what synonyms are used for the indicators. Different understandings on vision, policy and practice were elicited on the context of problems and any vision for the area, discussion of context, problems. Here, the interview outcomes are contextualized through these approaches and resulting data presented under a headline for each of the six indicators.

Participants ranked each of the six indicators between 1 and 5 giving an importance measure of 'spatial justice' (Table 6.7). This question was asked about 20 minutes into interviews, by which time participants were engaged with the research. In one interview, this question was omitted because this participant (Participant H) spanned both studies with a more strategic and conceptual view on 'spatial justice'. The summary of results shows that the eight participants thinking about CS1 believed that measuring the percentage of affordable housing is a reasonable indicator of 'spatial justice', with five ranking 'housing affordability' at 5, the maximum score. However, the numerical presentation of the interview results is a partial picture of what participants are saying. The responses were nuanced as set out under the headlined indicators in Table 6.6 and Table 6.7.

Table 6.6 Results from word search of transcripts

	INDICATOR	WORD SEARCH	NOTES
(i)	**AFFORDABLE HOUSING**	Affordable; Housing; Homes	'living', space
(ii)	**EDUCATION by GCSE attainment**	Nursery; Education; Schools; Young people	Can include 'childcare'
(iii)	**% VOTER PARTICIPATION**	Accountability; Voting/voter; Registered/registration; Participation; Empowerment	Use 'vot...' to find references
(iv)	**% HOUSEHOLDS on less than 60% median income**	Poverty; Income; Economics; Childcare	Or other singe mentions relating to wages, jobs and living standards
(v)	**LONGEVITY**	Life expectancy; Longevity; Health	'well-being' may overlap
(vi)	**AIR QUALITY**	Fumes/CO2; Well-being; Pollution; Air quality; Quality of Life; Environment;	Transport and open space may link in here
	ATTRIBUTE	**WORD SEARCH**	**NOTES**
I	**Level or scale**	Regional; RDA; LEP; City-region; Local; Community Ward; Neighbourhood	Seeking governance and accountability references, and information about social and spatial justice
II	**Case area**	London; RBKC; North Kensington; Notting Hill (Gate); Portobello; Colville-Tavistock; GLA; GLC [East of England; Cambridgeshire; Peterborough; Gladstone; City Centre]	Two case study areas, seeking evidence of problems identified and vision for future
III	**Context at time**	Regeneration; Redevelopment; any date; Legislation/policy GIA; European (funding)	Or other single mentions of policy and legislation; seeking evidence of interventions and outcomes

Context, Interventions and Measuring / Evaluative Practice

Participant F who was involved first in the 1967 survey, researched the Notting Hill programme review in 1980, and following that at the Housing Corporation, stated that there was a move away from central government and wholesale clearance to area regeneration, with the input of housing associations. This move encouraged private sector development by improving the look of the place and housing quality. His opinion was that now social housing agencies and private landlords are reinvesting in what they

Table 6.7 CS1 Responses collated from participants' view of indicator importance as a measure of spatial justice, where 1 is the least important and 5 the most important

Importance of indicator as measure of 'spatial justice' scored by 1= least important; 5 = most important	1	2	3	4	5	DK	Total no. scoring 4-5	Comment
% change in affordable housing, from start to completion of programme				3	5		8	Defining affordability necessary
Measures of improved health (such as predicted longevity)	1		1		6	1	6	Alternatives proposed; Secondary
Educational attainment as represented by GCSEs	1		1	4	3		7	Alternatives proposed; Secondary
Air quality measurement	2		1	1	3		4	Secondary; outside remit
Voter registration/participation	2	1	1	3	1		4	Alternatives proposed
Other					1		1	Access/ Transport; Employment

have already bought, as part of a program of either capital reinvestment by existing landlords or a speculative investment by owner-occupiers and property companies (Figure 6.42).

> "When we were working there from the late '60s through to the earlier '80s, at that time slice, very clear programs fostered by central government and which… began to move away from wholesale clearance of the areas, to area regeneration. The housing associations … like Notting Hill and Octavia hill and others play a very significant role in…leading that regeneration" [Participant F].
>
> "In so doing, they led the way for a degree of private sector regeneration. By bringing the appearance and the quality of housing in an area up, they made it appear to be a safer area for private investment. …government promotion of area based renewal …what regeneration is taking place is either small-scale clearances and rebuilds or more generally in somewhere like North Kensington, huge amounts of private investment, which are part and parcel of this upsurge in prices in the London housing markets" [Participant F].

Figure 6.42 CS1 Context of regeneration

Identifying and evidencing the problem in North Kensington

Vacant property is now a problem in Kensington and Chelsea, having had substantial capital investment. Clearance had pushed vulnerable people out, a second wave of housing association-led programmes helped community stability but now private investment is problematic, and now even more than 'gentrification', properties are investments and un(der)-used once again driving out vulnerable groups (Figure 6.43).

> "About 40% of private sector residential properties are said to be vacant in Kensington and Chelsea: properties that have often had substantial capital investment in them. Having had clearance that drove insecure people out, then a second wave of renewal led by housing association provision which helped safeguard communities, now it's private investment driving people out of communities. [Participant F]."

Figure 6.43 CS1 The problem as evidenced

Measuring the gap

When combining the interview outcomes of Questions 4 (or 6) in interviews with the eight participants in relation to North Kensington, the overall result in terms of the importance of each indicator, was that affordability of housing was the most relevant and important indicator of 'spatial justice'. The question was phrased to ask if the change in percentage of the housing stock being affordable was a good measure of 'spatial justice as the spatial expression of social justice'. Responses indicated that interviewees had diverse views and professional opinions of what 'affordable housing' might mean, and whether it related to housing stock or dwellings, as change between the beginning of a programme and in its present state, whether it was linked to housing tenure or to the affordability of rent or house prices in relation to salary or household income. Nevertheless, all those interviewed (who had a special interest in both North Kensington and in regeneration practice or its impact on them personally as residents of the area) believed that housing and its affordability were the base rock to achieving a spatially just outcome from regeneration interventions (Table 6.7 above).

Evidence from interviews in relation to the six indicators being researched

Participant responses to the effectiveness of the test indicators as measures of spatial justice were collated from transcripts using the word search filter with words related to the indicators and to the attributes of scale, time (context), and place (the study area). In addition to the six indicators, two further classifications were evidenced from interviews: 'other indicators' and 'indicators that were adverse or misleading', the results categorised below as (vii) and (viii) and presented as earlier (Figure 6.1).

(i) HOUSING AFFORDABILITY

'Affordable Housing' was seen as 'a good measure, particularly if the time series data were to be collated. The term "affordable housing" was seen as problematic because of its varied use, and uncertainty of definition. One participant also suggested that if social housing were to be taken as being an indicator the quantum of social housing were to be measured in a given area at five-year intervals over a 50-year program, that might help inform whether state interventions had contributed to community cohesion. Participant F identified this type of measure as one of 'community cohesion' as much 'urban regeneration.' That classification matched the attribute of the community in place. The gap between income and housing costs was identified as a measure of affordability, and the change from beginning to end of regeneration. Affordability is key to keeping a community functioning (Figure 6.44).

> "That's a good measure, particularly if you graph the time series data and you look at the rate of which the amount of affordable or social-- …If you take social housing as being an indicator and you looked at the quantum of social housing in a given area at five-year intervals over a 50-year program…that would tell you something about the way in which certainly state intervention had worked to promote some degree of community cohesion" [Participant F].
>
> "In terms of housing, affordability is the most important factor] because it's one thing calling your landlord or the bank to fix your roof but if you can't even get a roof -- It will destroy communities, if people from all walks of life can't live there" [Participant I].
>
> "...rate a change in the percentage of affordable housing in an area as a measure of whether you're achieving a good outcome" [Participant G].

Figure 6.44 CS1 Housing affordability as an indicator

(ii) EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Educational establishments were judged less important by some as benefits could be achieved online, or through private access with the implication that state resources would be freed up, although in fact the new secondary school in the area was already oversubscribed and travelling to school or moving to school was recognised as disruptive to a child's educational progress. The area was attracting children into Colville Nursery from across the world and particularly America, both northern and southern (Figure 6.45).

"…children's educational outcome is massively important. We put it as a major issue. What we're seeing at the moment is children who are getting up at five in the morning to commute from places in order to keep their local schooling" [Participant D].

"I get enquiries from literally every country in the world" [Participant I].

Figure 6.45 CS1 Educational attainment as an indicator

(iii) VOTER REGISTRATION

Empowerment measured through voter registration and participation would show where people were actively engaged but North Kensington was seen as a special or different case where people might not want to be seen to go to a polling station. An alternative might be bringing people together through a Cultural Forum, although its usefulness in empowerment would depend on its constitutional powers. Engagement seemed as important as empowerment to participants, and having an appropriate representative of your interests was noted as well (Figure 6.46).

"That's very interesting, yes I would say it [voter registration] probably is, so that would be rated very highly" [Participant A].

"[Voter registration and participation] certainly is a way of indicating whether people are involved with the community or not…my experience as Chair of Cultural Forum is that all together, activists from all socio-economic areas, you know, rich people worried about trees and others ground and housing, and it brought people together" [Participant D].

Figure 6.46 CS1 Voter registration as an indicator

(iv) POVERTY OR UNEMPLOYMENT

The linkage between income, employment and poverty-line household income was acknowledged as representative of deprivation in an area. However, whether regeneration did assist in bringing down this measure of deprivation (and thus improve 'spatial justice' outcomes) begged the question of 'whose income'. Looking at an area for this measure was not seen to explain if original communities benefitted (Figure 6.47).

"...if just you're looking at the stats for say a ward, what's the deprivation level? has it gone down since we did this regeneration and everyone's all very happy and deprivation has gone down and income has gone up but that's actually just looking at that area - it's not looking at whether it's the same people that you intended to solve problems for in the first place" [Participant A].

Figure 6.47 CS1 Household income as an indicator

(v) LONGEVITY

Health is acknowledged as a good spatial justice measure but has difficulties as a 'spatial justice' measure because it may be misleading in the context of North Kensington where social class has changed [through gentrification]. Another limitation would be the impact of lifestyle choices on health, and the long-term assessment of an indicator of longevity. However, when alongside other measures, the actuarial outcome of health impacts because of say air pollution is 'absolutely essential' (Figure 6.48).

> "It doesn't work for an area like North Kensington where you've got social class change going on. All the evidence is, that people from more affluent social classes have greater life expectancy than those people from the less economically advantaged social classes" [Participant F].
>
> "And measures of improved health, absolutely essential if we're just talking Colville because of our and mortality figures and because of the impact of the Westway" [Participant D].
>
> "I would chart the same people from beginning to end if their longevity [but not the area because the area] could have changed" [Participant I].

Figure 6.48 CS1 Longevity as an indicator

(vi) AIR QUALITY

Air quality had a mixed response as a useful indicator, with one participant identifying Westway pollutants being outside the control of the locality and therefore not a good measure, and another arguing that it is an essential measure of spatial justice because the area closest to the Westway has higher mortality rates and EU air quality standards had already been contravened at the time of interview (May 2016). Also tracking over time, with changing standards was recognised as a challenge (Figure 6.49).

> And measures of improved health, absolutely essential if we're just talking Colville because of our and mortality figures and because of the impact of the Westway" [Participant D].
>
> "That's probably a poor measure if only because the air quality is not usually a product of a local area. It's a product of wider area and the existence of, for example, through roads with heavy vehicular traffic on the West Way" [Participant F].
>
> "[Air quality as a measurement}…that's 100. That really is critical because if you haven't got much, if you can't choose where you live [Participant E].

Figure 6.49 CS1 Air quality as an indicator

(vi) OTHER POSSIBLE INDICATORS

Housing need was a driver for regeneration but so was housing mix, and intermediate housing was as yet unmet in the northern part of the borough. Without the mix of housing the community cannot function properly. **Housing tenure** was also identified as supporting the objective of a more spatially just measured outcome from regeneration, with people participating in the community, rich or poor or from whichever cultural or faith background. Tenures like co-operative living as well as intermediate and leasehold ownership, and private sector rentals help keep a social mix and avoid having areas that are solely for wealthy people. **Housing design** was also identified as part of the package for dwellings to be built to meet need without reducing affordability. Access to childcare as well as work is 'obviously part of…social justice' (Participant L). Housing availability was clearly necessary in the first place. Measuring the access and availability of new technologies and studies was a detail for **educational attainment (**Figure 6.50**)**.

> "There's a high concentration of social rented housing in particular areas: in the housing estates, in the northern Borough, and actually there's a totally unmet need for intermediate housing" [Participant A].
>
> "In terms of housing, the affordability is very important. It's got to be enough housing in the first place" [Participant L].
>
> "The need is shown that this council needs to be building 700 and something, new homes a year. And that 60%...needs to be in the wider, affordable range…**[**including intermediate in that 60%]" [Participant D].
>
> "You basically want a social mix, you want affordability-- you want fair rent and affordability but also you…also want comparatively rich and successful people living in a … locality providing they actually live in the Borough and then … will they actually participate in the life of the Borough as well?" [Participant G].
>
> "…it's also about design, so it's making nice spaces, it's not just building simply for the sake of it, it's actually about making intrinsically beautiful places and streets" [Participant A].
>
> "I think Kensington Chelsea up until now has been bang on to the ideal of social mix, and that's what I think you could end up losing" [Participant E].
>
> "[For co-operatives]… it means that they can have the interior of their flats as they wanted which is tremendous" [Participant L].
>
> "…obviously part of the social justice [is that] equality involves everybody being able to work and learn and make the best of themselves. They can't do that if they're women who can't get a childcare" [Participant L].
>
> "I actually think the availability of technologies is … very important and it will become increasingly important" [Participant F].

Figure 6.50 CS1 Other possible indicators

Evidence of the need for interconnectedness between indicators

Connecting the different indicators such as housing tenure type with air quality was identified as proving a correlation with spatial justice outcome. One participant identified that the proportion of affordable private rented accommodation was also necessary to give opportunities for people to move into an area and for social diversity to be supported. Measures of health may only show that that more affluent groups of people are now occupying an area, although it may show that housing conditions have improved so the indicator of 'longevity' needs to be qualified (Figure 6.51).

> "I don't think you can analyse these indicators individually. If you analyse these indicators in a given socio-economic context" [Participant F].
>
> *"...compiling a series of indices that will help measure or promote social justice…because the effects are so much more widespread"* [Participant F].
>
> "The nature of the private renting sector will also lead to a degree of churn within the local population, as people come and go…if you've got social housing, which up to now has been relatively tenure secure, and you've got over-occupation which is relatively tenure secure, and you've got a private and rented sector, which is increasingly insecure, then the interplay between those three tenures may actually tell you a lot about what is going on in the community. It isn't just what proportion is affordable housing or social housing, it's what's involved in those three tenures" [Participant F].

Figure 6.51 CS1 evidence for interconnectedness of indicators

Vision and relationship to 'spatial justice'

Examples outside the area indicate that residents can see the interrelationship between things and how to manage to enable spatial justice to be delivered, if they have the empowerment through the level of governance where they can contribute. The 'slum dwellers' of the 1970s (Participant L) had solutions to the area's problems from their perspective. 'Slum dwellers' in other locations and in a contemporary context would know how to solve the problems of place with empowerment and support (Participant H). Some agencies agreed with the identified problems and solutions. The Council had different objectives (Participant F) (Figure 6.52).

> "The problem then, is the social division evidenced which appears to have been created by the outcomes of interventions like regeneration. It is also the inability to accommodate the knowledge or the disregard for the advice of a local community for what solutions would suit them best. [the problem] is an opportunity because they [the residents] … see the interrelationship between things" [Participant H].
>
> "…there is a contestation between liberal democratic values and more pluralized ways of being which would be seen as spatial justice. So,

> involvement of slum dwellers in policy making around environment and other things is not because their voice isn't heard in some way; their involvement is necessary because they're experts on it. They know more and they have a different way of looking at it. A different approach. A different understanding of spatial justice. So, it's not a question of social justice needs slum dweller participation. Spatial justice needs slum dwellers to enable understandings of spatial justice to exist in policy makers' minds who were just focused on social justice" [Participant H].
>
> "…did we foresee that in the visions that were being adopted in the 1960s, '70s … No we didn't. I think some of us realized that …using housing associations as their lead agencies were creating conditions where private investors would also then want to come back into, some of these inner city areas. [Participant F].

Figure 6.52 CS1 Vision and relationship to 'spatial justice'

Evidence about defining regeneration and community resilience

When regeneration is about community in place and the resilience of the community, people are the priority encompassing diverse groups of people from different cultural backgrounds or from shared working conditions (Figure 6.53).

> "If regeneration is about sustaining communities, if it's about people, not just property, it's somewhat problematic" [Participant F].
>
> "That is why I think the community base is so important because…there's a complete absence of policy and structure and inter-agency collaboration…at the moment. You need those structures in place because otherwise what happens is a series of ad hoc piecemeal decisions that actually don't add up to very much at all and may actually be counterproductive" [Participant F].
>
> "This terminology that's being used by some people in London about ethnic cleansing and community cleansing…there is an element of truth about it. The escalating property market…came to boom after 2008, crashed a bit and then it had taken off again. It's not a steady state process, it's boom and bust. When the boom goes on, people are being driven out, when the bust then happens, speculators come in so it isn't the people who have been driven out to come back in, it's the speculators who come back in during the bust period. I think this is very much about property and asset value" [Participant F].

Figure 6.53 CS1 Regeneration and community resilience

6.6.3   Initial conclusions on North Kensington based on evidence from interviews

Prior to a full analysis of results in Chapter 7, evidential results are that the indicators of a concept of spatial justice that expresses social justice spatially, are understood to be connected. Stakeholder perspectives were united on the need for a measure of housing to be included in an expression of 'spatial justice'. However, whether that measure should be 'affordability' is queried – forms of tenure, like intermediate housing or private rented accommodation might also contribute to spatially just outcomes. Whose view of spatial justice is being assessed, is identified as a contributory factor.

6.7 RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS FROM DATA COLLECTION

6.7.1   Overview

The outcome of data collection testing using CS0 and CS1 as the pilot showed that for some indicators like housing affordability and educational attainment, percentage income, and life expectancy at birth, it was possible to acquire sufficient meaningful data of equivalence for the first point (1976-78) and the final point (2010-12).   For the midpoints of 1986 and 1996, city region figures were not available or only possible for some of the indicators if compiled up from borough data. Similar problems on acquiring regional level data were to be an issue for CS2 as well. The overview of data collection testing is given in Figure 6.4. The picture of the overlap of neighbourhood, the input of spatial regeneration interventions and the changed degree of social housing is illustrated in Figure 6.54 where a clear correlation in LSOA 007A appears between low social housing tenure (17.2% in 2011) and the area of regeneration in the GIA of 1976 to 1986. LSOAs 004A, B, C and D which are mainly outside the previous area of intervention have social housing tenures of 51.0%, 57.5%, 50.6% and 45.75% respectively. In all LSOAs other than one (007A) the total rental accommodation is over 70% of which the social tenure is about two thirds. LSOA 007A has social tenure of around one quarter of the total rental sector of just under 60%.

---	Portobello neighbourhood 2011
—	Colville Ward
—	LSOAs 2011
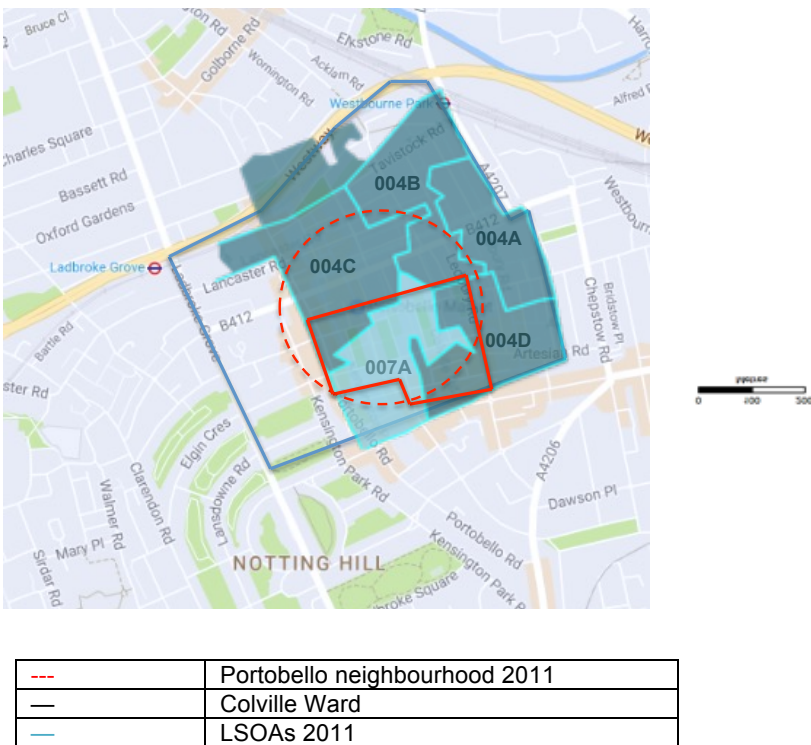
Figure 6.54 Colville % social tenure 2011 (Sources: D-5; GLA, 2016; map adapted from Bing.com, 2017)

6.7.2 Classifying research outcomes in relation to regeneration

The results were organised into three arenas of regeneration: Social, Economic and Environmental (CLG, 2012), and by the three attributes of scale, place and time. First spotlighting the themes relating to the indicators being tested as the preliminary codification step, the data collected was next sifted by indicators being tested and the attributes of the case study: (scale of governance, case study area, and time context). The sift carried out using a word search of aspects of each indicator and each attribute was done so with a vocabulary that trialled words for organising evidence based on the six indicators being tested. These classifications were expanded for the research for the analysis stage (Table 6.8).

Some data were difficult to come by. Air quality indicator had large discrepancies in type of data available (emissions or quality), accessibility or lack of data (no comparative particulate data available over the time of the studies) (Paragraph 5.2.5). However, more recent data collections imply that the measure is important (e.g., Marmot, et al., 2010 GLA, 2016). The solution selected for this research was to narrate the differences to provide sufficient information about the relevance of the indicator and general direction of acknowledging air quality as descriptive of environment and social aspects of an area (Marmot and Bell, 2012). For governance scale over time, some information was difficult to collate as evidence because of lack of relevance of regionally-compiled data for sections of the case study area. However, the compilation of a 'Regional Observatory' database is regaining currency (Blyth, et al., 2015). The lack of access to some aspects of data has meant a paucity of quantitative and comparative data has made comparisons over time and scale resort to interpretation of what is available.

