

# VivaCity2020

## WORK PACKAGE 2

### *The Generation of Diversity: Mixed Use and Urban Sustainability*

#### CLERKENWELL (L.B.ISLINGTON) CASE STUDY



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## **Introduction**

The purpose of this study is to investigate and better understand the issues surrounding mixed-use development and high density living and working, and to help planners, developers, designers, residents and other stakeholders manage and implement sustainable mixed-use development more successfully in urban environments. Diversity in this sense is reflected in a sustainable mix of land and building uses, amenities and economic activity, social, community as well as temporal mix, such as evening economy, weekday/weekend and shared use of space. The spatial dimension is key to achieving sustainable urban environments, since it is the varying scales at which different activities and uses can co-exist, or require separation - either permanently or temporally.

### **Literature Review of Policy (Part 1)**

This attempts to understand the national to local planning policy context for mixed-use development through the review of existing literature (such as PPG's, UDPs, SPGs and other planning guidance documents). This is to gain an understanding of the rationale for the promotion of mixed-use development in urban planning policy.

### **Social Survey (Part 2 & 3)**

This attempts to understand what diversity and mixed-use development means in practice as experienced by the 'practitioners' and decision-makers in the urban environment. In addition, this seeks to understand the experience of residents and businesses living and working in a mixed-use urban environment and their quality of life issues.

#### **The key objectives of survey:**

- To understand what is mixed-use development
- Define the concept of mixed-use development
- Understand why mixed-use is important
- What the concerns are around mixed-use development
- Understand the importance of achieving mixed-use development

### **Case studies**

This report reviews one of two in depth case studies – Clerkenwell, L.B.Islington – for the second case study Sheffield, see separate report. A shorter report on inner city living in Manchester is also available. Together these will provide a platform from which to understand the practical and strategic issues involved in achieving mixed-use development and diversity in local economy, social and temporal uses of buildings and space. The analysis will highlight the pros and cons and the potential implications for designing successful mixed-use as well as highlight key problems and challenges of creating mixed use developments.

### **Methodology**

Clerkenwell was the pilot study which developed and informed the methodology employed elsewhere under *VivaCity*. The scope of analysis was also the widest, including access and use of crime data and detailed land-use and economic/employment data. Primary surveys of residents and business premises included qualitative and quantitative methods in both case study sites such as face to face interviews and in depth questionnaires (see Appendix I for Household and Business survey summary), as well as some focus groups with special interest groups (e.g. pensioners, young mothers). The aim of this survey was to gather a cross section of viewpoints representing a range of interests - developer's, planners, urban designers, councillors, community leaders, businesses and residents.

# Part 1:

## Section A:

### Policy Literature Review – Review of urban planning policy

#### National and Regional Guidance Planning Context for Mixed-Use Development

*In 1994, the concept of 'mixed use' was used as a key theme in the Department of the Environment's Quality in Town and Country initiative and subsequently emerged in national planning policy guidance resulting in a major national shift in planning policy incorporating the concept of mixed use into its key policy framework. Mixed use development is based on the notion that mixed uses reduce the need to travel and create more vibrant areas – which are now held as a key component in achieving a more sustainable and well designed urban environment.*

PPG1: General Policy and Principles (February 1997) sets out the government's commitment to sustainable development principles and promotion of mixed-use development. This has been recently reinforced in the Government's aims for the reformed planning system in 'Sustainable Communities – Delivering through Planning' (2002). It considers mixed-use development as being more sustainable than 'single use' developments and likely to create vitality and diversity and reduce the need to travel.

*'Local planning authorities should include policies in their development plans to promote and retain mixed uses, particularly in town centres, in other areas highly accessible by means of transport other than areas highly accessible by means of transport other than the private car and in areas of major new development' (paragraph 8-12)*

PPG 1 not only offers practical advice about how mixed use developments should be introduced through 'development plans' but also how individual sites can be identified and at the same time attempting to safeguard existing residential areas:

*"...plans can designate an area, such as a town centre, where developments on suitable sites would be expected to incorporate a mixture of uses. This should include a list of those uses, which are considered appropriate. Applications for single uses in such designated areas would need to be justified either in terms of their non-suitability for mixed-use development or in terms of their contribution to the overall mixture of uses with the area...the character of existing residential areas should not be undermined by inappropriate new uses. (PPG 1)*

PPG3: Housing (March 2000) also promotes mixed use development, including the provision of housing as part of mixed use developments, in order to bring new life into towns and cities.

*“local authorities should promote developments which combine a mix of land uses, including housing, either on site or within individual buildings such as flats over shops...where appropriate, specifying the proportion of floor space which should be residential within such developments...should promote additional housing in town centres within the context of their overall strategy for each centre, taking into account the existing balance of uses in the centre”.*

PPG 13: Transport (2001) sets out the Government's objectives to integrate planning and transport. It recognises that mixed use development can provide very significant benefits, in terms of promoting vitality and diversity and in promoting walking as a primary mode of travel. The government's main objectives are pointed out in paragraph 4:

1. *“promote more sustainable transport choices for both people and for moving freight;”*
2. *“promote accessibility to jobs, shopping facilities and services by public transport, walking, and cycling; and”*
3. *“reduce the need to travel, especially by car.”*

PPG13, recommends a pattern of urban growth around existing urban centres which generate the highest travel demand in order to achieve full utility of existing public transport systems. PPG13, paragraph 20, states what planning policies should aim to achieve:

*“produce a broad balance at the strategic level between employment and housing, both within urban areas and in rural communities, to minimise the need for long distance commuting...focus mixed use development involving large amount of employment, shopping, leisure and services in city, town and district centres and near to major public transport interchanges, and...encourage a mix of land uses including housing in town, suburban and local centres.”*

Regional Planning Guidance for the South East is provided in RPG 9 (March 2001). RPG 9 emphasises, London's status as a capital city and global city. It identifies the planning system as being integral component in providing development that maintains its strengths and makes provision for further potential growth successes. This it should do through its various policies on land, infrastructure and promotion of mixed-use schemes (paragraph 4.5-4.8).

RPG 9 stresses the importance of London as a place to live. It recommends that boroughs in London maximise their contribution to national housing in order to ease regional housing needs. In addition, it identifies inner London boroughs, as areas where there should be an increased emphasis on encouraging more housing to reduce the growth of long distance commuting. It states that at the Borough level, planning policies should encourage developments that enhance London as a place in which to live and work whilst conserving its environmental features.

The government provides strategic guidance for planning authorities in London this is provided through RPG 3 (Regional Planning Guidance: 3, issued 1996). RPG 3 and the Mayor's draft London Plan (June 2002) [see later section for details of London Plan 2004] support the principle of mixed-use development and securing housing generally in central London.

Firstly, RPG 3, aims to ensure that (London's local authorities) use planning continues