Table 6.8 Indicators in relation to arenas of regeneration

	Indicator being tested	Allocated to Social, Economic or Environmental arenas
(i)	Affordable Housing	SOC-ENV
(ii)	Educational attainment 16-18yo	SOCIAL
(iii)	Voter participation by turnout (local)	ECON-SOC
(iv)	% households on 60% media wage	ECONOMIC
(v)	Predicted longevity (M+F combined)	ENV-ECON
(vi)	Air quality (narrative)	ENVIRONMENTAL

This lack of accessible data will be shown to occur at the level of the East of England and for the LEP of Greater Peterborough and Cambridgeshire in CS2 (Section 7.2).

6.7.3   Initial conclusions on CS1 derived from evidence

Evidence collected about North Kensington highlighted a problem of deprivation and housing stress in the **case study area of Colville ward** over several decades, predating the scope of this research but providing the foundation for what visions were shared and what alternatives were envisaged politicians, local people and agencies by 1976. Some problems required waiting for legislative change; other problems were shelved or appeared beyond the capacity of existing political structures. While anecdotally it had been clear for some decades that social, economic and environmental problems existed in the area, the scale and type of issues to be addressed only became visible through the measured outcomes of a full survey of the people living there and their housing conditions in 1967. With a vision of what might be achieved with financial support, some interventions were launched. A monumental task for the community and supporting agencies was to achieve defining a shared vision – after that, political hurdles and financial obstacles shaped what might happen next. Even by a decade into change processes, an appraisal of the programme on housing identified **many challenging issues**: lack of communication between agencies, institutions and even organisations' departments gave many difficulties; lack of clarity on who should be 'helped' with housing: people in the area, moving into the area, being moved out of the area, so the permeability of boundaries that were geographic, relational, or even generational, made choices blurred in assessing housing need. On the **indicators being tested** for this research, the **first indicator** of affordability of **housing** was even then a measured issue; however, housing availability, security of tenure, quality, design and rent levels were also measurable and foci of concern. With **educational attainment** (the **second indicator**) the early years access was important because of links to women's (in most cases) childcare responsibilities, and youth venues were also as important. The participation of voters (**third indicator**) was a limited measurable test of **empowerment** as a contributor to spatial justice evaluation, but was accepted by research participants as a glimpse if not a hard measure of whether local democracy was working. Certainly, if the right representative candidate was not available, then that measure fulfilled its purpose in showing that people would not vote. The **fourth indicator**, that of the **percentage of households in poverty** (households on less that 60% median income) again did function giving spatial justice values measurability, albeit with limitations like whether 'black economy' incomes would change the poverty balance in an area of street trading. The measure encompassed strengths of transport and locational advantages of

North Kensington being juxtaposed with employment centres. In collecting data, an alternative for indicating the positive benefits of access to economic centres was to have been to include Travel To Work Areas (TTWAs). However, their limitation would have been to be about measures of availability of work rather than the outcomes of having access to work as a total outcome for a household, as is given by the selected test indicator. The measure of **'longevity'** (**fifth indicator**) as a proxy for health and environmental impacts was shown to be a good directive on whether spatial justice values were being indicated: the overlay of maps of air quality, social housing and differences in mortality rates in Colville-Tavistock was startling – sometimes a result that has been vocalised by campaigners – that housing for the working population has been placed where the fundamental right to a healthy life is diminished by worse **air quality** than in areas where property prices are higher, rents are higher, and there is less access to social housing) . The consequential increase in mortality rates from reduced air quality (increased emissions of air pollutants), measured and confirmed in freely available London-wide statistics as shown in evidence above, is an excellent measure, as a collection, of the spatial expression of social justice. So the **sixth indicator**, particularly when viewed in connection with other measures as evidenced in this research, is a tangible measurement of regeneration outcomes in terms of spatial justice.

Initial conclusions were obtained on the **three attributes** of (I) scalar level of governance, (II) the area of the study and (III) the context of research data. For **attribute (I)**, it would appear that the **governance** at city-region level is functioning well: it did function well at the outset of the case study research window, with the GLC providing data, administrative support, physical resources and a strategic view on issues like transport, housing allocations, and employment, many of which increased in spread and interest, until removed in 1986 with its legislative abolition. Some structures remained in ad hoc forms: LPAC for planning and SERPLAN for the region surround the city. The return of a re-formed London-wide body at the end of the 1990s then provided the missing strategic and shared overview of major infrastructure management. In evidence viewed for this research, the lack of expression of concerns about this London-level layer of governance leads the researcher to believe that it is successful in providing the necessary supporting initiatives and economies of scale (rather than any grand directive or intrusive role). For **attribute (II)**, **the study area** has shown that there is a lasting suspicion and fear by the remaining low income community that the Council and other establishment figures have achieved what they wanted: the movement of problems of social and economic deprivation out of the area, that rising house prices have become a

method of exclusions from the area: the high level of disposable income in the area is seen to be a reflection of the high housing and living costs in the area. Finally, although the area is 'exceptional' and thus a one-off example of the consequences of regeneration, it can as well be argued that all areas are 'exceptional': their location is what defines them but nevertheless the elements of 'spatial justice' as expressed in values are applicable to all areas. Therefore the **context of the research**, **attribute (III)** had some core attributes. From the process of data collection, looking into the context of the time and legislation available, the policies addressing problems and providing vision, and the indicators as measured outcomes, a frame emerged for coding data prior to analysis. This frame provides a structure for interpretation and additional evidence on the second area of study, Peterborough). The frame picks up some additional measures raised in the evidence, for example, measuring housing need; whether affordability of housing is the prime concern; housing supply (or availability); tenure type; and community resilience. These themes are extracted through pattern-seeking in the evidence and presented in Chapter 7.
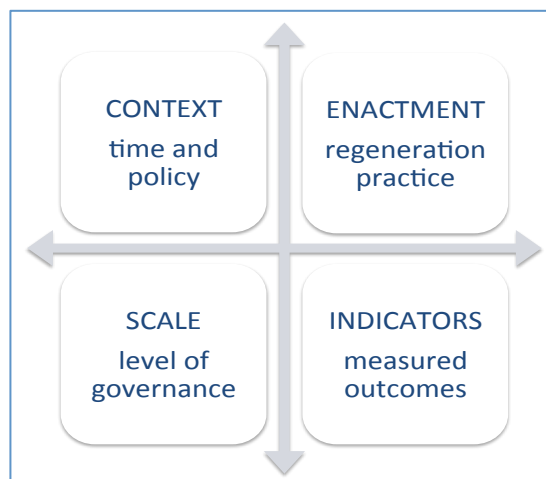
Figure 6.55 Emerging framework for data coding and analysis

6.8 INITIAL CONCLUSIONS FROM EVIDENCE

Data on indicators in a national context from documents and online sources gave information on governance levels and the enactment of interventions. CS0 data gave benchmarks that showed improvements nationally on three of the six indicators (educational attainment, reduced numbers of households on 'poverty level income', and longevity). Nationally, however, there was a reduced percentage of social housing, reduced participation in voting as measured by turnout from 1974 to 2010, and air quality was improved if measured by emissions of sulphates and carbon dioxide but

worse if measured by particulates. Data was then extracted about North Kensington and its city-region for CS1. Quantitative data from online and documents analysed gave a context that showed the case study area to have been worse off than national comparative figures at the start of the regeneration programme, and having a different profile by 2010/11 some years after its completion but nevertheless having remaining deprivation issues. Qualitative data from interviews, survey responses and ethnographic sources provided a vivid picture of the area and its community in the 1970s area with some comparisons of how it has changed in having improved housing condition, reduced affordability and continuing air pollution. The research data was thus sited in a mixed methods approach that was predominantly qualitative, supported by quantitative data on indicators (i) to (vi) in most instances. The next step for this research is to examine and analyse the evidence already collected by cross-referencing data from the different sources using the analytical framework outlined in Chapter 5. This process of triangulation will address the next research objective, Objective E in Table 1.1).

Chapter Objectives

- Extract themes from case study results
- Use study of Peterborough as validation about scalar attributes
- Provide an analytical and interpretive narrative from the two studies
- Take indicators to 'spatial justice' values
- Interpret results as findings
- Form initial conclusions

7   ANALYSING RESULTS AND INTERPRETING DATA

In this chapter the analytical framework is applied to the evidence presented. To recap on the research position, choices have been made within the ideological frame of Liberalism about values representing 'justice as fairness' (Chapter 2), seeking to test their connectedness as intangible and tangible expressions of spatial justice components (Section 3.5). In defining an analytical frame, the dimensions and limitations of data have been expressed and limitations found the piloting exercise were addressed (Section 5.2). Here, indicators are assessed, their scalar and temporal attributes noted and whether spatial reality is measurable and connected in the terms of this research. The Peterborough study is presented as a comparison between outcomes from selected indicators particularly noting if scale other than local has an impact. Studying Peterborough also contributes to extracting additional themes from both studies. Aspects of the working definition of 'spatial justice' (context of policy, scale of governance, regeneration interventions being enacted, and the reality of outcomes) are tested in a triangulated approach by synthesising qualitative, quantitative and contextual evidence. Reflections on the research are woven into analyses, interpretation and findings as a method of reporting on qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

7.1 APPLYING THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

7.1.1   The A/F in action

The distributive currency of regeneration (see Paragraph 2.4.1) provides a means of interrogating 'justice as fairness'. (Rawls, 1999; Fainstein, 2013; Bell and Davoudi, 2016). The second dimension of the analysis is the identification of characteristics of

successful outcomes replicable in future regeneration programmes. These characteristics shows measurable indicators located in social, economic and environmental arenas within a framework of rights to space (Soja, 1989). The primary research data is synthesised by triangulation, further categorised to themes, and reviewed through studying Peterborough (Bernard and Ryan, 2009). The synthesis continues with the proxy indicators translated back into 'spatial justice' values. Findings are interpreted in relation to professional practice and theoretical position. Connections between values and indicators, and between variable factors are integrated into a fishbone diagram provides a concluding step to the analysis (summarised in Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Tools of analysis being applied to results (adapted from Jones, 2016)

TEST	PURPOSE
Test for any apparent patterns using quantitative or qualitative tools	To test linkages between different data sources, as triangulation of results
Statistics	To establish the strength of relationships between variables, taking care of scales of measurement
Fishbone diagram	To identify factors that affect variables
Flow charts	To identify steps and sequences in processes
Other approaches appropriate to data and methodology, including reflective comment	To identify implications for theory, any contribution to knowledge, and specify how gaps in practice could be bridged

7.1.2 How the analytical framework is applied

Three primary tests are selected from a range of analytical tools: (a) testing (further) for patterns in quantitative and qualitative data, (b) examining indicators for any correlations, and (c) using triangulation to view changed perspectives, applied to evidence categories. Although causation could not necessarily be attributed through this approach, and the study is not designed be determining how an outcome was caused, the approach helps the exploration of relationships to see whether further experimental research might be worthwhile. The statistical evidence collected here has limitations having been based on pragmatism (degree of resourcing available; availability and accessibility of data that would have comparability over time and by measure). The process gathers data on the six Indicators and the three attributes (Figure 6.55) exploring whether interconnectedness is identifiable between attributes of scale, context, enactment indicators, and extracts information about whether the 'level of governance'

might be attributable to any impact on regeneration outcomes. The tools of analysis are applied to this additional evidence from the mini-study, seeking patterns in quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data are reconstructed around the new themes and on the test indicators. Accepting that the research is exploratory in its Critical Realist perspective and the post-positivistic paradigm, the objective is to re-form the contextual layers into an active 'Fishbone' approach (Jones, 2016) thereby completing the fifth research objective as set out in Table 1.1.

7.1.3 Components of triangulation

The first stage of synthesis processes context, qualitative professional and local understandings obtained from interviews, autoethnographic material and survey, and the quantitative evidence extracted from online sources and documents referenced and analysed. The documents analysed for the case studies, together with contextual figures from mainstream sources such as ONS, National Archives and local authority data provide a quantitative baseline. Qualitative data retrieved from stakeholder interviews, local studies archives and community-based survey responses were presented in the previous chapter (6) and literature examined for empirical examples of regeneration evaluations of outcomes explored earlier in Section 2.5. These components form the triangulation of research results for analysis testing quantitative data with qualitative results in the context of attributes (legislative, governance or case area).

The position taken is that apportionment of resources need not be bounded, although contextualised limits would provide the lowest 'fair' access. An inductive approach from data collected is therefore applied to emerging characteristics based on already-agreed professional definitions from *a priori* theoretical understanding to give a first round categorisation from the evidence. The outcome is a triangulated framework containing:

(i) qualitative data collected through interviews and survey results, and some documents;

(ii) contextual framework provided by policy and governance literature; and

(iii) quantitative data gathered from document analysis and other online data sources (Figure 7.1 illustrates).

**Professional/
Community based
qualitative input**
•Current
•Intermediate points
•Past

**Triangulation in
analysis of data**

**Quantitative data
from eg document
analysis**
•Current
•Intermediate points
•Past

**Context of eg
governance, policy**
•Current
•Intermediate points
•Past
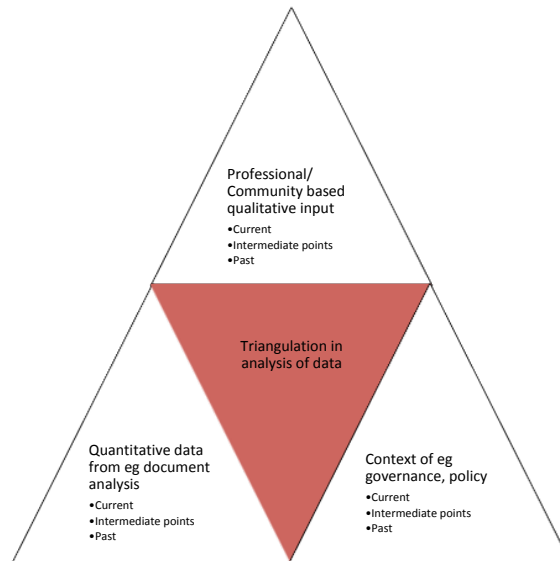
Figure 7.1 Triangulation of synthesised results for analysis and interpretation

7.1.4 The stages of analysis

The process involves the translation of outcomes from the proxy indicators to the named deep values being investigated. The tasks are (1) discovering themes, (2) describing elements of themes, and (3) linking themes into theoretical models, applying Bernard and Ryan's guidance (2009, p.9). The analysis develops as an interpretive narrative enabling analytical outcomes to be related to values of spatial justice, concluding with professional insights and determining if there is a possibility of theory implications relating to space, or justice, or Liberalism.

7.2 CS2 STUDY OF PETERBOROUGH

7.2.1 Themes and retesting in CS2

For CS1 the national and city-region **context** for North Kensington is **enactment** in the form of contextualized regeneration practice, that of area programmes and redevelopment; 'estate regeneration' is not the focus of this study (RBKC, 2015). The level of governance is at the city-region **scale**, and **indicators** are the measured outcomes of change over time of test indicators (Paragraph 6.7.3), in the city region context (the hinterland of Peterborough City) (Blyth, et al., 2015). The governance **scale** changes over the study period (1992 to 2012) so it is based on strategic partnership for example the local enterprise partnership (LEP) of Greater Peterborough and Greater Cambridgeshire, the regional development agency for East of England (EEDA), the East of England Regional Assembly (EERA). CS2's regeneration **enactment** is through

programmes administered locally and derived from strategic sources. **Indicators** are problematic for a regional scale of comparison and this limitation is discussed below.

7.2.2   Background to Peterborough

The study of Peterborough builds on results emerging from the London-based North Kensington case study. As for CS1, CS2 test indicators are headlined with a colour legend (Figure 7.2).

No.	Test indicator for 'spatial justice'	Headline colour code
(i)	HOUSING AFFORDABILITY	
(ii)	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	
(iii)	VOTER REGISTRATION	
(iv)	% HOUSEHOLD INCOME ≤ 60% MEDIAN	
(v)	LONGEVITY	
(vi)	AIR QUALITY	

Figure 7.2 Legend for headlines about CS2 test indicators

7.2.3   The city centre 1996-2016

Abolishing regional development agencies has left some areas without a mediating level of organisation much less governance. That scalar gap has been plugged in two ways: the non-statutory LEPs (which overlap in several instances in the East of England) and by the operation of the 'Duty to Co-operate' (CLG, 2012). Peterborough has been an industrial centre, noted for its brick manufacture, connected to London by a rail route and designated as a New Town in the 1960s. Peterborough continues to expand with new jobs emerging in the financial services sector and distribution, although industrial employment has fallen (ONS 2016). Levels of deprivation particularly in inner areas caused worries in the 1990s when support for regeneration and development such as SRB funding was sought from central government, from European programmes (URBAN II, for example) and other sources like the Prince's Foundation and private developers (Roberts and Sykes, 2000; Rhodes, et al., 2003; Lawless, 2007).

7.2.4   Benchmarks in relation to CS2

Peterborough City is part of the Greater Cambridgeshire and Greater Peterborough Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) of East Anglia, a part of the former 'East of England' region. The East of England region had contained six counties Bedfordshire,

Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, and four unitary authorities, Luton, Peterborough, Southend-on-Sea and Thurrock. Prior to that era, four government departments were based in Cambridge: Trade and Industry, Transport, Environment and Education although their budgetary control was centrally managed (Boddy and Hickman, 2013; 2016). Devolved regeneration programmes funds in use during the study period, were administered regionally during the 1997 to 2010 period.

Evidence about national level indicators in relation to the East of England region

For a control on the recent state of data at a regional level for the six indicators, ONS was the source for evidence for national to regional benchmarks for CS2. A secondary source was a report to the RTPI on the 'spatial expression of government policies and programmes' (Wong, et al., 2012) from which some evidence was acquired with equivalence to test indicators at the regional level.

(i) HOUSING AFFORDABILITY

The Greater Cambridgeshire and Greater Peterborough area shows an area with a poor ratio of income to house price coupled with a poor ratio of supply to demand for housing.

(ii) EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

For Education Attainment, a national and regional picture has allocations of funding to schools that are mid-range for the northern part of East of England.

(iii) VOTER REGISTRATION

The turnout was about 2% under the UK rate and matched the rise and fall in participation, as shown in Table 7.2 (and see also Figure 7.7).

Table 7.2 Percentage turnout at General Election, national position (ONS, 2016)

Year of General Election	1974 (Oct)	1979	1987	1997	2010	2015
% turnout (votes cast/ electoral roll)	72.8	76	75.5	71.3	65	66.1

(iv) POVERTY OR UNEMPLOYMENT

Regional-national data for the indicator of '% of households on 60% or less of median income' was compiled from ONS figures. Research mapped the East of England as being the second-least deprived region as described in Paragraph 5.4.2 (Figure 7.3). However, in Peterborough deprivation is higher than the average for England (Peterborough, 2015).

"East of England … has big social needs in terms of rural poverty and rural areas whereas there is only a small number of urban populations with deep socio-economic problems that perhaps are more comparable to bigger cities in the UK in European terms, and Peterborough is one of them" (Participant K).

Figure 7.3 CS2 Evidence of deprivation in Peterborough

(v) LONGEVITY

The health of people in Peterborough is varied compared with the England average. Life expectancy for both men and women is lower than the England average (Figure 7.4)

"…in Peterborough you have a difference of 10 years in life expectancy between some wards. Where we had the really bad wards, we concentrated our resources to try and improve it clearly in those wards, a measure of success would be very important and it would be the health of the people" (Participant J).

Figure 7.4 CS2 Evidence of life expectancy in Peterborough

(vi) AIR QUALITY

Like other local authorities, the local council is required to assess the air quality in Peterborough as part of the Air Quality Standards Regulations 2010 legislation.

7.2.5   CS2 documents analysed for Peterborough

Documents were analysed for this second study to clarify if there had been any impact of a regional level of governance on regeneration outcomes in terms of contributing improvements to spatial justice. The difference, it was anticipated, might be seen year on year in terms of regeneration in the area of focus in Peterborough: Central Ward where one area of which was of special interest.

Context: time and policy

 The focus of CS2 was Gladstone, not a ward but a part of Central Ward very near to the centre of Peterborough, and had a number of high deprivation measures. For example,

unemployment was high; there were a number of households where English was a second language. The area was a focus for regeneration funds such as SRB, a government source of regeneration funds in the late 1990s. SureStart like similar funding sources required that areas presented a rigorous analysis of deprivation levels and again, Gladstone was awarded this funding. At the same time, the context launching regional development agencies in the year 2000 provides an interesting laboratory for an assessment of a potential correlation between funds, regeneration programmes and regional governance impact. Therefore, eight documents have been interrogated for evidence of the potential connections between local regeneration practice and the then new structures of regional governance, as a validating exercise for the indicators acting as proxies of values in relation to the attribute of level of governance.

7.3 RESULTS FROM CS0, CS1 AND CS2

The research was seeking whether there would be a basis for an analysis of how 'spatial justice' could be measured, designed also to uncover philosophical underpinnings to the original policy and plans of a regeneration programme. The A/F was designed to use results to point to whether, why and how anomalies occur in terms of justice outcomes in the regeneration of place. Resulting differences between planned regeneration and the social reality it was proposed would show where is a gap in terms of achieving justice in a liberal democracy (Soja, 2010).

7.3.1   Assessing each test indicator

The indicators (i) to (v) were assessed using combinations of scalar, time and case comparisons. Indicator (vi), that of air quality, is assessed in the following narrative as proposed following the pilot run and national level benchmarking showed the uneven nature of data available: emissions being measured in the earlier decades of CS1 and the lack of consistency in data collection in the different areas. In summary, research results are presented in relation to indicators and attributes. As in the previous chapter, the indicators have been colour-tagged to aid the reading of research results. For CS2 where the focus is on Peterborough, time points had been selected and covered the following sequence: 1996-98, 2001-03, 2010-12, and 2015-16. Figures were averaged across these four selections, or in the case of voter turnout, at general elections using the closest fit to the time slot. The research methodology accommodated this broad approach in order to contribute to an exploration of the selected indicators and exposing

possible connections and relationships between them. The arguments addressing limitations of examining uneven data sources were presented in Section 5.2.

(i) AFFORDABLE HOUSING scalar comparisons, Peterborough 2010

Putting housing tenure into context, in 2009-10 there were around 22.3 million dwellings in the UK, of which 83% were dwellings in the private sector. There were 15.0 million owner-occupied and 3.6 million privately rented dwellings. Of the remainder, in the UK 17% of the stock were in the social sector comprising 1.8 million in local authority ownership and housing associations owning 2.0 million (DCLG, 2011). Figure 7.5 illustrates that Peterborough is similar to the national profile and little different from the region although there were slightly fewer dwellings in the privately rented sector than the regional and national, and slightly more in the other sector covering owner occupation.

	private sector
	social rented
	other tenure types
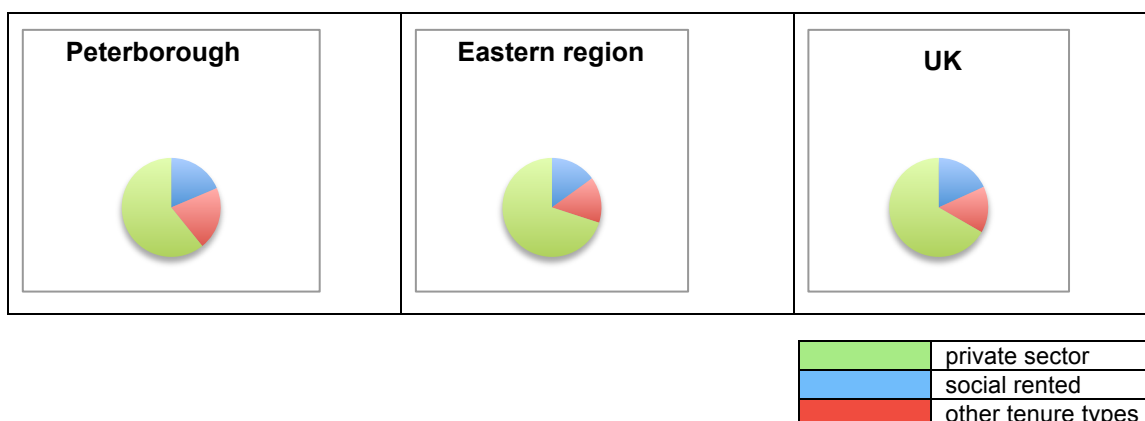
Figure 7.5 Housing tenure comparisons in 2010: Peterborough, East of England and UK (ONS, 2016)

(ii) EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT as interconnectedness

Over the longer term, the consequence of identifying lower rates of life expectancy at birth, in areas of deprivation such as in parts of Peterborough, is to draw resources across to improve the education attainment in those areas and thus reduce the higher rate of infant mortality (Figure 7.6).

> "Another measure would be infant mortality. We had very high infant mortality rates in certain parts of the centre, so what you do is you're moving your resources and education what have you, to try and improve on that. Ergo, the outcome, more babies live. That's very much of a measure of health isn't it?" (Participant J).

Figure 7.6 CS2 Connecting indicators of Longevity and Educational Attainment over time

(iii) VOTER PARTICIPATION scalar and time comparisons with UK, Peterborough and Kensington, 1996 to 2015

Figures on turnout calculated from registration and participation of voters have limitations. Boundary changes for Kensington have changed over the period of the case study. From 1974 to 1997 the constituency covering North Kensington was 'Kensington'; it returned to this nomenclature in 2010. Between 1997 and 2010 it was a combined seat of 'Regents Park and Kensington North', with a southern Kensington seat attached to Chelsea and Fulham (Kensington and Chelsea). Data on the constituency covering the north of Kensington was used to indicate whether people who were registered to vote in the area, did vote. There were unpopular voter choices at each of the 1997 and 2001 General Elections with candidates who were incumbent Members of Parliament being publicly denounced for inappropriate behaviours (Electoral Commission, 2017) Nevertheless the trend of participation was close to the national position for Peterborough, and taking account of boundary changes, the Kensington seat followed the line of national trends albeit some 11 to 12% fewer voters less that the UK trend in three of the four general elections (Figure 7.7).

(iv) voter participation by study area over time
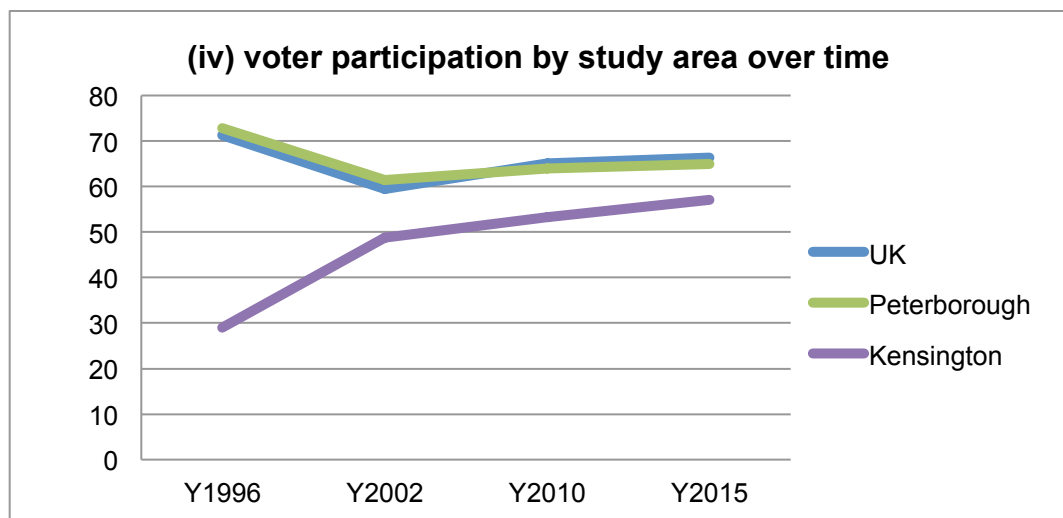
Figure 7.7 Voter participation compared by year and in CS0, CS1 and CS2

For this research, one inference could be drawn that from the outcomes about this indicator, there is a general picture of participation that can be established from voter turnout at a General Election and it is impacted by the choice for representation locally. However, further research would be necessary, taking a more fine-grained approach to establishing local turnout in local elections on the basis of local issues. That approach may be more enlightening as to whether 'empowerment' is measured in relation to local spatial outcomes. Further, figures for regionally elected representatives for the

European Members of Parliament have limitations because of the list system for voter choice. The outcomes appear to be more indicative of the political party being supported by the voting population than for spatial outcomes (Participants B and K). It would seem that the impact of a regional level of governance is not clearly indicated through the approach of this study.

(iv) Poverty measures by scale, 2002

East of England has a smaller percentage of LSOAs showing deprivation. However, in two of the four Unitary authorities in the region, Luton and Peterborough, the proportions of LSOAs in the most deprived quintile are slightly above the national average (ONS 2017).

(v) LONGEVITY for Peterborough (CS2) scalar and time comparisons

Figures from ONS sources (ONS, 2016) show that Peterborough follows the trend of national and regional increases in longevity, as measured by the life expectancy at birth (LE), averaged for males and females (Figure 7.8). However, the actual predicted LE is less than the UK average LE, and less that the regional and LEP average LE. This lower predicted longevity may be reflecting the state of the economic well-being of the population, the degree of deprivation as measured by IMD indicators and possibly environmental factors. For the LSOAs comprising Peterborough Central ward where CS2 is focused, the figures are further again from the average. None of these outcomes are unexpected following a period of investment through regeneration interventions and from national interest being demanded by stakeholder politicians and policy makers; they match the opinions of stakeholder interviewees. The one off-trend result is the higher increase in longevity in the LEP region, with figures obtained by combining the LEP counties of Huntingdon, South and East Cambridgeshire, the Fenlands and Peterborough. This combination represents the Greater Cambridgeshire and Greater Peterborough area, but excludes the exceptional case of Cambridge.

(v) Life expectancy at birth in CS2 study area

Legend:
- England ave LE (M+F)
- EoE ave LE (M+F)
- LEP ave LE (M+F)
- PCC ave LE (M+F)

X-axis: 1996-98, 2001-03, 2010-12, 2015-16
Y-axis: Percentage (75.0 to 83.0)
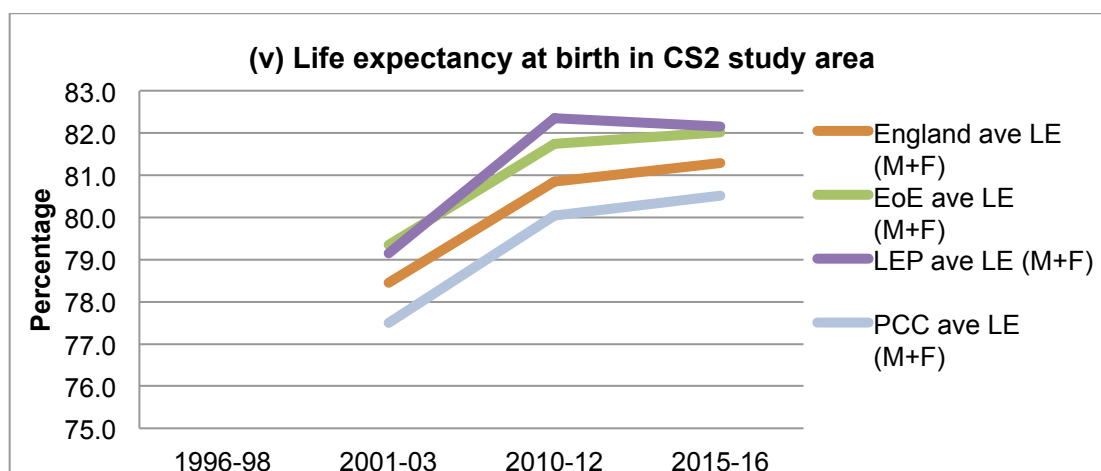
Figure 7.8 Comparing indicator (v) over time and by governance scale (ONS, 2016)

(vi) AIR QUALITY

The measurement of air quality has changed over the decades of this research timeline: CSO ST No. 9 in 1979 tables the degree of sulphurous emissions related to industrial activity by region. This measurement is repeated in local studies of North Kensington for 1976, e.g. the Colville-Tavistock Study (1972). By 1992, however, regional measures of nitrogen oxide were recorded as rising (CSO ST No.26, 1996). However, no comparable figures have come to light in this research for the North Kensington area at that time. Outside London the consequence of interaction of sunlight with vehicle exhaust fumes from motorways that is causing high levels of the invisible pollutant nitrogen oxide in and nearby new towns like Peterborough, so different types of air pollution would need to be measured for out of London in relation to within London. Technical examples of the limit of data availability and the changing focus described the recognized limitations of availability of comparative historic data. However, the methodology selected supported testing the indicator of 'air quality'. In a critical realist perspective and within a post-positivistic paradigm, exploring this indicator might throw light on several components of 'spatial justice' in regeneration outcomes. For example, testing the indicator might infer a spatial justice impact from access to accountability through governance levels by learning more about correlations between air quality and a healthy environment, availability of open space, or separation of types of transportation from housing areas. Therefore the non-comparability over time of air quality measures was not assessed as being a reason to discard its inclusion in the research frame. Nevertheless, limitations to interpretations, identified in the UK Committee on the Medical Effects of Air Pollution (COMEAP) report (2010) included the correlation of air

quality to longevity but '[t]he uncertainties in these estimates need to be recognized: they could vary from about a sixth to double' the [estimated] figures (COMEAP, 2010, p.2).

7.4 ANALYSIS

7.4.1 Narrating the analysis of North Kensington

Problem

In 1967 North Kensington had visible levels of deprivation and the problem at that time was identified as being the **lack of overall strategy** and **a lack of co-ordinated policy** among the various community organisations. These separations 'were coalesced' in the Notting Hill Summer Project 1967. The 'working together' was named 'community action'. Evidence from this early survey (when Colville was within the Golborne ward) identified **a number of deprivation issues** to be addressed for improvements for the housing stock and for the residents. Deprivation measured showed **demographics** with a higher proportion of skilled, service and semi-skilled, and unskilled workers in the area and a low percentage of non-manual workers (17.1%) compared with the area of North Kensington (36.4%) and the overall borough percentage of non-manual workers being 45.0%. At the outset, census data together with figures collected for the Initial Housing Survey by the Notting Hill Housing Service in 1967, **housing tenure** was heavily biased towards the private rented sector in this specific area. In Colville the area, only 5.4% were local authority rented and 78% of dwellings were privately rented accommodation. The borough of Kensington and Chelsea had 7.6% local authority rented but 74% in the private rental sector compared with Greater London (21.6% and 32%) (NHHS, 1967 p.26: Table 10, Tenure Paterns [sic]) By 1976, the percentage of dwellings in social housing was 35% nationally but was 29% by the close of the case study period (ONS, 2011; GLA, 2016; NAO, 2017) The National Audit Office reported housing has become less affordable for first-time buyers, and social housing rents have been increasing faster than earnings since 2001-2 (NAO, 2017). Benchmarks thus point to housing in the social rented sector generally becoming more expensive in relation to income; further, detailed research relating income to housing rentals to establish the level of rent that equates to 'affordable' might give a fuller picture. This limitation was included in assessing the usefulness of indicators, and also raised in CS1 participant interviews, viz., Participants A, F, G, and K.

The problem identified in the North Kensington case study at its outset was quantified by that foundational survey of Colville (NHHS, 1967, Table 7, p.20) It was a 100% survey

(not a sample survey) with a 65% response rate (ibid., Paragraph 50, p.17) The survey results gave a **benchmark** of at least one test indicator of 'spatial justice', that of social housing tenure as an indication of affordability, and referred to issues of social justice and fairness in relation to rental levels: what the tenant got for his money [sic] and what the tenant was able to afford, taking into account their housing needs and the accepted standards of housing (NHHS, 1967, Paragraphs 88-89, p.34). A success had been identified at the beginning of the programme by the 1967 survey team as the empowerment of the local community, and the consequence of the local community acting together which gave a stronger outcome than had been expected from those surveying and studying. This fact connected to a second of the indications selected as an evaluative measure of 'spatial justice', that of empowerment.

Vision

Aims were to provide an adequate standard of housing 'for as many as possible who wish to remain in North Kensington, mix of housing types and community profile, with better environmental standards. The vision set out by the council was that standards of accommodation would be improved in the Colville-Tavistock area where there were poor housing conditions, and other measures of an area deprived of a spatially just environment. Addressing the problem of the quality and condition of housing was to be addressed through grant support from central government. The legislative context included funds for improving the area and for taking action about housing.

From the 1967 survey, the Council's director of redevelopment was required to deliver a report including recommendations designed to improve housing conditions and the quality of urban life in the Colville-Tavistock area. A programme was to be presented which would lead to the achievement of the major objectives with the minimum disturbance of family and community life. Affordability of housing was important although the problem was phrased differently and emphasised conditions and density, with affordability not as important as security of tenure, condition of fabric of housing, facilities available in housing. Self-management of properties through co-operative ownership was an option. The legislative context included funds for improving the area and for taking action about housing. The evidence points to improvements in housing quality in the Colville area. It also points to a reduction in elements which comprise community resilience, such as shopping type, community resources, and the level of market rents connected to social housing.

Interventions

The council approach was to bring in central government grants to address and improve

the problems of the area. Report recommendations to the RBKC Planning Committee were that the grants would encourage the provision of family dwellings. The council also specified that, prior to the Right to Buy legislation of the early 1980s, it would sell converted flats to tenants thereby moving property from public into private ownership. The council also used housing associations such as Notting Hill Housing Trust to complete redevelopment. Overall it sought to recondition the area using central government funds to complete this type of regeneration, taking steps to bring in public money to address housing problems and improve property. The programme of renewal in North Kensington included the acquisition of almost 20% of the older housing stock with some seven and a half thousand dwellings to be provided through rehabilitation and new build. This scale of intervention was not dissimilar to other areas of London at that time. By 2011 figures were showing increases in social tenure in Colville Ward at an average of 44.6% although a small decline in the overall rental sector from 1976 (73% from 75%). The rental sector in Kensington and Chelsea has remained high at 75% in comparison with other London boroughs (with the exceptions of Westminster and Hammersmith and Fulham with similar levels). Vision for interventions was indeed achieved in CS1 with the area improved in terms of more social housing available, but reports of higher levels of air pollution and a lesser sense of community summarized in Table 7.3. In CS1, the majority of survey respondents and interview participants did not relate strongly to any London-wide level of governance. However, quantitative results evidenced from document analysis and online sources, appeared to confirm a (city-region) level was important. Data accumulated at the city-wide level by the former GLC and the current GLA had direct relevance to the case study area, for example comparing housing tenure types, air quality, or educational attainments. Comparative analyses showed differences across London, from north to south and east to west as well as Inner London and Outer London. This information contributed to policy decisions on weighting distributive interventions on a geographic basis. The evidence-based conclusion drawn therefore is that the **city-region level of governance was a contributory factor in articulating problems** in the North Kensington area, providing comparative data for addressing these issues. Arguably, the lack of interest from participates in that city-region level indicates its successfulness: it neither intrudes or dominants the local political process, nor neglects or underprovides for the context of local operations.

Outset to outcome

The purpose of interventions had been stated as being 'to supplement the government's other social and legislative measures in order to ensure….all our citizens have an

equality opportunity in life' (The Clinch Report, 1972, p.10 quoting Hansard, 22.07.1968), which would be a value aligned with one of Rawls's two primary principles, the 'equal liberties principle' (Paragraph 2.4.1). The 1972 report gave a contextual picture of the recognition of strategic and Central Government requirements to be in dialogue with the local authorities about forces outside the control of ordinary communities, even outside their own councils. In North Kensington, the context was '...residents were not rehoused for two reasons: either they failed to meet the criteria designed to assess whether they 'deserved public house; or they could not afford the rents being charged by the Council'. (*Survey of London* Vol. XXXVII, North Kensington, GLC, 1978, p.348) So while the early survey of North Kensington had identified 'social justice and fairness' as a clear direction for uncovering and measuring 'the problem' (NHHS, 1967, p.34), later assessments of interventions were showing a lack of

Table 7.3 Values and intervention programmes CS1 and CS2

Intervention	Main purpose	Spatial justice 'value'
GIA	Area based improvements	Lower level values of safety, security and environmental well-being
HAA	Area based improvements	As above
Urban II	Social need and economic input	Middle level input but not including housing
SRB	Mixed social environmental and economic	Middle to higher level, not including housing

interconnectedness by those applying interventions to deliver improvements (D-5). Evaluation of the first decade of change for Notting Hill Housing Trust stated that there appeared to be a 'conscious policy decision from the Council, and the way the area's housing deficiencies measured ensured social needs would be of secondary concern.' (ibid., p.30). This outset would not easily be aligned with primary principles of 'justice as fairness' (Paragraph 2.3.1).

The assessment of people engaged with or living in the area had opinions that they shared through being interviewed about the outcomes of interventions, the change over the case study period, and how the neighbourhood felt at the time of the research in

2016. The eight participants interviewed about North Kensington believed that measuring the percentage of affordable housing would be a reasonable indicator of 'spatial justice'. A general view was that the comparison of the amount available at the beginning of a regeneration programme with the percentage tenure at the completion of a programme would therefore be a measure of the spatial justice of regeneration outcomes. Evidence from quantitative sources showed that social housing, that owned by housing associations, had increased significantly from less than 10% in that tenure type, by 2011 LSOAs in Colville Ward had over 45% housing in social tenure. Participants all identified **housing affordability** as an important factor. However, the gap between what at any one time is judged as affordable and the high level was also identified. Of those who had lived in the area while the GIA was in place, all recognized that many of the local flats and houses were in poor condition at the outset of this case study and the area's housing environment had improved since then. Nevertheless the **sense of community and empowerment** was viewed as having diminished from the type of neighbourhood of 1976 to its more recent iteration in the 2010s. Community resources in the ward were noted by long-standing residents as being different from the intended outcomes of regeneration, with the council supporting the area as a tourist destination rather than a neighbourhood and with a feeling that things had not changed for the better for the neighbourhood and some people being forced out in that change. Some hostility and **distrust** were vented **about relations with the council** and agencies in the neighbourhood, and there was a strong sense that the community had been changed and gentrified in the process, with poorer people and poorer areas losing out. The problem of a **continual pattern of property renovations** was concerning to longstanding residents; properties left vacant or underused had also impacted on the neighbourhood. The housing type changed with the redevelopment of large terraces previously occupied by several families with purpose built properties in social housing tenure replacing them, or older properties being restored to single family properties. **Housing need** was a driver for regeneration but **so was housing mix**, and intermediate housing was as yet unmet in the northern part of the borough. Participants felt that **housing was now better** than it had been **but the neighbourhood was different**: "That's the big change. If you think of Westbourne Grove, now it's glamorous, before it was ordinary and I think glamour is nice but it's something that I see apart from my life." Tenures like co-operative living as well as intermediate and leasehold ownership, and private sector rentals to help keep a social mix and avoid having areas that are solely for wealthy people. Opinions were held strongly that with the UK having 'the **fifth biggest economy in the world** and then **to have people living in dereliction is not**

acceptable' (Participant I; IMF, 2017; ONS, 2017). That participant continued saying: 'This is an interesting exciting [area] to live in that it attracts all different kinds of people from different nationalities, walks of life and all the rest of it. They come here to create things and that is beneficial to all of us.' What the evidence brings together is that there have been improvements in the housing stock with more in social housing ownership but a feeling that community mix has not been achieved, that the council faced distrust from sectors of the community for not maintaining the intrinsic sense of belonging of a diverse community.

Findings from cross-referencing quantitative evidence for indicators

Looking at the case study in terms of time comparisons from 1976 to 2010 on the **measured test indicators, three had improved over time**. Educational attainment had significantly improved from about a quarter of 16 to 18 year olds nationally (only 15% of this age group in 1976 in North Kensington) to two thirds by 2010 (but 57% for Colville). Life expectancy improved nationally and for Colville from a worse position to a better position. Two others had not improved, neither nationally nor at the local level: voter turnout had fallen from 76% to 65% nationally, from 1974 to 2010. Locally, figures were about 10% less than the national figure at each point investigated. Looking at the amount of affordable housing as a proportion of all tenure types, the percentage of social housing has declined (from 35% to 29%) nationally. In the regenerated area of Colville Ward (LSOA 007A) this percentage was lower at 17.4% although as an average for the five LSOAs in Colville, social housing was at 44.5% by 2010 compared with 5.4% (1967) with a high proportion of privately rented accommodation in the neighbourhood. Exactly comparative figures are not available for 1976 for the ward but for the greater area of North Kensington the level was 38%. The findings are then that social housing in Colville Ward did increase, but not as much in the quarter where the GIA had been activated, and about 25% more than the national level in the HAA areas.

Findings from cross-referencing qualitative and quantitative evidence in the context of change over time
- The base line information collected provides some indication of change;
- The type of data collected can help manage the process of change through regeneration;
- Which measures of social need or physical improvements are collected will give different perspectives on the success of regeneration interventions;

- Housing affordability contributes to understanding change. It is perceived as a necessary measure of regeneration success criteria. However, it is not a sufficient measure of regeneration outcomes for predicting 'spatial justice' in outcomes of that regeneration. Housing mix, housing standards, supply and location are other aspects to fully capture the spatiality of justice in reference to housing. An indicator of air quality (environmental conditions) leads on to longevity (environmental impact), or an indicator of educational attainment might infer a relationship to income (and thus reduced likelihood of poverty), or that of empowerment and each is required to contribute to using 'housing affordability' a predictor of spatially just outcomes from regeneration. This research outcome matches the anticipated strength of the use of interconnected indicators, to give a full picture of spatial justice values.

- The problem then, is the social division evidenced which appears to have been created by the outcomes of interventions like regeneration. It is also the inability to accommodate the knowledge or the disregard for the advice of a local community for what solutions would suit them best. As Participant H identified, '[the problem] is an opportunity because they [the residents] … see the interrelationship between things' (Participant H).

7.5 FINDING THEMES FROM THE ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH OUTCOMES

Theme- and pattern-seeking were developed from (a) identified themes from the review of theoretical literature, (b) practice-based information, and (c) themes which emerged from document, survey and interview analyses (Bernard and Ryan, 2010). Theming the collected data provided a schematic framework for grouping the data collected for analysis. Repetitions, similarities and differences were sought by cutting and sorting into broad categories guided by the A/F, and the additional categorizations of real-world phenomenological interests contained within the three attributes. This post-positivistic process (Smith, 1979; Bernard and Ryan, 2009) produced twelve dominant themes from the studies. An additional classification for the methodology of the source of information was identified in the review of data as evidence. A non-probability approach was used and combined a convenience sampling method (availability) together with researcher judgment informing selection. Such purposive sampling enabled characteristics to be both known and meaningful in research (Diamantopoulos, 1997; Byrne, 2003; Schlosberg, 2013) with indicators of regeneration outcomes (proxies for spatial justice values) re-interpreted back into 'values'. An assessment was attempted through a scale of measures adapted from previous value-based assessors (Lynch, 1984; Moulaert,

Schreurs and Van Dyck, 2011; James, 2014; Bell and Davoudi, 2016) and is recorded as narrative in relation to evidence within the triangulated framework of the data presented (Paragraph 7.4.1). The test of the degree to which these themes was rated as strong, weak or neutral. The results were presented as two tables (qualitative and quantitative) showing their current use in practice and the degree to which they are indeed being used assessed as a ranking of 1 to 5, where 1 is weak and 5 is strong. The documents selected to support the case study in North Kensington, together with a total of eight interviews and thirteen community-based survey responses. The study of Peterborough was based on an examination of relevant historic, recent, local and strategic documents and four in-depth interviews. Evaluative research presented in Chapter 2 has been integrated into the interpretative analysis of this chapter. The filters of context, enactment, scale and indicators were used in the triangulated analysis of establishing whether values of 'spatial justice' could be meaningfully measured from regeneration outcomes. Data from North Kensington and Peterborough were combined and the action identified twelve themes plus a marker

Table 7.4 Emerging themes following triangulation of qual/quan sources and context from CS0, CS1 and CS2

LOCAL PLAN REFERENCES
NUMBERS AND MEASUREMENTS
STRATEGIC POLICY – national, regional
LINKS TO AFFORDABLE HOUSING
COMMUNITY ISSUES neighbourhood, alternative forms of tenure
DEVELOPMENT VIABILITY: % Affordable Housing, Land costs, Developers
FUNDING CONTRIBUTIONS
IS AFFORDABILTY PRIME?
DESIGN QUALITY AND SUSTAINABILITY
PLACE IN THE REGION
EMPLOYMENT POVERTY AND INEQUALITY
SUCCESS OF REGENERATION PROGRAMME
METHODODOLOGY OF STUDY/EVALUATION

about the methodology used in document-based studies and evaluations. The outcome was a schematic framework for interpreting qualitative data in identifying how useful each test indicator might be in measuring values of 'spatial justice' (Table 7.4). The interpretation from this frame developed from (a) an assessment of currently or previously used evaluative criteria and the likelihood of these criteria to be visible in

practice and (b) the degree to which these criteria would be being used, evolved from the measuring and evaluative techniques described by Lynch (1984), James (2014) and Davoudi (Bell and Davoudi, 2016).

Indicators to values

(i)   Cultural/social impact
(ii) Empowerment
(iii) Living conditions
(iv) Economic status
(v) Environmental impact
(vi) Environmental condition

Self-fulfilment
Well-being
Health
Security
Safety
in 'place'

Values of Liberalism
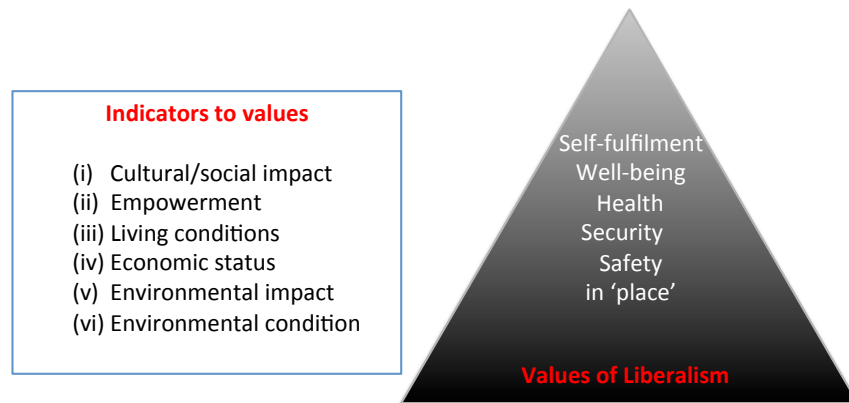
Figure 7.9 Re-translating mediating categories of indictors to values

7.5.1   Testing research results as indicators in relation to values

Recalibrating the indicators back to their value representation used their equivalence, as described in Chapter 3, with the Maslow Hierarchy of Need as the scale for weighting the indicators' translation. This mechanism was an experimental tool to test whether there is merit in measurable indicators of outcomes being re-interpreted back into values, thereby deciphering them as measures of the values of Liberalism. The exploration included the research results through initial rankings of values and indicators. The schema is set out in Table 7.5. Results of this exercise are detailed in Paragraph 7.5.2. The test of the degree to which these themes are rated as strong, weak or neutral along two axes of their current use in practice and the degree to which they are indeed being used is assessed on a usefulness measure of 1 to 5 of the likelihood of being in use (from evaluated practice) compared with its usefulness (assessed from qualitative evidence).

7.5.2   Ranking results of qualitative/quantitative investigations

Other evaluative measures of regeneration have applied a weighting to data as a methodology for providing an indices, for example IMD indicators (Chapter 5). However, this research has been styled as 'post-positivistic. It has used a quantification that was extracted from qualitative data. The approach was embedded in Critical Realism in order to progress an exploratory research methodology in a new sphere of interest (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007) .The prospect of applying numerical weightings to

Table 7.5 Applying values in 'place' to the research results from testing indicators

Indicators to values	Value equivalence	Values hierarchy
Educational attainment	Cultural/social impact	Self-fulfilment
Voter participation	Empowerment	Well-being
Longevity	Living conditions	Health
Household income	Economic status	Security
Affordable housing	Environmental impact	Safety
Air quality	Environmental condition	in 'place'

these research data would have added complexities without adding clarity to the proposition being examined, that measured indicators could act as proxies for values of liberal democracy. Nevertheless identifying a trend of strengthening or weakening the application of an indicator was considered likely to be beneficial to interpreting research result. A scale of W_2 (weaker) W_1 (weak), N (neutral), S_1 (strong) and S_2 (stronger) was therefore compiled as an interpretation for this research of the capability of a measured indicator. The first run through was for qualitatively acquired data. The base of 60 for qualitative assessments was acquired by assuming a maximum score of 5 for 12 interviewees, for any one test indicator, thus arriving at a numerical indication of rank. (a response of 'don't know' (DK) from a respondent was given a 0 rank. The approach was designed to achieve an offer of a view on indicators selected about whether they represented a selected frame of liberal-democratic values. Limitations, not least the size of sampling and the numbers of (warranted) assumption along the route, leave room for challenge. However, the outcome of the approach despite limitations is set out in two tables, Table 7.6 and Table 7.7.

From that position, test indicators were to be interpreted back into viewing them as a ranked value of liberal democracy. The preliminary assessment showed that the most basic issues of safety and security would be expected to be accomplished in delivering spatial justice. Such equivalents would be basic and essential to take the ranking to a baseline that would form the foundation for achieving the higher realms of well-being and self-fulfilment.

The research test was translating acquired data into value equivalences through the evaluative frame placing the six indicators into a ranking that could be compared for values. The research decision was then that each level of a value of 'spatial justice' should be measured as having equal value. This decision is similar that made in the Interim Housing Survey (D-1, p. 34) which when considering the issue of rent levels

(housing affordability) 'the larger questions of social justice and fairness cannot for long be ignored in further analyses' (ibid.). Then, one of the specific possible lines of analyses was to '…techniques to reveal the inter-play of several factors…and assess the 'weight' of any one or more combinations of factors' (ibid.), and that study decided to set aside that approach, for practical reasons and to concentrate on other aspects. In this study therefore each value is given equal weighting. The quantitative outcome from ranked indicators and their translation to 'values' (Table 7.8) put Housing first, followed by Education, Empowerment and Income next. Longevity and Air quality were ranked fifth and sixth.

Table 7.6 Demonstrating <u>qualitative</u> assessments by participants as an indicator's success for valuing 'spatial justice' – extending propositional logic

ALL	W_2	W_1	N	S_1	S_2	DK	Base = 60	Numeric value
(i) AFF HSG			1	4	6		49	**4.1**
(ii) EDUC	1		3	4	3		41	**3.4**
(iii) VOTES	2	1	1	3	2		29	**2.4**
(iv) POV EMPL								**0.0**
(v) HEALTH			1	1	5	2	32	**2.7**
(vi) AIR QU	2	1	3	1	4		37	**3.1**

Table 7.7 Showing the <u>quantitative</u> evaluation of indicators in documents analysed

ALL	W_2	W_1	N	S_1	S_2	U/K	Base = 40	Numeric value
(i) AFF HSG		1		3	4		34	**4.3**
(ii) EDUC		1	2	2	3		31	**3.9**
(iii) VOTES	1				2	5	11	**1.4**
(iv) POV EMPL	1	1			6		33	**4.1**
(v) HEALTH		1		3	4		34	**4.3**
(vi) AIR QU	1		2		2	3	17	**2.1**

Table 7.8 Translating indicator back to 'value' through applying a weighted rank

Value	Indicator	Rank
Self-fulfilment	Education	2
Well-being	Empowerment	3
Health	Income	4
Security	Housing	1
Safety	Longevity	5
Place	Air quality	6

7.5.3 Interpretive results from analyzing indicators as representative of values

Caveats are attached to the findings (summarized in Table 7.9 at the end of this section). **Firstly**, this research is exploratory: the approach used warranted assumptions and a post-positivistic approach as encouraged by Johnson, et al. (2007) to move forward with a broad-brush study. The limited resources available precluded pursuing a magnitude of data required for, for example, Principle Component Analysis (PCA). **Secondly,** the sources for comparison between the test indicators as well at the three attributes (Paragraph 5.2.3 and Figure 6.55) were based on qualitative results of interviews and survey bounded by 'selection by convenience' and researcher judgment, and by a low response rate when surveying. Within these limitations, the findings appeared to show strong importance from quantitative data (with its limitations) for at least three indicators (housing affordability, poverty and health), although only one indicator, that of housing affordability, emerged from qualitative and quantitative as strongly indicative of what might be a measure of 'spatial justice' in regeneration outcomes. Within these parameters, the interpretation inferred from measuring indicators was as follows:

- Strong importance was attributed to **the housing indicator** (i) as a means of indicating spatial justice' in regeneration outcomes. In the context of this longitudinal study, using comparison of qualitative and quantitative data, affordability was understood to be highly important although aspects of housing (its availability, its design and accessibility, tenure type, and locational advantages) were seen as contributing to the means by which any indicator of housing could be used to assess 'spatial justice' in a regeneration initiative. Social housing was far higher by 1976 (and growing because of the increasing numbers of properties in housing association ownership) at around 35%. Social housing tenure continued to rise, and was around 45% in the CS1 study area in 2011. 'Right to Buy' mean few dwellings were still council ownership.

- The indicator of **voter participation by turnout** (iii), again with a number of caveats, was appearing to show a relationship with empowerment in the terms of measurements taken – low turnout in times when representative choice was discredited. In the qualitative data, this research showed that the indicator was identified by some as a useful measure of spatial justice but not strongly and was not seen as effective as others of the test indicators. Other participants did not recognize it as a useful measure. Therefore, the trend that emerged from this limited sampling gave a numerical inference that it was not recognized as a strong

indicator of whether regeneration interventions had contributed to improving spatial justice. Nevertheless, interpretation from this research could go in several ways: that if people were dissatisfied with regeneration outcomes, then they would participate in local elections – a 'strong' link to this indicator. Or, if they believed that there was no point because their representatives were not doing the job required of them – a 'weak' correlation to the indicator. In both scenarios the relationship of the indicator to spatial justice could be argued to be 'strong'. Other interpretations about this data source could also be extrapolated. For example, the changes in an area's total population, those eligible to vote, and those registered to vote (locally or nationally), at the completion of regeneration and some time post-completion might indicate whether the population was static, growing or changed. A more detailed quantitative experimental research investigation would provide direction on these contributions on the measurability of spatial justice.

- Indicator (iv) about **poverty, income and employment**, was based on the percentage of households with an income of 60% or less of median income, had been selected to show levels of poverty and access to employment. This proxy was tested quantitatively in this research by data from documents analysed and online resources. It showed as a strong indicator of 'spatial justice' nearly comparable with the housing indicator (4.1 for household income compared with 4.3 for affordable housing. A limitation in this research was that the indicator was tested qualitatively only as an additional factor in interviews, volunteered by participants who wanted to see employment, economics or income level included as an indicator. Thus its comparative rating emerged 'neutral'.

- **Air quality** (vi) received a 'neutral' scoring but as alluded to throughout the research, the changing measurement has left this indicator without the means for longitudinal comparisons. More recent London-based data showed a strong correlation between health outcomes (Longevity (v)), place and air quality in terms of for example $PM_{2.5}$ emissions. Thus, the research interpretation is that the measure is one that has not been included regularly as a longitudinal measure for regeneration, nor acknowledged in primary policy-making but would be usefully included in future. Continuity of data collected through consistency of type would assist developing this indicator in support of one component of the definition of spatial justice.

7.5.4 The indicators reviewed

The indicators are variable, complex and differently measured according to the context of when the figures were collected (Figure 7.10) with little scope for making quantifiable comparisons. Nevertheless, the qualitative responses from engaged stakeholders provides an insight for the purpose of the research with are prospects for better future

Table 7.9 Outcome of qualitative and quantitative research into indicators, tested as effective measures of spatial justice

	Indicator being tested	Ranking		Effective as a measure of spatial justice
(i)		**Qual**	**Quan**	
(ii)	Affordable Housing	**4.9**	**4.3**	Strong
(iii)	Educational attainment 16-18year olds	**4.1**	**3.9**	Neutral
(iv)	Voter participation by turnout (national)	**2.9**	**1.4**	Weak
(v)	% households on 60% median wage	**n/a**	**4.1**	Neutral
(vi)	Predicted longevity (M+F combined)	**3.2**	**4.3**	Neutral
(vii)	Air quality	**3.7**	**2.1**	Neutral

information as the meta-data base is widening. Thus the research purpose is supported in that the summation of the research outcomes begins to shed light on how a cross-cutting analysis can take a perspective on data and thereby what data might be usefully mined for a new or different reason. Adaptive structuration theory (AST) would be a possible approach for developing an improved future outcome (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994), by examining change process as structures that are provided by technologies, and as structures that emerge in interactions of people with new technologies.

7.5.5 Classification/distillation of findings

Results have been analysed in this chapter for interconnectedness between four aspects of the working definition of 'spatial justice' (context of policy, scale of governance, regeneration interventions being enacted, and the reality of outcomes as measured by indicators) through applying their 'triangulation'. The contextualisation of the concept of spatial justice in regeneration practice was planned, it was hoped, to highlight any connections to concepts in planning theory (communicative, distributive,

deliberative) (Healey, 1996; Hillier and Healey, 2010). Questioning what would the Rawlsian phrase 'justice as fairness' say about the 'distributive currency' of regeneration provided a form to the research. Identifying characteristics of successful outcomes that would be replicable in future regeneration programmes was a second dimension. So the purpose of analysis was to explicate if measurable indicators are indeed located in social, economic and environmental arenas within a framework of rights to space. Triangulation showed that some vision statements sought to achieve primary principles of 'justice as fairness'. However, diversion from vision along the regeneration route was reported (viz., CS1 where political decisions overruled

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- The percentage of **Affordable Housing** in the housing stock (private, public and intermediate) at the point of investigation, describing Affordable Housing as at that point
- The percentage of 16 to 18 years olds obtaining five or more GCSEs at A* to C grade (or the contextual equivalent of this figure)
- Voter participation at specified governance levels, as a percentage of the number of voters registered
- % of Households with an income under 60% median income
- Longevity – the anticipated life span of an individual (male or female) at the point of investigation
- Air quality assessed by data available at the point of investigation (this measure varies by substance, e.g., CO_2, diesel particulates), or is not available in the area being studied.

Figure 7.10 Detail of indicators tested

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professional advice and the way the problem was defined influenced 'the kind of information collected as the basis for decision-making' (Palmer, 1980, p.31). The implication is that aligning measures with values would have challenged the programme direction and could have retained the initial principled vision.

7.5.6 Findings in relation to a definition of 'spatial justice' for this research

The working definition was that 'spatial justice is the spatial expression of social justice'. While the definition then requires an interpretation of 'social justice', nevertheless it provides a working definition that is communicable to early engagement with the concept in interviews with stakeholders and in a survey of residents. The preciseness of

this working definition of '*spatial justice'* has provided an effective vehicle for the rapid dissemination of a concept to newcomers to the research question, such as during stakeholder interviews and as part of the survey questionnaire. However, this phrase remains contentious, for example, by requiring a fuller definition of '*social justice',* and in one interviewee's view [Participant H], whether that concept should be an aim for a liberal democratic society. These definitions proved to be iterative and went on to be refined over the development of the research into their substance.

The components of theory, politics, policies, planning and practice in fact required a sixth of 'reality'. Questioning research findings of 'whose reality' would give a 'correct' perspective on 'spatial justice', from some evidence the notion of a 'normative' approach to spatial justice was not acceptable. The question arose too of whether 'spatial justice' was binary: you have justice in spatial terms, or you do not. A realist would answer that degrees of justice may be possible, whereas a philosopher might say that a place entails justness or it does not. The scope of this research can only contribute at this stage by saying that methodological individualism or cultural relativism would give different outcomes from other perspectives.

7.6 CONCEPTUAL TESTS

7.6.1   Findings related to conceptual framework

Research findings showed interconnectedness between indicators, that housing affordability was regarded as important for indicating whether regeneration outcomes had improved spatial justice, and that a city-region or regional level of governance had distinct advantages in promoting longer-term improvements to areas with deprivation issues. As a concept, seeking spatial justice would make a contribution to a community's well-being through promoting its empowerment, indeed its autonomy. So a framework that could elaborate on how to manage the components (see Paragraphs 3.2.2 and 3.6.1) of spatial justice (theory, politics, planning, policy, practice, and eventually reality) would add to professional practice, and indeed would benefit from being embedded in practice training.

7.6.2   Analytical Framework related to real situation

A simplified analytical framework that identifies two connectors between the researched outcomes of regeneration as categorized into arenas of social, economic and environmental, and critical values of Liberalism could be illustrated as (Figure 7.11), following a description of the interface between concepts and real-world phenomena. However, the more nuanced A/F that was used provided a systematic and staged route

to understanding the connections between practice and concept, as predicted by the methodological approach of post-positivist critical realism. That methodological approach allowed for a dialectical understanding of contexts (of time, of geography, of governance) in relation to ideology and technology (adapting Smith, 1979).

The results from analysing data collected for the main case study showed that the majority of stakeholders, in the context of 2016 pressures on communities and markets, saw the indicator of 'affordable housing' availability as the priority measure of 'spatial justice'. (D-5, p.17; CSO ST 7-9 1976-79; ONS, 2011; GLA, 2016)
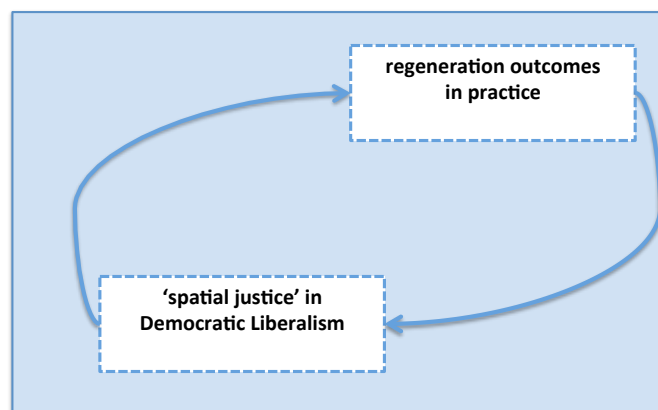
Figure 7.11 Simplified analytical framework of practice and concept

7.6.3   Interpretation of experimental results

'Affordable housing' was not regarded as the only measure, but as the relevant measure in the contemporaneous context – condition, availability or accessibility would be other appropriate measures in different contexts. Measures of air quality were regarded as important but difficult to manage locally, and brought in the issue of a combined 'regional' body, or national or even a European level of intervention to exert any degree of accountability for improving overall outcomes, although local policy issues would be relevant. It had measurable 'value' impact – on well-being and as a basic 'right', as perceived qualitatively and as measured quantitatively (viz., health outcomes in London documented by the GLA). The measure of 'voter participation' had mixed responses: some felt that it was not useful as there might be many (complex) explanations as to why registration firstly and participation secondly, might not be reliable indicators of accountability and thus 'justness'.

7.6.4   Headlines from research results

A summary of research (Table 7.10) shows that in 2010 RBKC (covering North

Kensington) was in the lower quartile of local authorities on five IMD indicators but third highest in economic activities. In the Borough, 76% of housing was in private ownership, about the same for one LSOA in Colville (007A) within the GIA area (see Figure 6.14) but far lower in Colville ward where Housing Action Areas had been used (Figure 6.9).

Table 7.10 Interpreting research results on CS1 North Kensington: housing and income changes 1976 to 2010

Narrative	1976 study area	2010 borough
Deprivation and economic activity	8th worst borough on 57 EDs in GB	103rd most deprived of 418 LAs on 5 IMD indicators; 3rd highest economic activity in London in 2010
Housing availability	Housing stock 68.7% private ownership (53% England and Wales) 33.3% Hsg Assoc + LA (31% England and Wales)	Housing stock 76% private ownership (82% England) 23.8% RSL + LA (17.6% England)
Housing affordability	16 % owner-occupiers (40% Greater London)	Median house price £750,000 Rental net weekly LA + RSL averaged £73.05 (£68.29 England)

7.7 WHAT THE EVIDENCE SHOWS

7.7.1   Key findings interpreted

Key findings follow from the evidence presented in the two studies, the application of triangulation to the quantitative and qualitative data in relation to the themes extracted, and the interpretation from these perspectives.

Firstly, evidence showed that while the regeneration vision did include a limited version of spatial justice as 'the spatial expression of social justice', the overall intervention did not show that it had delivered on this version that it had set out to achieve. Further, regeneration did not deliver the broader vision of spatial justice as defined in this research. The interpretation of **this failure to demonstrate and deliver on a long-term vision had its basis in the way data have been acquired and stored.** If the management adage – unless you measure something you don't know if it is getting better or worse (Drucker, 1995) – were to be applied to assessment of spatially just outcomes to regeneration practice, this research found clear evidence of a gap in appropriate data. Without appropriate information to align with what was being

sought for a just outcome and for whom that outcome would be just, the conclusion is that regeneration practice has yet to be able to specify a set of measurably successful outcomes that align with 'spatial justice'. This means that is a lack of ways of measuring the components of spatial justice values in the target outcome from spatial interventions like regeneration. Therefore, if practitioners and others were to seek to improve the delivery of 'spatially just outcomes in regeneration', then being able to measure to see if results are getting better or worse is required. The current situation evidenced in the research is comparable to the beginning of the case study. In 1967 when people in North Kensington knew that all was not right (NHHS, 1967 they did not have factual evidence on what needed addressing. They carried out a door-to-door survey of all in the area, and extracted detailed information on housing conditions and other factors. At the end of the study period, responses from residents, politicians and some practitioners were anecdotally showing that the completed regeneration was not right: it was not 'spatially just'. Some measures from the evaluation through proxy indicators would appear to confirm this lack of spatial justice (viz., overlaps of test indicators like a high level social housing being combined with poor air quality, and consequent reduced longevity; and a lower percentage of social housing combined with better air quality overlapping with the area of earlier regeneration inputs). While the scope of this investigation was too low numerically and too reliant on non-probabilistic choices for evidence to be the basis of generalisations, it has arguably provided enough to encourage further experimental research into correlations between a set of indicators that would be entailed by a notion of what 'spatial justice' could be expected from regeneration.

The research has shown that the totality of data proposed in this research for a rounded view of 'spatial justice', has not been brought together over a period of time, consistently or thoroughly, on the range of issues that this research proposed for showing whether 'spatial justice' had been achieved. Limitations have been acknowledged in the scope of resources available to acquire or mine such data. It is also acknowledged that the potential for gathering much of these data in the future is becoming increasingly possible. Insufficient information has been assessed to confirm or deny a link between indicators and further detailed research would be essential for establishing robust links with liberal values and measurable indicators. However, if an agreed set of selected indicators were accepted as representative of the value outcomes and were then collected, then a post-completion statement could be drawn up to show what empirical changes have happened following intervention, and then translated into a measure of success in achieving 'spatial justice'. If spatial justice were to be the improvement

sought and if a correlation between values translated into this (or an adjusted) set of indicators, then the interventions could be shaped by assessing the level of 'spatial justice' initially by the indicators, and then measuring improvements to target objectively sought outcomes for the completion. Further, for post-completion assessments there would be comparators for measuring the value targets.

A **second conclusion** was drawn, indicative from interpretively assessing regeneration outcomes in relation to vision statements, that executive actions of the local authority had been focused on financial restraints in the shorter term rather than (unstated) values of spatial justice in the longer term. However, this conclusion is difficult to further substantiate evidentially, not least because again available data have limitations as specified above. Nevertheless there are indications that, for example, financial pressure trumped ethical objectives at critical decision points of regeneration implementation. In CS1, this is during a programme appraisal (see Participants F, G, I and L; Documents D-2, and D-5) where this type of decision was identified. An alternative evidential base (Participants A and D; Document D-11 and D-20) specified that the original vision may have been underachieved but that what has been achieved is pragmatism in action, and a realistic outcome was achieved. While the shorter-term financial constraints were given more weight than longer-term social payoffs, financial payoffs in the mid- to long-term have been achieved for some groups but not all groups in the existing community. Either set of consequences was compounded by the local authority executive not using a focus on interconnections of Spatial Justice (as they remained either unidentified or not articulated) and not maximising inter-disciplinary or inter-departmental working at decision points in the early stages of the research window. This lack restricted their view on operating when they used only discrete aspects of spatial justice as guidance for interventions thereby missing improved delivery opportunities and 'economies of scale' or multi-purpose outcomes (D-5). These actions may have been caused by direction given by some politicians wanting the problem shifted elsewhere (which would be cheaper, and possibly gets them re-elected by a growing number of type of electors). This interpretation follows the theory of Cullingworth (1999), evaluations of Kensington (Dearlove, 1973; D-5) and an assessment that the local authority executive was missing or ignoring the reality of the local community's (diverse) voice (Participant L; D-2). Referenced by Participant L and Respondent 7, and as recently as February 2017 in a blog on RBKC's Community Noticeboard website, it has been noted that:

> "…people are still angry and are still protesting even though methods of getting your point of view across have changed. Some of these issues remain current. Some of the imagery has stuck with the popular imagination. There is still plenty to protest about" (RBKC, 2017).

Further, the evidence from qualitatively acquired data was that the majority identified a contribution to failure in achieving spatial justice over the long term because the type of private or institutional financing model which presses for commercial returns in the shorter term, that then encourages speculative ownership.   Again, an interpretive response to the small sample is that a mid-term outcome of regeneration is not measured or evaluated with a clarity to direct outcomes that would feed the day-to-day running of the neighbourhood. Some evaluative practice had identified this gap (viz., Egan's 'Community Sustainability') but an inability to follow through on data about who benefited was identified as a gap by respondents and participants. The consequence anecdotally (but not measured) appeared to be a reduction in diversity and the driving out of some less well-off residents thereby changing the community that would make it financial valuable in the middle term. The outcome over time is the creation of a sterile or gentrified community in the longer term which threatens commercial return on investment (ROI) as well as community sustainability in the very long term. This lack of evaluative information was identified in responses from practitioners (e.g., Participants A, K, J) but was also identified as an issue that might conflict with core liberal democratic values of individual freedoms and privacy. The conceptual understandings of spatial justice in other social structures considered however that knowledge of place by individuals collectively might indeed empower communities. The evidence from this research highlighted the possibility of using emerging meta-data from new digital just because there was conclusively a lack of data collected on indicators relevant to 'spatial justice'.

The research confirmed current practice is missing an agreed strategic assessment tool for professions that pinpoints values for improving spatial justice outcomes.   The research showed that there are tools available for partial assessment of 'spatial justice'. However, these data sources are compiled from specific perspectives that do not attempt, in most cases, to seek cross-disciplinary interpretations. So, for example, a website launched in early 2017 with a 'Spatial Justice Analysis' data analysis toolkit (www.spatialjustice.org) is mapping US neighbourhood 'spatial inequality', HaPi is combining data about 'health inequality' from psycho-social sources, and 'environmental justice' is tackled by sustainable environment assessments (SEAs). ATLAS is used by the UK (Gov.uk, 2017) to give a layered 'concept framework' on drainage, retail and community facilities, and road layout. These instruments give a snapshot for a case for argument for special interventions from the viewpoint of, say, communities or for delivering a housing estate, or for a health authority or other service provider setting out its case for financial support. Even on diversity comparisons, data in relation to deep

values is difficult to come by and is yet to be seen combined within a professional analysis instrument available to delivery agencies or even politicians or their electorate.

The range of values is important to identify with objectives of the administration of the democratic governance in power. And the values are all the more important to identify and so include when planning for a more digitized future. However, progressing with developing more digitized decision-taking requires that current perspectives may be replicated in longer-term outcomes. Current research already shows how 'hidden' values are institutionalized. This research set out to spotlight assumed values and underlying philosophy. By contributing to this process of articulation of values, the research has also contributed to the identification of principles and basic institutions of governance in relation to regeneration. Further, the research has tested these values as interpreted into measurable albeit limited forms.

7.8 THEMES EMERGING FROM FINDINGS

7.8.1 Empowerment

Evidence from the research shows repeating ambitions for local control and engagement, desire for unobtrusive and 'good' design, a clean environment and social continuity. For an evaluative framework using key measures of housing affordability, air quality, predicted longevity, educational achievement, access to employment (income) and voter participation, conclusions were drawn about regeneration interventions in relation to deep values with the caveat that further scoping at each of the decision points in setting up the research: the definition of 'spatial justice', the scope of an understanding of Liberal Democracy in the UK in the 21st century, the breadth of what regeneration as a strategic planning intervention can contribute over the long-term, and the range of indicators that might usefully be correlated with deep philosophical values.

7.8.2 Connectedness

Findings from the research showed strongly that some indicators (viz., (i) Affordable Housing) were acceptable as measures of a place having a degree of spatial justice and an improved or changed degree of spatial justice. However, using only the one measure, from evidence, had limitations that would reduce its effectiveness as an indicator. First, the quality of that housing itself required a measure of degree: good design, accessibility, and so on. Further, Indicator (i) would only be a good measure if

other indicators were also satisfactory: air quality (Indicator (vi) was a basic requirement from the hierarchy of values, and impacted on Indicator (v) life expectancy as a measure for health; for the higher orders of the hierarchy, Indicator (iii), household income level which was taken as a proxy for economic status, access to employment and transportation. almost possible framework based on interconnections between the themes that emerged. The evidence from this research could not prove that finding except in the broadest of terms and in line with the methodological approach of critical realism applied to exploratory research.

7.8.3   Management

From the findings based on analysing evidence from the case study of North Kensington and its validating appraisal in Peterborough, six themes were identified for a potential evaluative framework. The six strands of **people, legislative context, vision, administrative executive, operational management** and **tools for change** emerged from the research. Was this thematic finding a sufficient basis for expressing regeneration outcomes as the values of spatial justice in measurable form?

7.8.4   Measuring

The evidence provided findings for making steps forward on three counts. Firstly by challenging that a linear connectivity as in other evaluative practices such as the IMD is a sufficient measure of improving spatial justice through the intervention of regeneration practices. Secondly by extending the evaluation continuum for regeneration from using deprivation levels as the primary control in measuring regeneration success, to a continuum inclusive of the positive achievements of equitable access to and development of a full range of human-focused achievements located in place as defined by a value hierarchy such as Maslow's. Thirdly, an active form of connecting the identified themes of component layers was required to operationalize prior evaluation and monitor posterior probability. This approach has brought forward the possibility of contributing to the development of a mechanism for monitoring regeneration practice expressed in the terms of values of spatial justice. This mechanism, as an evaluative framework, is contingent on values that were defined for the research and for the purpose of evaluating this type of strategic spatial intervention. The results and findings from the research would benefit from experiments as a conceptual tool as illustrated in the 'fishbone' diagram (Figure 7.12). The fishbone diagram provided a schematic representation for the elements of regeneration identified through the research and developed to express how change might be managed in organisations. The schema

proposes harnessing the strands of operational **components to monitor progress towards the target of improved 'justice outcomes'.** The diagram reads along the line of each strand (people, change, requirements, and context, tools and operations). It also has coherence across at layered levels (eg, local, ward, city-region; or conceptual, politically, policy). This diagram is a **proposition for further research** for a professionally-related systemization of how to understand ways that regeneration interventions would be managed to achieve improved 'justice' outcomes (see Paragraph 8.4.2 and Table 8.2). This prospect has the potential for an evaluative process for framing 'spatial justice' at stages of a regeneration programme including at post evaluative stage. It is a step in the direction of articulating a **n evaluative framework of 'spatial justice' for regeneration outcomes**. It includes a means of acknowledging the contribution of different scalar levels of empowerment, accountability and governance thereby addressing the research focus on region and city-region. These component layers as described in the 'fishbone' diagram are defined by the concepts set out in this study, in the literature evaluation, the search for existing evaluative criteria, and also in the applied analytical framework, and the concluding 'values-led' frame being sought.
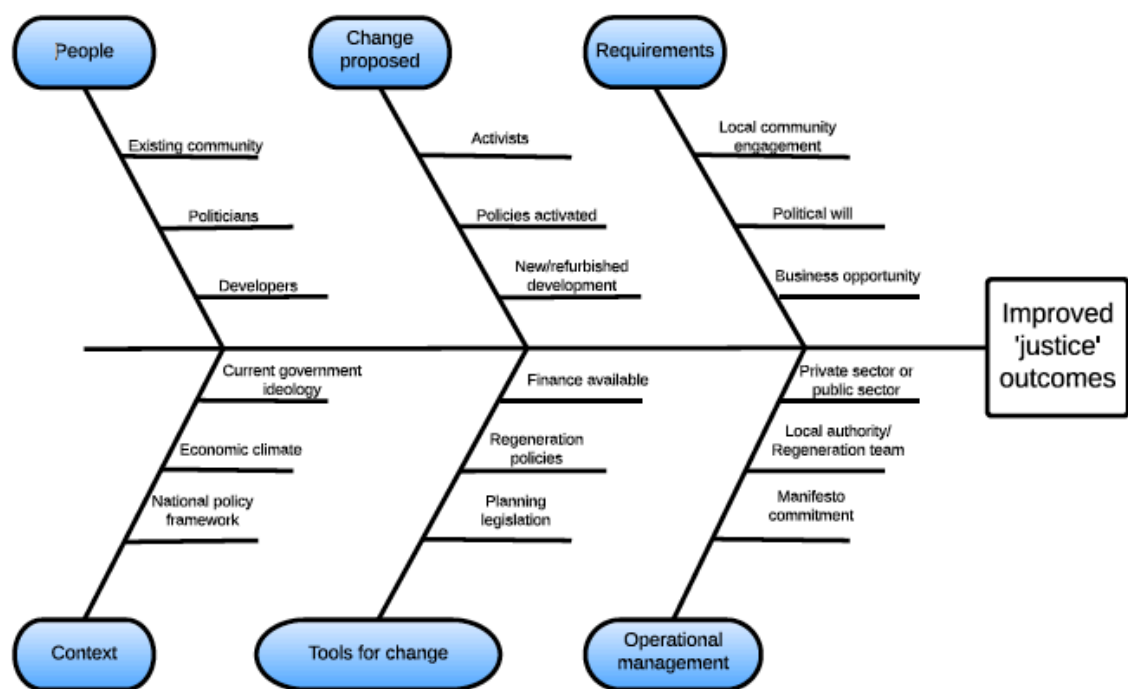
Figure 7.12 Sketch of possible connections between measurables and values

7.8.5   Components framed

The interconnectedness of the components and measurable indicators was being sought particularly through analysing and interpreting case study results. Having derived

these component layers from research findings in Chapter 6, the diagram goes some way to synthesising how regeneration processes could be managed so that a more complete picture could be generated for professionals aiming to improve delivery of improvements to 'justice' outcomes. While commonsense and professional experience indicate that no one management or organisational tool can solve or remove a problem, a systematic approach to understanding an issue (such as an inequitable spatial outcome from regeneration interventions) may assist in identifying causes. With this knowledge, the practice of regeneration might be better placed in being structured for managing through to minimising unwanted outcomes, of which arguably 'gentrification' is one.

7.8.6 Adapting the initial research idea

The original interest through professional experience was in multiple areas:

–   the democratic outcomes in relation to regional organisation – in theory and in practice;

–   the spatial and temporal unevenness of regeneration outcomes;

–   the philosophical underpinning of what would a liberal democracy wish to deliver in terms of fair spatial outcomes;

–   how to practically achieve these fair outcomes; and

–   whether these outcomes would and could be delivered through the planning system.

The research proposed to examine citizenship, the planning system and sustainability in order to (a) identify the key change components that planning influences; (b) set some benchmarks for how it has done thus far; and (c) identify what a planning system that delivers sustainability for socially just outcomes. The narrowing down led to the focus on translating and evaluating outcomes from one aspect of strategic spatial planning.

7.9 CONCLUSIONS FROM FINDINGS

Evidence from the research shows repeating ambitions for local control and engagement, desire for unobtrusive and 'good' design, a clean environment and social continuity. Conclusions can be drawn about regeneration interventions in relation to deep values with an evaluative framework formed of key measures. The consequence of being better or worse requires a 'measure of magnitude of policy effect' (Hausman, 2012, p.608) (see Section 2.7 and Figure 2.9).

How relevant are the empirical results of this research to theory building? By having a measure of delivering social housing that is connected with a set of values expressed as indicators, a magnitude of outcomes in 'spatial justice' terms could be provided. The research shows that connecting indicators would have the potential to support a clear assessment of:

      (a) whether a planned programme is envisaged to achieve more spatially just outcomes (through regeneration interventions), or

      (b) to what degree of 'spatial justice' has been achieved (through delivered regeneration interventions).

Findings indicate the applicability of the analytical tools tested is relevant to communities currently left to argue their own case against for example developer pressures. Therefore, substantive theory could be mined from the research, to present a rational way of measuring the results of policies in relation to 'values'.

PART III Conclusions

With professional insights, recommendations and reflections on research methodology

CHAPTER EIGHT:

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND REFLECTIONS

Chapter Objectives

- Present summary of research conclusions
- Review and reflect on the research frameworks and methodology
- Highlight contribution to knowledge: implications for theory development and professional insights
- Conclude with further research and action recommendations from research

8 RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

The chapter presents research outcomes located in relation to existing literature and adjusts a definition of 'spatial justice' in the light of new understandings. Conclusions are summarized from research findings about how values are translated and what happens in practice when carrying out the research. Conceptual and analytical frameworks (C/F and A/F) and other research components are refined. Conclusions on key criteria and indicators for spatial justice re-form the C/F by taking account of how research gives a different perspective on the justice measures in regeneration. Reflections on the methodological approach precede possible generalizability and theory implications, and recommendations for professional practice. Professional insights from the research illustrate how further experimental research could contribute to improved regeneration practice by testing a systemized approach to assessing 'spatial justice' for example in delivering affordable housing. Closing the project, **the theory implications and practice conclusions** are that a **values-led framework of UK regeneration outcomes** is necessary but is not (widely) practised. Connecting place, people and philosophical position supports the likelihood of greatly improving spatial justice outcomes in the UK planning system, when a defined spatial justice becomes measurable, envisioned and benchmarked. This structured information could be compared over time via a an analysis of the impact of a values-led assessment before, during and after the regeneration process with a view to achieving improved spatial intervention outcomes over the long-term.

8.1 CONCLUDING THE RESEARCH

8.1.1 Locating research outcomes in relation to theorists in the field

Findings relate this study to the discourse of social justice (*context*), spatial interventions

(*enactment*), processes of local government delivery and implementation (*scale*), and the quantification of intangible values (*indicators*) (see Figure 6.55). For **enactment**, where others have contextualised the underpinning of regeneration delivery (for example, Wong's (2009), contextual **indicators** provide social, economic, and environmental factors of delivery (as Table 2.2). Where Soja (2009) seeks connections between tangible and intangible values, here the theory-practice gap is addressed by exploring possibilities for translations of principles of Liberalism Into activities and assessments of regeneration practice. This research relates to explorations of how 'gentrification' expresses or otherwise principles of a liberal democracy (Jones, 2015); however, it reaches beyond the executive legislative **context** in which regeneration with its nuanced differences of whichever political party is in government is delivered, differentiating between the 'degree of Liberalism' that is being enacted at any one time. It is adjacent to concepts of professional ethics that are foundational to the discipline of Planning (for example, Moulaert, et al., 2011). It sits in a discourse about the relevance of **levels of governance** to the successful engagement of communities in strategic spatial planning (Murray, 1990; Young, 1990; Lawless, 2011). The research is presented as contributing to how to translate the principled values of society into an interpretation for everyday use, engaging both strategic and local perspectives, from a view of regeneration at intervals over forty years. The research outcomes show progress from the recent works of Bell and Davoudi (2016) and Fainstein (2013) in relation to the application of Rawl's (1999) approach to 'justice as fairness', adding a further layer of analysis to that of practice evaluations such as Wong's (2009). The conclusions from this research develop along policy directions set by Murray (1990), Massey (1994) and Healey (1996). The conclusions from research outcomes situate this thesis (Figure 8.1) as an empirically-based exploration of a principled application of policy and practice. It draws on a philosophical position founded in Rawls' 'justice as fairness' in place, and its position, following the conclusion of research, is influenced as expected by practice and empiricism. This outcome supports the contribution that the professional doctorate approach can make in the crossover between Mode 1 and Mode 2 knowledge, where theory and planning practice have an identified gap to bridge.
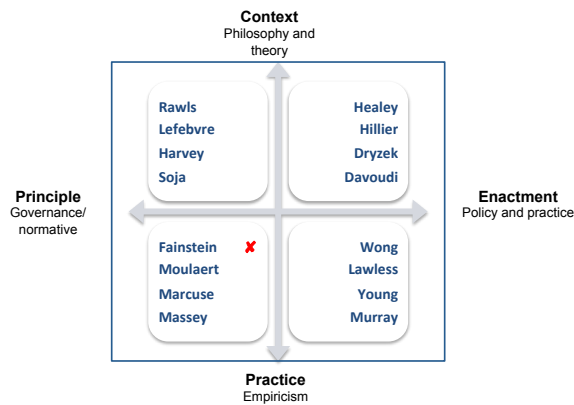
Figure 8.1 Locating 'spatial justice' research outcomes (✗) in relation to key theorists and practitioners

8.1.2   'Spatial justice' reviewed

As a conclusion to this research, Three issues are highlighted in a review of spatiality and justice, and how both terms are used in the practice of regeneration in seeking a regeneration of place that has socially just outcomes. With spatial justice as the research's focal point, the short definition of 'the spatial expression of social justice' communicated the working concept effectively to audiences or participants or survey respondents but spatiality, 'justice', and 'social justice' are entailed in that definition.

First, for **'spatiality'**, what might be the important different meanings space and place have, and for whom? This research points to 'space' being the mediator between all of a society and that it is not time-bound. Inter-generational and global factors truly matter to moving towards 'spatial justice' in the UK planning system. The second issue is of 'justice' – what sort of 'justice' might be that entailed in 'spatial justice'? For some, justice is interpreted as 'criminal justice', and the debate would be about the distributive nature of justice in relation to the criminal justice system. That position makes an important contribution in understanding fairness in access to (spatially-based) resources. So a definition of **'justice'** is required to state what conceptions of justice might be entailed in the notion of 'spatial justice'. The conclusion is that **'justness'** would aid understanding in what the principled values of Liberalism might be and what would therefore be being sought in the spatial interventions bounded by the UK planning system. In this sense, justness and justice can be interpreted as very different concepts. using the term 'justice' contributes to the debate and discourse of 'spatial justice'. the root direction of the original research question, provoked by the non-spatiality of Rawl's 'justice as fairness', sees 'justness' that can be fairly applied in considering regeneration outcomes. Others have situated 'spatial justice' as the **'ethics of spatiality'.** From the

results of this research, that definition encompassing possibilities for justice or justness spatially, applied to place-related interventions and what might be better. If values and ethics are synonymous then the definition is satisfactory. A third issue is that there is a conceptually huge distance between **'social justic**e' (possibly seen as imposed in a centralist state way) compared with **'spatial justice' (interpretable as a self-empowering or community-empowered governance of place).** This research shows that while 'justness' and '(social) justice' are not interchangeable terms, both convey an epistemological view that space and place are arenas for outcomes that can be measured spatially. **social *injustice* would require remedying in place** with the spatial interventions of regeneration to achieve situated justness. However, the converse is that the consequences **of regeneration give changes** over time in place but may not give improved outcomes for people socially or economically if interventions fail to address the *justness* implications for the originating community. The connection between the two terms is thus interpreted as a dialectical connection between *spatial justice* and *justness in spatiality* (see Paragraphs 2.3.1 and 2.8.3).

8.1.3   Research conclusions

The conclusions from findings are brought together around the research question (Figure 8.2). In the context of Liberalism (Section 2.3), and considering current evaluative practice (Section 2.7), and also by combining values in place for testing spatial justice as measured indicators (Section 3.6), the research has sought to explicate to what extent any correlation between regeneration outcomes and basic values of Liberalism, including that of governance level, is measurable for the purpose of deriving an evaluative framework that might support delivering improved spatially-just outcomes from regeneration practice.
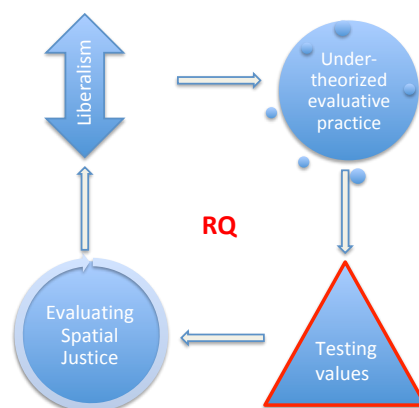
Figure 8.2 Concluding the investigation of values in regeneration outcomes (generated from Figures 2.7, 2.12 and 3.10)

The research found that there is a **prospect of monitoring outcomes** that would improve the values of spatial justice over time and through regeneration interventions in the UK. This position is conditionally inferred as a conclusion from the main case study by a negative outcome. There was evidence that a vision prior to the commencement of the case study was to change Colville-Tavistock to improve housing quality while maintaining affordability. Community strengths were recognised and the change programme could be led through the empowerment of local people who had the capacity for leadership. However, objectives of the delivery programme in the hands of the Council were not aligned with this original vision (Figure 6.14 and Figure 6.15). From **evidence about the completion of the case study** period, it is possible to say the objectives of the delivery programme have been achieved from the point of view of to which borough councillors appeared to be aiming. However, the embedded values of spatial justice in this research are not aligned with how change was being recorded although these principles could be inferred as not matching up to the original vision, at least as far as availability of affordable housing is concerned.

8.1.4   Conclusions from analysis of test indicators

The analytical framework was applied to actively translate one type of information about our understanding of the world (conceptualization of social, economic and environmental) to another view of the world (practice-based information such as housing tenure, voters participating in the electoral system or the quality of the environment). The framework supports the systematization of the analysis and interpretation. It will be more readily replicable with greater resourcing, and would make a contribution to assessing how successful or otherwise regeneration programmes are. For example, in enquiring into the destruction of a nearby North Kensington estate, applying the six values in the hierarchy of needs to the sum of decisions taken along the process of first building, then maintaining and refurbishing Grenfell Tower would be an efficient tool for exposing any divergence of practice from principle (Figure 8.3 and Figure 8.8 below).

The initial choice of indicators was selected from the three arenas of regeneration: social (*living conditions and cultural/social impact*), economic (*empowerment and economic status*), and environmental (*environmental conditions and environmental impact* (see Table 3.1). The categories have been adjusted during the research to improve their connection with the needs hierarchy (see Table 8.1 below) thereby providing an adequate set of connectors to translate between values, needs and indicators. Some problems for tested indicators arose from lack of consistent data over time, and some from changing social and cultural terminologies and understandings. For example,

information retrieved concerning air quality was not consistent. Pollutants were differently measured over the decades: in the 1970s, percentage of 'black smoke' particulates was measured and nitrogen oxides levels were noted. By the 1980s and 1990s, it was the measure of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere that was being monitored in reaction to the rising concern about the increased ratio of this gas in the global atmosphere. On longevity, this research compiled data on the average of male and female (persons) life expectancy: that indicator was selected in order to provide consistency for future comparisons, as binary gender assignment as a category is being relinquished. Conclusions on each of the indicators selected (from Table 3.1) follow.

(i) AFFORDABLE HOUSING

Affordability of housing was viewed as an important measure of achieving spatial justice through regeneration interventions. It has become more complex as an indicator because tenure types are overlapping, for example intermediate housing. Housing mix rather than simply increasing the amount of one type of housing had the weight of evidence in its favour.

(ii) EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Education was viewed as important with a focus on young people but online access to learning is changing whether spatiality in the indicator makes it so relevant. However, the access to training and resourcing digital capacity is growing in importance.

(iii) VOTER REGISTRATION

Voter participating was not identified as important but empowerment itself was very important.

(iv) POVERTY OR UNEMPLOYMENT

Measures of income/employment/poverty were important but not visible in terms of measuring.

(v) LONGEVITY

Health and longevity were seen as an outcome not a measure of interventions: the environmental impact on persons.

(vi) AIR QUALITY

The quality of air was not identified as such, although the requirement for 'healthy open space' was seen as a strong measure of quality of life.

(vi) OTHER POSSIBLE INDICATORS

Overcrowding and lack of or shared amenities were drivers for regeneration and area programmes; more recently it is accessibility and availability that have growing importance.

(viii)   Unsuitable indicators

The indicators applied singly do not present a coherent picture of whether regeneration outcomes can be used as an evaluation of spatial justice. Increasing the percentage of affordable housing in an area of poor air quality challenges the concept of delivering spatial justice.

8.1.5   Conclusions about value translations in the research

Using the indicators as value-equivalents brought a fresh approach to assessing regeneration programmes. If an assessment were to be made of a completed regeneration programme of spatial intervention, then a poor score on any one of the indicators would diminish the overall success of the project in comparison to the objective of 'justice as fairness'. In North Kensington, the case study findings show that the problem-vision set out by the community and research of the time includes a definition of spatial justice – the identified vision related to social justice in place. Differences lay in who perceived the problem and vision: local people and some professionals saw the issues in one way and saw how entrenched the problems were in the very basis of how we view society: the political stance (or in the terms of this research, the degree of Liberalism) (see Figure 8.6 below). The vision announced at the start of the study period was challenged by locally-based stakeholders, and institutional management of the area continues to be disputed (Section 7.7). Evidence from expert stakeholders and documents led to the research conclusion that decision-takers had not brought values to bear, or possibly that they perceived there to be a different value-set. Professional advice was different to the direction that political decisions would go.

Table 8.1 Using measurable indicators to compare or assess 'value' outcomes (generated from Figure 7.9)

Value	Indicator
Supporting self-fulfilment	Education
Well-being/empowerment	Engagement
Health	Longevity
Security	Income/access to work
Safety	Access to housing of quality
Place	Air quality

A consequence was the way in which the 'success' of spatial interventions (under the umbrella term of regeneration) was measured and it did not align with the possibilities of moving towards those values. The conclusion drawn from this fact is that 'spatial justice' values as proposed could not be determined as successful or achieved without the necessary information being available, other than qualitatively. Therefore a further research conclusion is that improved access of what is and can be recorded in spatial interventions should be structured so that mining the increasing **amount and type of data available can support a values-based frame of monitoring and analysis**, within ethical limitations for protecting individuals' privacy.

The research conclusion from evidence is that measures of interventions will support improving justice outcomes when aligned with a set of values-based indicators– a straightforward benefit from operational improvements. Did the activities of regeneration intervention then produce a measure of 'spatial justice' over time? The answer is conditional on assessing outcomes using indicators that have equivalence with values sought for a liberal democracy. Firstly, a failure to demonstrate and deliver on a long-term vision appeared from limited evidence to be the result of executive actions of the local authority being focused on financial restraints in the shorter term rather than values of 'spatial justice' (financial pressure trumping ethical objectives at critical decision points). The shorter-term financial constraints have had more weight than longer-term social payoffs. However, evidence points to the prospect of financial payoffs in the mid- to long-term. These consequences were evidenced in CS1 where it appeared that the local authority executive were not focused on addressing maximisation of benefits of using interconnections between spatial justice components. When local authorities used inter-disciplinary or inter-departmental working as evidenced in practice evaluations, outcomes appear to be improved, viz., examples given in Chapters 1 and 2 and again in Chapter 7 (CS2). Thus cross-disciplinary activity for professionals would enhance their view on operating procedures, where practice currently uses for example only discrete aspects of a notion of 'spatial justice' as guidance for interventions. The research leads to the conclusion that by including an assessment of values (that are aims for 'justness') at stages of regeneration using the proposed levels of values translated from Liberalism, a more complete picture would be formed when programmes are being constructed and during their appraisal stages. The inclusion of such an assessment would aid improved delivery opportunities and 'economies of scale' or outcomes for multiple purposes. A better understanding would be provided in any systematic post-completion analysis to identify lessons learnt for future application. The focus of specialist professional attention is vital but the translation in cross-disciplinary working through an analysis of

values through indicators will contribute to a more complete understanding. Some of the participants interviewed believe these actions might be caused by direction given by some politicians wanting the problem shifted elsewhere (which would be cheaper, and possibly getting them re-elected by a growing number of type of electors – a sort of gerrymandering), and the local authority executive missing or ignoring the reality of the local community's (diverse) voice. Notting Hill Summer Project interim report recognized that 'the ordinary citizens of a twilight neighbourhood' (Figure 6.7) have the capacity to manage change for the better when they decide to act for themselves. In 1967, representative voices for (and of) the community stated that there was enough local leadership and local skill to mount a successful and sustained campaign. The 1967 survey was anticipated to be 'the first of many enduring pieces of community work by the people of Notting Hill' (ibid.), an option that remains open to the North Kensington community now.

Overall, the sense of place of those who have lived in the area for the larger part of forty years do not have a sense of the community having improved and that in some way they have lost out, with poorer shopping choices, less access to community resources and no improvement (and possibly declining) air quality. To go further and test the outcomes quantitatively would be possible if the original 1967 survey data could be retrieved. An alternative is to run a similar type of survey in another neighbourhood. To do so defining the scope of values entailed and equivalence in indicators would make the prospect of settling on effective indicators of value-equivalence more likely.

8.1.6   Concluding remarks on research

The final conclusion evidenced in the longitudinal studies is that the context of macroeconomics, social change, technological change and other unanticipated events has impacts countering the benefits or dis-benefits of the earlier interventions. On regional impacts from both studies, it can be concluded that at a city-region level there are benefits in the economies of scale in data collection, and unsurprisingly the driver of this collection benefits localities and neighbourhoods such as the North Kensington area in being able to evidence some of the changes over time. Comparators across the London region were useful, and in the case of housing tenure in Colville far more surprising. For the other study in Peterborough, less expected or anticipated was that the regional level would be so closely aligned with national level data, although the specifically examined locality within the city centre diverged from city, sub-region and what regional level information remains after the removal of regional observatories,

RDAs and RSSs. Nevertheless the evidence available still pointed to the usefulness of a connection between local areas across a region in speaking for diverse or disadvantaged groups as predicted by Young (2011). The non-statutory LEPs assist in this role (Paragraph 2.6.5). However, the East of England will lose any co-ordinated and statutory regional voice with the removal of regional representatives - Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) - as expected after March 2019. The research points towards the need for some form of statutory or accountable co-ordination so communities can benefit from a new wave of digital data in relation to the region's geography (see also Paragraphs 2.7.1 and 4.1.6).

Other results on regeneration in case study areas were different from those anticipated. For example a key indicator of 'affordable housing' (see Section 5.2.6) shows that measured as the amount of dwellings in social tenure, figures have risen significantly from 34% in 1976-78 (up from 5.4% identified in the 1967 survey) reaching 44.8% by 2010 in Colville Ward. However, perceptions in the qualitative research results are that the neighbourhood has changed, environmentally 'tidied up' with northern borders of the area benefiting less from improvements although with a significantly higher proportion in social housing tenure. Evidence shows many properties in Colville left vacant as a result of the commodification of housing with investors purchasing, renovating and not being based in the area. The conclusion is therefore that **an area's percentage of housing affordability as measured by tenure type is a necessary but not sufficient guide to whether spatial justice is being achieved** from regeneration.

When indicators for the proposed values entailed in the working definition of spatial justice for this research are combined, the picture is more nuanced. A picture of a less fair outcome (a less spatially just result) emerges when measures are compared with more strategic levels and if a range of social, economic and environmental spatial implications are considered. Research evidence therefore leads to a conclusion that **failure to deliver on the range of spatial justice values is the result of shorter-term objectives taking precedence** thereby encouraging for example speculative ownership (evidenced qualitatively by survey responses and interviews). The mid-term outcome of regeneration does not feed the day-to-day running of the neighbourhood as perceived by local respondents to the survey. The consequence of speculative ownership was seen by interviewees to be reducing diversity. This belief was confirmed in data from city-region level sources (GLA, 2016; ONS, 2017) and national figures from Social Trends (CSO, 2012). This growth in speculative ownership in the North Kensington appears to have a correlated consequence by impacting on some less well-off residents who are, or were, unable to continue to live in the redeveloped case study area, thereby

changing the community that would have made it financially valuable in the middle term. The research conclusion is therefore that the outcome over time is the creation of a gentrified community in the longer term which is likely to reduce commercial Return on Investment (ROI) in the very long term because of the attrition of the original community that had raised its popularity among (private) investors in the first place. From the perspective of property owners, therefore, the research is showing that poor spatial justice outcomes have detrimental impacts to their interests as well as to other stakeholders in the community.

Nevertheless the research evidence supports the conclusion that **measures of affordability of housing** when structured within a 360-degree view of place assist in managing long-term delivery outcomes that are beneficial to a broad range of stakeholders. This all-round perspective provides a framework to benefit a viable community and diverse stakeholders including investors in local resources (private and public) by supporting a durable community over the long term. Therefore it can be concluded that **having programme-managed targets that assist the ROI for investors** (whether local authority, housing associations or developers) in delivering community-supportive outcomes to comply with (deep) value objectives, is a **prospective benchmark for long-term success**. The research points toward how a positive vision can be managed through to its completion and success over the long term with a broader range of indicators, representing more than the negative measurement of the IMD or the narrow measurement of financial success, and including a wide set of viewpoints on the direction of interventions (see Paragraph 8.3.2 and Figure 8.6 below for a fuller discussion). Thus the research concludes that **undertaking a values-indicator assessment of spatial justice** at stages in regeneration programmes would enable a transparent counter-position for aiding strategic decision-taking when faced with finance trumping long-term values. The concluding conceptual approach from this research is an adaptive conceptual framework derived from the Stage 2 Conceptual Framework (Figure 3.12). The tangible indicators tested and the intangible translators in the context of a set of 'needs' (interpretations of Liberalism's values as 'justice as fairness') frame an analysis of regeneration outcomes (Figure 8.3). In this sense, the spatial justness of interventions becomes apparent through connecting measures across time, in space and by scale (see Paragraph 5.2.3 and Table 5.2) thereby providing the basis for an integrated analysis of 'spatial justice' based on translated values of Liberalism as summarized in Figure 8.4.
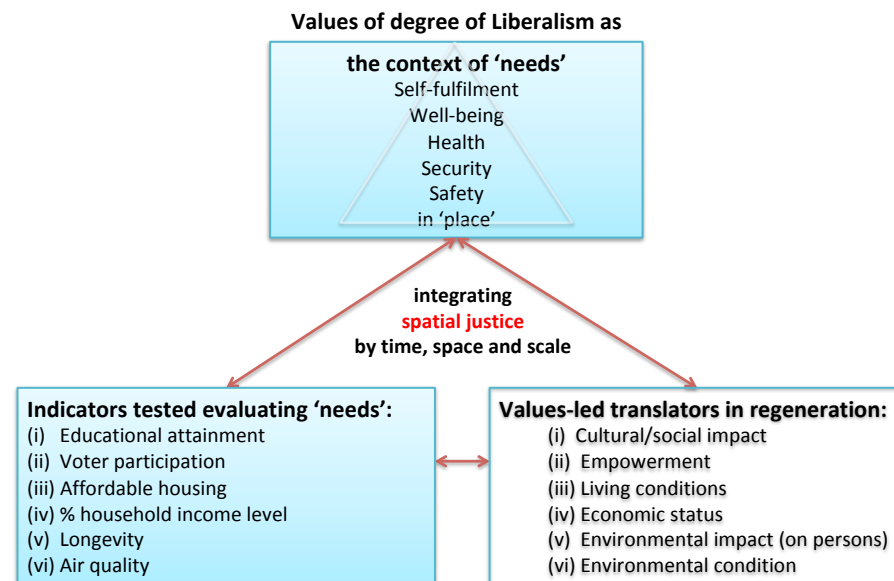
Figure 8.3 Concluding conceptual framework for 'spatial justice' in regeneration (generated from Figure 3.12)

The frame developed from

Figure 8.3 comprises a taxonomy of 'spatial justice' that integrates the terms of the degree of Liberalism for expressing a connected set of needs (**context of values**); descriptors of intangible values (**translators**); and tangible measures for needs met over time, space and scale (**indicators**) (Figure 8.4). The research therefore moves **towards a values-led framework of regeneration outcomes for assessing 'spatial justice'** (see Paragraph 8.3.3 and Figure 8.8 below).
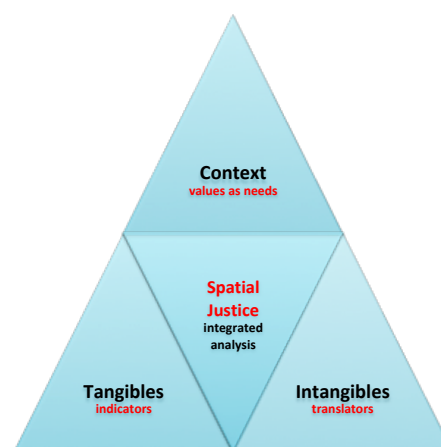
Figure 8.4 Concept frame for the analysis of spatial justice (from Figure 8.3)

8.2 REFLECTING ON THE RESEARCH APPROACH

8.2.1   Reflections on research methods

Overall, the research had limitations because of its dimensions. It had a series of components and each had complexities that challenged a single researcher. However by taking a Bayesian approach, for example when selecting values of Liberalism (Paragraph 3.6.1) or in designing the analytical framework (Paragraph 5.5.5), these limiting factors were ameliorated. Borrowing from the approach of Principle Component Analysis to decision-taking along the route of the research was also useful. Having flexibility through proposing probabilistic outcomes enable explorations; defining a route through each selection and choice contributed to systematizing information acquired emically; Mixed Methods enabled a balance between qualitative and quantitative researching that produced informative results through the triangulation of data; the ethnographical contribution brought light onto historic and archival material. The trans-, cross- and multi-disciplinary contributions made a contribution to viewing everyday consequences of regeneration and Planning through fresh eyes. These positive outcomes of the research also brought limitations with them. Focus and narrowing down into a useful and scholarly approach to the topic was challenging. Stepping from emic to etic in assessing the case study regeneration areas was personally challenging. A next study would have a good base to begin from, and as the research findings state, a more straightforward relationship between measurable outcomes and inherent values of a liberal democracy would be an improvement. The following specific issues are notable:

-   Key **criteria** were produced to set the research in motion. The criteria fitted the overlapping spheres of social, economic and spatial (or environmental, or physical) over time-periods. This categorization proved useful in the research. It provided boundaries into which single sets of measurable outcomes could be fitted. It was a 'construct' but it has been sufficiently flexible to enable test indicative indicators of 'spatial justice'. The categories have also provided sufficient flexibility to allow for changed measures to re-test in alternative scenarios.

-   **Methods** were robust in terms of accumulating data. A systematic approach to being able to access acquired data proved that project management systems such as Prince2 are transferable from professional practice to academic research.

-   Acquiring qualitative **data** in the research area required having a flexible approach to fit the identified research requirements: the original list of participants changed

from early choices. Nevertheless the criteria established at the start of the research were met.

- The time for transcribing interviews was longer by at least two hours per interview than the anticipated eight hours each. This increase would have added over three days of researcher time if all interviews had been progressed in that format.

- The **research structure** worked. The response to the local residents' survey was low but good quality responses were gained from the open-ended questions. Detailed local information on community issues including housing and perceptions of empowerment or otherwise was obtained from this route.

- The **conceptual framework** built on a working definition of the contested term 'spatial justice' which related the concept to the spatiality of social justice (Paragraph 2.3.2). Did research results confirm that if applied, this type of C/F might improve research into future regeneration outcomes? The working definition, as findings indicated in a postmodernist sense, began to emphasise that the view of spatial justice shaped what values were important - *whose* view is clearly important. The **values of spatial justice were assessed differently depending on the frame from which the processes, vision and programme were viewed** (see Figure 8.6 below). For example, communities in North Kensington continue to show their distrust and concerns about regeneration results, as reported in Paragraph 7.7.1; interview responses from politicians and policy-makers show different perspectives (Sections 6.4 and 6.6); and property owners hold yet a further separate view (e.g., Figure 6.50).

8.3 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

8.3.1   Theory and generalizability of results

The **research contributions** to the debate on what 'values', standards and ethics that the planning system might be able to deliver in a liberal democracy as conceptual values continue (at least at the time of writing) to be noted as being excluded from systematic assessments of delivering strategic planning projects. Its contribution is the test of invoking a metaphor that connects these distinct values. **The hierarchy of needs presents a connector that is simple**, relatively well-known and adaptable to this purpose. Accepting it may have limitations in terms of universality and the order of delivery on the hierarchy itself, this approach to articulating connectedness in indicators can nevertheless be worked as a network for scoping the intangibles of Soja's theoretical perspective on spatial justice, or it can be applied in a procedural sense in a

local government scenario to link values and indicators as an assessment tool. It is a concept embracing everyday understandings of how to live the good life. It is therefore a useful tool for communities. It is accessible to local people, to policy makers and to planning theorists. However, the taxonomy in a contested term such as 'spatial justice' is a complex area to attach to one sole phrase so the contribution is useful primarily as a step in developing a useful connection between tangibles and intangibles, practice and theory. The **working definition of 'spatial justice'** - the spatial expression of social justice - **was helpful in this research**, as most participants were familiar with a concept of 'social justice' in relation to UK cities and regions. Nevertheless, in the view of at least one participant the notion of 'social justice' is a passive concept imposed by a state system on a community whereas 'spatial justice' would be something that a community could demand and take for itself. For others who contributed to the research, 'justice' may have been better expressed as 'justness' in order to differentiate from the concept of 'criminal justice'. Overall, while there were limitations to the strength of data comparisons over time, the research structure provided a systematic approach to identifying the policy and political context of a regeneration programme (and thus its collectable data). Thus the research contributed to the possibility of making more effective longitudinal comparisons anticipating how to deliver improved 'spatial justice' outcomes from future spatial interventions.

8.3.2   Review of conceptual viewpoints on 'spatial justice'

The revised conceptual framework focuses further into the elements of regeneration, and expanded the notion of the role of citizenship in relation to the individual and the community to take account of findings from the case study. **The analytical framework developed during the research** to form two clear perspectives being applied: that of scale of governance, policy and theoretical contexts on the one side, and on the other the elements of regeneration being researched (social, economic and environmental). So two research objectives were achieved in revising these frameworks: **(i) providing professional insights** into approaches to regeneration and **(ii) supporting new understandings** of implications for theory. Both relate to evaluating 'spatial justice' in outcomes from policy interventions. The route to analysis is from theories of Liberalism and 'spatial justice' through empirical and current evaluative practices, to values and criteria for success translated into test indicators, with research into those measurables before linking them back to the theoretical base. Some theorists have pointed out that there is an issue regarding the acceptance of regeneration

outcomes like gentrification as 'inevitable' and that it is because those who benefit from such outcomes have an epistemological standpoint that will justify that system. However, **the interests and values of stakeholders might find new conceptualizations of an alternative reality**, **in relation to 'spatial justice'** would provide a strong counter argument to the gentrification scenario. What form might this alternative articulation of space take?

The three core elements of the initial definition of 'spatial justice', that of Politics, Policy and Practice, provide the translation mechanism for Theory to Reality (as Figure 1.1). The revised definition includes the ideology of Liberalism, enacted through governance and translated by using a metaphor for 'values'. In practice, indicators of policy interventions would therefore be available to translate these values as evidence when applied to outcomes experienced (Figure 8.5). The key adjustments from this research
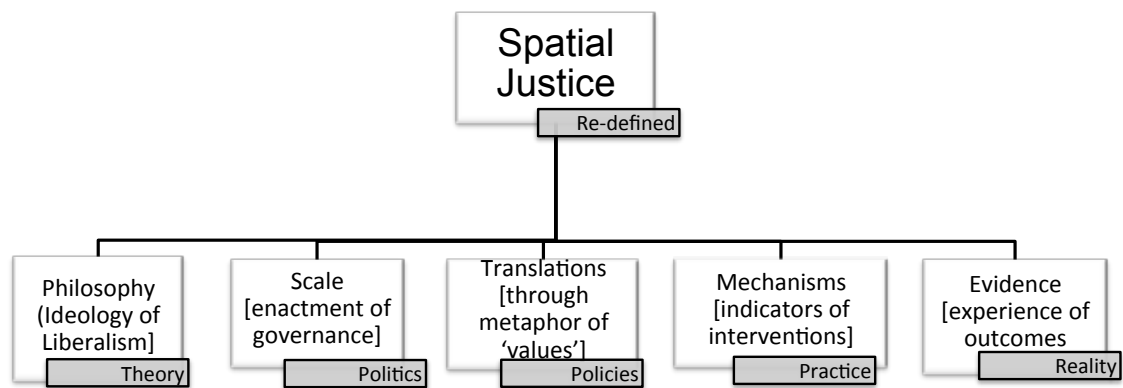
Figure 8.5 Redefining 'spatial justice' for regeneration (adjusted from Figure 1.1)

to proposed components of defining spatial justice along the spectrum of regeneration delivery are (i) for **Politics** a connected set of values contributes a useful frame for translating governance into practice, (ii) for **Policies** mechanisms for spatial interventions should be defined in a frame of indicators that can read through to that set of connected values, (iii) put in place through **Practice**, and (iv) in **Reality** that the experience of regeneration outcomes by stakeholders should be included as evidence of whether spatial justice is being sought and is eventually achieved (as Paragraph 2.4.2). The research shows that by applying a concept of separate epistemological standpoints for different stakeholders, distinct and separate perspectives on the above four components of a definition of spatial justice will exist: these overlapping points of view provide a theoretical core definition of 'spatial justice' (illustrated in Figure 8.6).
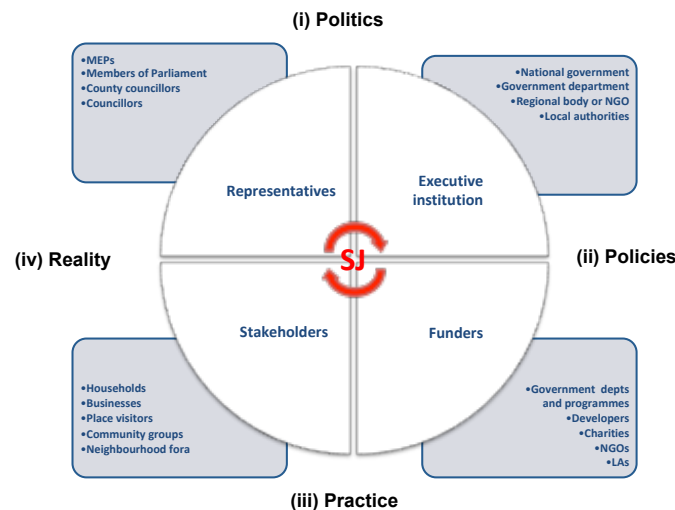
Figure 8.6 Possible viewpoints on a core definition of 'spatial justice' (SJ) in regeneration

Further research into the **Theory of evaluation** in relation to **Consequences** and their measures will contribute to how spatial justice can be assessed, with the commonalities between viewpoints giving increased focus on the existential core of spatial justice. A discourse into the degrees of Liberalism (and thus philosophical values entailed) sought in the UK will deepen understandings of spatial justice.

8.3.3   Contribution to professional practice

Six strands of professional action are proposed as derivative from the initial theoretical stance, in order to develop an articulation of the underlying philosophical values in practical terms. Strands are developed from the concept of the **values being measured**: those of *place, safety, security, health, well-being and self-fulfilment*. Each has a prospect of valid, testable content and like the original hierarchy from Maslow, the each 'need' is necessary although the order in which it is achieved has less relevance. (see Paragraph 2.6.3). With standards that can be measured, professional practice is better placed to manage a systematic preparation, operation and delivery of a regeneration programme while concurrently entailing the objective of improved 'justice' outcomes. The ethical values are proposed as connections in the operation of regeneration interventions and components developed from the point of view of regeneration delivery. So in this case, the elements of **the evaluative frame** are: *people and context; change proposed and tools for change; requirements for practice; and*

operational management (Table 8.2)*.* The **'component layers'** (developed from the 'fishbone' representation in Figure 7.12) will aid professional practice to improve 'spatial justice outcomes' in regeneration, assist stakeholders to make measured assessments, and provide the groundwork for testing 'spatial justice' indicators for other interventions. These layers are a starting point for further research into whether **mapping out the spatial positioning of values-led data** derived from indicators would be a useful contribution. This type of data, collected, mapped and summarized, would provide a **'spatial justice coefficient'**, and for example add value to the concept frame contained in the ATLAS mapping system for housing development schemes (see Paragraph 5.1.3), or bring together spatially-based information on factors influencing health

Table 8.2 Activating an evaluative approach in professional practice for improving 'justice outcomes' from regeneration (generated from Figure 7.12)

Background (*Politics*)	Approach (*Policy*)	Action (*Practice*)
People Existing community Politicians Funders including developers and/or public sector sources	**Requirements** Local community engagement Political will Business or investment opportunity	**Change proposed** Activists Policies activated New/refurbished (re)developments
Context Current government ideology Economic climate National policy framework	**Operational management** Private sector/public section/hybrid Local authority regeneration team Manifesto commitment	**Tools for change** Finance available Regeneration policies Planning legislation *(Mapping)*

outcomes as a spatial justice objective. The interrelation of conceptual strands of the components of spatial justice (in regeneration) gives operational and managerial prospects for mainstreaming these values into implementing regeneration. Further, the approach would provide a values-led process by **articulating lessons to be learnt at a post-completion stage** of regeneration. Therefore, with measurable values mainstreamed systematically, their integration would contribute strategically to the delivery of improved justice outcomes on two counts: preparing for improved outcomes from future undertakings, and ensuring that lessons can be learnt from assessing completed programmes. As practice evidenced in the North Kensington case study, the reliance on professional judgment was critical, leading to concerns about whether ethical values were being articulated in any measurable form. A consequence of using professional judgement as a standard, leads on to the need to **ensure adequate training for those relying on that form of assessment** in strategic spatial decision-making. A corollary is the consequent need to apply procedures in the appointment of

professionals that contain awareness of the ethical perspective of those appointed through that system. The perceptions by appointers of what is an ethical and values-based stance on spatial justice should be sought, should be transparent and include whether they themselves are adequately trained in perceiving what their own and others' stance is. However, the relationship between local politicians, the balance of power between local and borough-wide politicians and the conceptual stand of politicians in this research was reported as having overruled professional advice. For example in the vision stages of the North Kensington programme, this conflict indicates the importance of **transparency in how judgment is exercised and by whom** in the stages of regeneration interventions: context, scale, enactment and indicators (Figure 6.55) in terms of accountability and in terms of achieving spatially ethical outcomes. The systematic examination of a series of indicators to support evaluating outcomes as deep values showed **sources of data were incomplete** for comparative studies or for providing the base for future assessment of spatial justice. This study concludes that there should be improved data provision to enable such support in a context linked to measures of deep values of spatial justice. Despite the complexity of this task and the continuing contestation of the defining characteristics of 'spatial justice', the prospect of measuring its extent in regeneration could be advanced with this **better data selection, collection and management**. This improvement would to lead to a context for a more systematic and effective analysis of spatial interventions through 'values-led' indicators (Figure 8.7). Recommendations from the research results are interpreted as the ability to be **explicit about the expectation of 'values' to be delivered**, that is the ethical outcomes expected from spatial interventions in terms of social justice in place. Doing so at the visioning and during the delivery of a programme is likely to aid programme
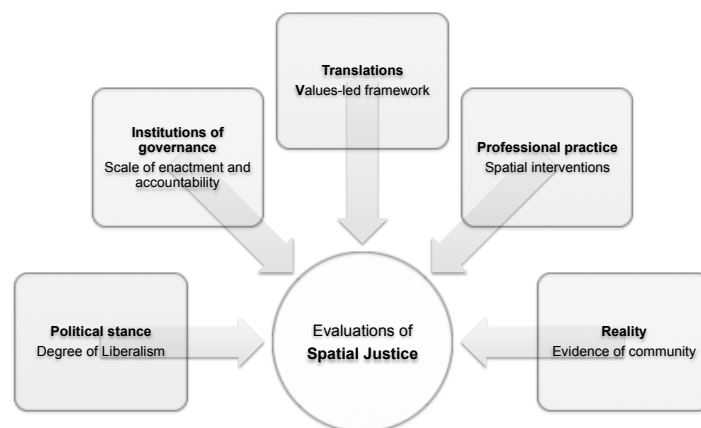
Figure 8.7 Context of evaluating spatial justice (developed from Figure 3.7)

management in achieving long-term outcomes in relation to spatially just results. What is not confirmed by the research is to what degree are the values of a liberal democracy the agreed perspective for regeneration – the standpoint of each segment of the agents engaged in the process, from legislative designers and executive instigations to agents, funders and beneficiaries. As custodians of the process for achieving defined values, the system of strategic planning would benefit from this increased explicitness. By doing so, the expression of ethical values sought could help provide new clarity, for example in **guiding spatial interventions** into a more digitized culture **with a values-led understanding of spatial consequences from technological changes**. A systematic and effective approach for assessing spatial interventions through 'value-based' indicators – **Values-led Impact Analysis (VIA)** – could therefore relate indicators to programmes of spatial change through the filter of Maslow's hierarchy of needs as a quality standard for the degree of spatial justice being sought or achieved. By defining a regeneration programme's aspirations, where they are missing or reached, or what has or should be done to make 'place' meet Liberalism's 'justice as fairness', a quality standard for spatial justice could be made tangible by assessing values through indicators. At a different stage, objectives viewed through **this values-led lens would empower communities** in achieving improved outcomes from investments in their area and support options for local autonomy with 'place-led' decisions having accountable strategic institutions to mediate at the city-region and regional level. In post-completion scenarios, this '**kite-mark'** [1] **for the standard of justice outcomes** in spatial interventions would link the tangible with the intangibles, and would be useful when **investigating regeneration** outcomes for 'lessons learnt' (Figure 8.8).
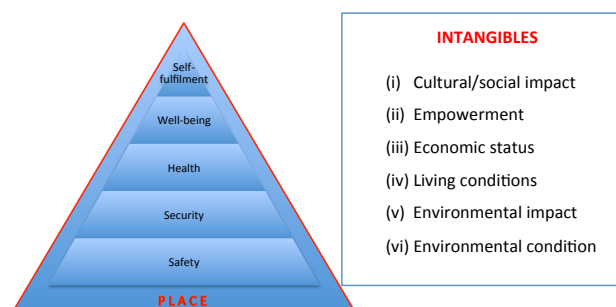
Figure 8.8 Frame for evaluating spatial justice: a 'kite-mark' of justice outcomes

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[1] The British Standards Institution (BSI) Kitemark[TM] is a 'trusted symbol for safe, reliable products and services…originally only used in the UK…now recognized throughout the world as a mark of quality …[proving] products meet the optimum standards for quality and reliability' (BSI website https://www.bsigroup.com/en-GB/kitemark/product-testing/).

The precedent is the improved outcomes with 'equalities' statements, and from environmental impact assessments, first in local authorities and now widely used in private and other sectors. This research points to a reasoned approach to assessing values embedded in spatial interventions, thereby **contributing to professional knowledge and improved practice in Planning**.

8.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS AND PRACTICE RECOMMENDATIONS

The research originated from seeking to find if the planned vision for regenerating an area took into account 'spatial justice'; and whether the outcomes achieved through regeneration programmes aligned with spatial justice values. It also aimed to find out if 'spatially just' outcomes might be contingent on the level of governance available, particularly the city-region or regional levels. By exploring the spatial interventions in one specific case (North Kensington) and over several decades, and by cross-referencing the governance input through another type of area in the regional city of Peterborough, limited conclusions could be drawn. The research substantiates the conclusions that:

- **spatial justice has a theoretical basis** located in a philosophical approach to justice in a liberal democracy which is relevant to communities, to planners and related professions
- there are **identifiable criteria that bridge the theory-practice gap** to enable a systematic assessment of outcomes of regeneration in terms of 'values', and
- having the means to systematically test, compare and present research findings on 'values' in a liberal democracy in terms of spatial outcomes **can contribute to the practice of regeneration** as a counter-balance to finance-led pressures.

Further research would progress the practice outcomes if focused on:

- whether other components of **strategic spatial planning would benefit from a values-led approach**, for instance as part of decision-making on (large-scale) infrastructure locations, delivery and evaluation; and
- if mapping out indicators linked to the set of needs might lead to a 'coefficient of spatial justice'.

Literature establishes that a continuing theoretical exploration and evaluative approach for UK regeneration outcomes is necessary, is not (widely) practised, and would support improving spatial justice outcomes in the UK planning system. Research confirmed framing the values that such indicators would need to embody would contribute to the discipline of the Planning profession. By arriving at this value-based frame, it is possible

to move toward the ethical stance of spatial justice implied by Planning's role in a liberal democracy. Having explored what ethical values Planning aims to mediate, the case research shows that regeneration as a tool for intervention can deliver, or contribute to delivering, spatially on each of the indicators. In the examined cases, some indicators improved over time (percentage of affordable housing tenure) while others required a wider governance remit to be effective (air quality for example which could be improved for a larger area). The research evidences a need for connectedness between indicators. The research substantiates that intangibles connected in a frame as activated in Table 8.2 and illustrated in Figure 8.8 can contribute a new clarity to tangible criteria for assessing the justness of outcomes of spatial interventions. Further research is recommended in several aspects within the frame (Table 8.3), for example some factors contributing to the research-defined spatial justice were not being consistently recorded,

Table 8.3 Key recommendations for further research and professional practice

Type	Recommendation	Sector responsible	Thesis reference
Research	- Continue **theoretical explorations of theory of 'spatial justice'** and its relation to strategic spatial planning and regeneration - Examine further the consequentialist approach on how to measure magnitude of, for example, infrastructure delivery success criteria	Theorists; philosophers	Figure 8.5 and Figure 8.8
Research	- **Develop theory-base of evaluative practice**, to further explore procedural options, such as **Values-led Impact Analysis** (VIA). - Develop Maslow's hierarchy into a set of needs related to spatiality	Planning theorists; programme management researchers	Table 8.2 and Figure 8.3
Research practice outcomes	- **Test viability of VIA** by using to evaluate regeneration programme documents and (large-scale) outline planning applications, **moving towards a 'kite-mark' for quality standards of ethical spatiality**. - Research the possible development of a **spatial justice coefficient as a standards measure**	Policy-makers; local authorities; social housing developers; professional body/university	Figure 8.3 and Figure 8.8
Test practice	- Use VIA for scrutinising outcomes in completed regeneration or redeveloped areas, for example in North Kensington. - Include Values-led Impact Analysis (**VIA**) in local authority committee reports as a check for targets to be achieved for spatial programmes and projects	Community, local authorities and other stakeholders	Table 8.2, Figure 8.3 and Figure 8.8
Practice review	- Review current **professional training to extend ethics component** to include a values-led assessment of strategic spatial planning issues in relation to 'spatial justice'	Professional bodies, e.g., RTPI, RICS, LGA	Paragraph 8.3.3
Practice review	- Widen scope of **data-recording to include** *connected* indicators of 'spatial justice'	Data commissioners and managers	Table 8.1 for example

either geographically or across time. This disparity of diachronic and synchronic records leaves room for improved systems of data recording for achieving more spatially just results from regeneration interventions. The integration of values as needs through this frame would sum up 'spatial justice' in objectives at a vision stage, progress during delivery, and in outcomes at post-completion points. 'Lessons learned' along the path of regeneration delivery assessed within this frame would to help steer a path between vision and completion. The recommendation for using connected indicators of spatially just outcomes would enhance professional and governance approaches to regeneration in the UK Planning system. A recommendation for professional practice is therefore to propose a series of indicators implied by the ethics of spatial justice to better map these values including a measure of governance and thus empowerment. Figure 8.8 and Table 8.2 set the outline for this recommendation. The relevance of empirical results of this research is the *concept* of 'spatial justice' measures moving towards a viable analytical tool of evaluation that articulates reasoning behind characteristics of 'good' or 'bad' outcomes as measured in regeneration practice. Its expansion could be envisaged beyond the phenomena examined. The extent of the evaluative relevance could be used to proceed beyond that of the strategic spatial planning issue of regeneration. However, the scope was necessarily focused here on a single in-depth urban study with a regional city comparator.   Nevertheless, the relevance and applicability of the analytical tools tested in the research are high, given the challenges of communities left to argue their own case against the competing pressures from developers, investors and providers of social housing. For communities, the proportion of access to housing of quality requires a measured response to articulate that housing need and availability.

The research substantiates recommendations (Figures 8.3, 8.8 and Table 8.3) that using an integrated analysis of underlying values sought and achieved when acting spatially is likely to benefit stakeholders. This type of analysis would provide more than a consequentialist approach of accounting simply for needs being identified and met. Substantive theory could be mined from further research into this ethical approach to public policy evaluation. The research therefore makes a contribution to identifying that the consequences of spatial interventions being better or worse require a connected set of measures of policy effect. The concluding concept of a **Values-led Impact Analysis** (VIA) implemented through the assessment of connected indicators of quality standards is positioned to present **a rational way of measuring the ethical value of results from regeneration policies**.

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APPENDIX 1 SUMMMARY OF RESEARCH FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

Spatial Justice: measuring justice outcomes in regeneration programmes

Research summary for which Ethical Approval is sought

The research into 'spatial justice' measures emerged from a gap in professional practice identified over three decades of close involvement with regeneration and strategic planning in the UK, in London and the south and east of England.

The role of citizenship in a philosophy of liberal democracy is part of the foundation for this search into whether spatial justice in regeneration or regional spatial strategies can be better delivered. There are gaps in longitudinal research into regeneration, and some practitioners and academics believe that this type of research will help to clarify the types of regeneration for improved delivery of (social justice) outcomes.

The research framework provides a narrative of a specific area in North Kensington where a 'General Improvement Area' was designated in 1976. Disparities in wealth, health and access to facilities remain, as identified in the Atlas of the Indices of Deprivation (ONS, 2010).

The context for the _qualitative_ research is a three stage quantitative collection of data and its analysis.

1. The first stage of desk research begins when a redevelopment programme was envisaged in **1976-78.** Figures are also compiled at the completion of redevelopment, and two years after abolition of city-region governance (GLC) in **1988;** after restoration of city-region governance in **1998;** and post-completion **2012**.

2. The second stage is the _quantitative_ research involves:
   A. disaggregating the regeneration outcomes into spatially-related measures: health indicators, housing tenure type, educational attainment, and levels of voter participation.
   B. articulating and modelling how the components interconnect by
   C. assessing and scoping the components against time and policies in the area; and
   D. expressing findings in several ways including mapping of data.

3. The third _quantitative_ research stage is to re-test these data in a second case study, of Gladstone in the Peterborough City Centre ward. This study varies the geographic area while maintaining time-scales linked to scale of governance.

The _qualitative_ research element is a series of interviews with stakeholders to obtain professional opinions on the outcomes of the data analysis as above.

The stakeholders are people engaged in the professional practice of regeneration. Some proposed participants are in organizations that were engaged in providing improvements at the commencement of the regeneration programmes, and are in existence now; others worked in now-defunct organizations (GLC, EEDA) or replacement organizations (GLA, Cambs LEP). Professional bodies such are RTPI and TCPA are also considered potential 'stakeholders'.

APPENDIX 2   PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Section A: Case study of regeneration outcomes in London

Research project: Spatial Justice: measuring justice outcomes in regeneration

1.   **Brief summary of research.**

The case study area is researching the outcomes of regeneration at the start, completion and post-completion of spatial interventions, in order to make an analysis of whether 'spatial justice' is achieved over time, and whether the changing levels of governance contribute to improved outcomes.

2.   **Purpose of the study**

The research is to fulfil the requirements of a Professional Doctorate at Anglia Ruskin University.

3.   **Names of Supervisory Team:** *Dr Dellé Odeleye; Dr Ian Frame, FST Engineering and Built Environment Department, Anglia Ruskin University Chelmsford Campus*

4.   **Why have I been asked to participate?**

People being approached because they are or have been stakeholders with an interest or involvement in the regeneration process related to this case study area.

5.   **How many people will be asked to participate?**

No more than 20 people will be asked to participate.

6.   **What are the likely benefits of taking part?**

It is unlikely that there will be any direct benefits to participants. The study may yield some useful information in terms of a long-term assessment of regeneration outcomes and a development of theory about why those outcomes have been achieved.

7.   **Can I refuse to take part?**

You can refuse to take part without giving a reason. Under no circumstances should participants feel coerced into taking part.

8.   **Has the study got ethical approval?**

Permission from Anglia Ruskin University's Ethics Committee was obtained for this research. This constitutes general permission to approach you and other participants. Each person is free to choose whether they would like to take part in the research.

9.   **Source of funding for the research, if applicable.**

The research is funded by the researcher, as part of her Professional Doctorate.

10.   **What will happen to the results of the study?**

The results of the study will be written up as a thesis. It is likely to be published in journals and presented at conferences.

11.   **Contact for further information**

e: XXX   m: ▆▆▆▆▆▆

Section B: Your Participation in the Research Project

1. **What will I be asked to do?**

   As part of the case study, archival data has been collected and analysed about outcomes of regeneration in the selected area. Participants are being asked to agree to being interviewed by the researcher about their professional opinion and recollections on the changing area. Your part in the research would involve a one hour-long interview. The face-to-face interview would be conducted at your office or other agreed venue or online, that is, 'virtually'. The interview will entail a discussion on your recollection or knowledge of an involvement with the regeneration process in relation to the case study area. An interview questionnaire will be provided before the agreed meeting date. A follow-up telephone call may also be required to confirm or clarify your responses. A transcript or notes of the interview will be available on request (see 9 below) and a summary of the outcome of the research will be emailed to you following publication of the research as a thesis.

2. **Will my participation in the study be kept confidential?**

   Your contribution will remain confidential. Unless you are specifically contacted to obtain further permission to quote your words directly, all material will be treated anonymously, and will be presented as non-attributable.

   Your data will be available to the supervisors of this research in an anonymized format. No personal data or sensitive personal data will be included in dissemination.

   The research results will be written up in anonymized format with every attempt being made to ensure anonymity.

3. Interviews may be recorded; and notes will be taken. Transcripts and records will be kept securely and stored in an anonymized format, with personal data separate.

4. **Are there any possible disadvantages or risks to taking part?**

   There is a low possibility that you may be identified by colleagues or peers if not by the general public. Agreement to participate in the study does not affect your legal rights.

5. **Whether I can withdraw at any time, and how**.

   You can decide to withdraw from the study at any time and without giving a reason. This can be done by email or telephone; You have the option to withdraw from the study and have your data removed or to withdraw, but give permission for the use of any anonymized data already collected up to that point. Withdrawal of your data would be possible up to two weeks prior to publication of research findings in the doctoral thesis.

   You do not have to answer any questionnaire or interview questions you do not wish to.

6. **Whether there are any special precautions you must take before, during or after taking part in the study.**

7. In the unlikely event of any information revealed being of an illegal or unprofessional nature, the researcher is required to disclose that information back to her supervisory team.

8. **What will happen to any information that is collected from you?**

   Information and data collected will be securely held for three years after the date of the thesis publication. It will be safely discarded through the University's resources in the Department of Engineering and Built Environment. Your Participant Consent Form will be held separately from your interview response. A code number and any identifying information will be separated from the data at the earliest opportunity.

9. You will have an opportunity to be shown a copy of the transcript, on request by email to the researcher between one month and five months after the interview.

10. A summary of research findings will be emailed to you at the completion of the research when it is published as a thesis.

11. **Contact details for complaints.**
   If you have a complaint about the study, please contact the researcher or Supervisor
   Team in the first instance: XXX
   You can also access Anglia Ruskin University's complaints procedure:
   Email address: XXX
   Postal address: XXX

12. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research project.

PARTICIPANTS ARE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET TO KEEP,
TOGETHER WITH A COPY OF THE CONSENT FORM.

APPENDIX 3   PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

….   **… 2016 /…**

participant's name   **date/time**

CASE STUDY OF NORTH KENSINGTON

Researching 'spatial justice' in regeneration

Researcher: Sarah Bissett Scott

Anglia Ruskin University FST Engineering and Built Environment Chelmsford

Campus e: XXX ;   m:

Supervisor: Dr Dellé Odeleye; e: XXX

1.   I agree to take part in the above research. I have read the PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET/Spatial Justice/V1 for the study. I understand what my role will be in this research, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

2.   I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time, without giving a reason.

3.   I am free to ask any questions at any time before and during the study.

4   I understand what will happen to the data collected from me for the research.

5.   I have been provided with a copy of this form and the Participant Information Sheet.

6.   I understand that any quotes from me will be attributed anonymously in the dissemination of the research.

7.   I understand that the interview may be recorded.

Data Protection: I agree to the University[9] processing personal data which I have supplied. I agree to the processing of such data for any purposes connected with the Research Project as outlined to me[10]

Name of participant (print)……………………………………………………………

Signed……………..…………………………….. Date…………………

PARTICIPANTS ARE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS FORM[11] TO KEEP

I WISH TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY.

If you wish to withdraw from the research, please speak to the researcher or email them at (sarah.scott@student.anglia.ac.uk) stating the title of the research.

You do not have to give a reason for why you would like to withdraw. Please let the researcher know whether you are/are not happy for them to use any data from you collected to date in the write up and dissemination of the research

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[9] "The University" includes Anglia Ruskin University and its Associate Colleges.

[10] PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM/Spatial Justice/January 2016/V1
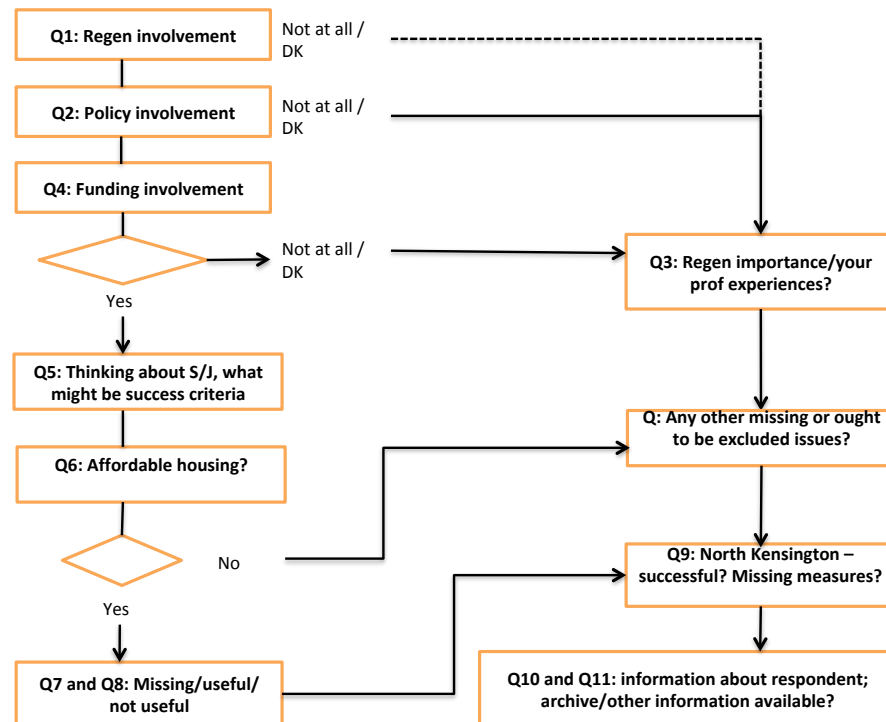
Source: adapted from Baker, 2008: p42

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE ON MEASURES OF 'SPATIAL JUSTICE' IN REGENERATION OUTCOMES

Introduction:

*For the purpose of this discussion, 'spatial justice' is taken to mean the 'spatial expression of social justice'. These questions are about finding out about **your professional opinion**, and will be used in a non-attributable format. We are interested in regeneration outcomes, the best 'success criteria' for evaluating these outcomes, and any criteria that aren't yet being compiled.*

Q1   Would you outline you involvement in Regeneration at the moment?
[if NONE go to Q4]

Q2   Are you involved in policy-making/policy implementation/other in regeneration?
[if NO go to Q4]

Q3a   Are you aware of regeneration and redevelopment in the North Kensington area (Peterborough)?
[if YES continue; if NO go to Q4]

Q3b   What is your view of North Kensington's (Peterborough's) redevelopment/regeneration outcomes?
Has it been successful? If so, on what terms?
Are there missing measures? For example local ICT infrastructure?
GO TO Q5

Q4a   What is the importance of regeneration to your professional practice?
Q4b   How would you best measure these important features of regeneration?
Q4c   With the following indicators and thinking about 'spatial justice', where 1 is Least Important and 5 is Most Important, what weight would you give to **'Success Criteria' indicator [1 to 5 DK]**
    –   % change in affordable housing, from start of programme
    –   Measures of improved health (such as predicted longevity)
    –   Educational attainment at 16-18 yo as represented by 5 GCSEs A*-C

–　Air quality measurement
–　Voter registration/participation

Q4d　What other measures might be used to assess success in terms of 'spatial justice'? For example, would providing state-of-the-art digital infrastructure be beneficial?
GO TO Q7

Q5a　Are you involved with funding?
[if YES continue; if NO, GO TO Q6a]

What funds do you manage/apply for, to use for regeneration in North Kensington (Peterborough)?

Q5b　How are these funds monitored/evaluated; how often?

Funding source/level (e.g., national/city-region) by
–　Problem identified;
–　Funding confirmed;
–　Start of programme;
–　Programme completion;
–　Post- completion;
–　10 yr+ evaluation

Q5c　What is your view on the time points when delivery should be monitored/evaluated?

Q6a　Thinking about 'spatial justice', how important are each of the indicators in measuring 'success criteria' of regeneration outcomes, **[1 = most important; 5 = least important; DK] for 'Success Criteria' indicator:**
–　Change in % of affordable housing in an area
–　Measures of improved health (such as predicted longevity)
–　Educational attainment, as represented by 5 GCSEs A*-C achieved at 16-18 yo
–　Air quality measurement
–　Voter registration/participation
–　Other measures

Q6b　In terms of housing, is 'affordability' the most important factor?　　**Y/N**
Why (not)?

Q7　What other measures might be used to assess the success of a regeneration programme? For example, about community capacity or the resources provided by the public/private/3rd sectors?

Q8　Are there any measures you think that might be counter-productive to assess the success of a regeneration programme?

Q9　How long have you worked with this organization?
And how long have you been working in regeneration?
Is your background in planning? If so, are you MRTPI?

Q10　Is there any other information or data that you can suggest should be examined
–　on this topic　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**Y/N**
–　on North Kensington (Peterborough) in particular　　　　　　**Y/N**
–　for the city region　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**Y/N**
–　Additional sources?
–　Other people/groups to contact.

Thank you for participating in this study into 'Measures of spatial justice in regeneration'. If you have any questions later on, please contact me directly at e: XXX or m:　　　　　　　．

Sarah Bissett Scott, Anglia Ruskin University

APPENDIX 5 CASE STUDY BACKGROUND

Table 1: Choosing study areas: factors which determined selection of case study area

Place	Type	Region	Local regeneration type	Longitudinal information	Access to Evaluations available
Case Study No.1: choosing an area located in the city-region of London					
North Kensington/ Notting Hill	Neighbourhood in London borough	London city-region: LCC, GLC, GLA	In lowest 10% deprivation (old measures); highest differences Area redevelopment; new region replacement	Good information from 30 years past; possible to access on-going changes	NHHT and SJB project evaluations available; some information from GLC and transition to GLA
Olympic village	Area in London borough	London city-region: GLA	High levels of deprivation being 'cleared' with new programme	Relatively short term change; predictions for future but in middle of regeneration project	Possible access to information, but no special relationship
Docklands	Urban development corporation and enterprise zone in place	London city-region: GLC, GLA	Initially high levels of deprivation; injection of central government funds and relaxation of planning regulations	Continuing development; more business than neighbourhood development; significant infrastructure input	Well documented from start; some overlap with SJB project work at GLC
Case Study No.2: choosing an area located in the region of East of England					
Stevenage	District	EoE	Two wards were in lowest 10% deprivation; new development rejected because of RSS revocation; New Town	SEEDS documents (1986-2001); Vision for regeneration programmes; long-term relational information	RISE evaluation of programme; No regional evaluation – possibility of attaching to Cambridgeshire research project into RSS revocation
Luton	Unitary	EoE	Several wards in lowest 10%; accessed SRB, NDC, several European f and other funds	Luton vision statements; regeneration project management documents	RISE evaluations (2003-06); DCLG evaluations; SJB evaluations from work at Luton (1992-2001)
Peterborough	Unitary	EoE	Several wards in lowest 10% IMD; access SRB, European funds; a regional centre for incoming migrants	Vision statements and evaluations; some SEEDS documents	RISE evaluations; possible to interview previous regional observatory statistician
Cambridgeshire	County	EoE	Eco-towns; town extensions; growth area	Well-documented locally; subject of RTPI study; strong sub-regional approach through LEP	Regional evaluation started 2013

EoE	East of England region (launched in 1999 and revoked in 2010)	**RDA** Regional Development Agency, English regional agencies (1999 – 2010)
IMD	Index of Multiple Deprivation replacing Deprivation Indices	**RISE** regeneration consultancy (2001 – current)
DCLG	Department of Communities and Local Government	**RSSs** Regional Spatial Strategies (2000 to a contested revocation in 2010)
GLA	Greater London Assembly (1996 – current)	**RTPI** Royal Town Planning Institute
GLC	Greater London Council (1970 –1986)	**SEEDS** South East Economic Development Strategy, an association of local
LCC	London County Council (to 1970)	authorities in the Greater South-east of England (1986 – 2002)
LEP	Local Enterprise Board (current)	**SJB** researcher's initials
NHHT	Notting Hill Housing Trust, now Notting Hill Housing	**SRB** Single Regeneration Budget (1994 – 2001/2006)

Table 2: Availability of resources: research, professional experience and relevant information

Place	Type	Region	Start	Completion	Post-completion	Research on RSSs
Stevenage	District	EoE	✔ SEEDS	✔ RISE	✔ RISE	
Luton	Unitary	EoE	✔ SEEDS	✔ SEEDS, RISE	✖	
Peterborough	Unitary	EoE	✔ SEEDS, RISE	✔ RISE	✔	University study underway
Cambridgeshire	County	EoE	✔	✔ RISE	✖	University study underway
Northamptonshire	County	EMDA	✔ RISE	✔ RISE	✖	✖
Leicester City	Unitary	EMDA	✔ RISE	✔ RISE	✖	✖
Southampton	Unitary	SEEDA	✔ SEEDS	✖	✖	✖
Hampshire	County	SEEDA	✔ SEEDS	✖	✖	✖
Bristol	Unitary	SWEEDA	✖	✔ RISE		University study
Gloucestershire	County	SWEEDA	✖	✖	✖	University study
North Kensington/ Notting Hill	Neighbourhood in London Borough	London city-region: GLA (previously GLC)	✔	✔ GLC	✔	✔
Olympic village	Area in London Borough	London city-region: GLA	✖	✖	✖	✔
Docklands	Area in London Borough	London city-region: GLA (previously GLC)	✔GLC	✖	✖	✔

✔ = researcher has professional experience and 'insider-researcher' knowledge;
✖ = researcher does not have personal experience/knowledge of, or further research is required
GLA = Greater London Assembly (1996 – current); GLC = Greater London Council (1970 –1986) (the democratic institutions for city-region governance)
RISE = Regeneration in the South and East (2001 – current), consultancy delivering regeneration projects and evaluations, directed by researcher (2001 – current)
RSSs = Regional Spatial Strategies (1999 – 2010), produced when regional development agencies were functioning in the regions of England
SEEDS = South-east Economic Development Strategy (1986-2001), an association of local authorities delivering research reports managed by researcher from 1986 to 19

APPENDIX 6 LIST OF DOCUMENTS ANALYSED FOR CS1 AND CS2

File Name	Document name	Spatial Justice relationship	Organisation	Year
D-1	Notting Hill Housing Survey	Problem setting	Notting Hill Housing Service (NHHS)	1967
D-2	Colville-Tavistock Study	Problem setting	Clinch Report, RBKC	1972
D-3	'Social Trends' Nos. 1- 9	Quantitative analysis	Central Statistical Office (CSO)	1970-79
D-4	Gilding the Ghetto	Policy analysis	National CDP	1977
D-5	A Decade of New Housing in Notting Hill	Quantitative analysis	Palmer, NHHT	1980
D-6	Regenerating Peterborough	Vision and strategy	Peterborough Regeneration Partnership	2002
D-7	Regional Housing Strategy for EoE 2005-10	Regional housing policy	EERA	2005
D-8	Land Use Futures	Strategy and vision	GO for Science, Foresight	2010
D-9	Regional Development Agencies and local regeneration	Impact of regional governance on local regeneration practice	Wong, Manchester University for JFR	2000
D-10	Draft Regional Planning Guidance for the South East - RPG9	Regional framework for spatial development	Government Office (GO) for the South East; GO for EoE	2000
D-11	The London Plan	City-region policy and vision	GLC	1984
D-12	SureStart Gladstone	Vision for community	Gladstone Connect	2000
D-13	Gladstone District Community Association (GLADCA) 30th Annual General Meeting 2002	Peterborough vision document	Gladstone SureStart	2002
D-14	A Regional Development Organisation for Eastern Region	Regional policy	SEEDS	1995
D-15	SureStart Gladstone	Peterborough vision document	Gladstone SureStart	2001
D-16	Evaluation of SRB in Peterborough	Quantitative analysis	Peterborough City Council	2002
D-17	The London Plan	City-region policy and vision	GLA	2011
D-18	The Atlas of the Indices of Deprivation	National measures of local level deprivation	ONS	2011
D-19	'Social Trends' Nos. 10-42	Measures and analysis of socio-economic statuses nationally, regionally	CSO, OPCS, ONS (online 1996-2012)	1980-2012
D-20	Local Plan Partial Review Consultation	Borough issues and option	RBKC	2015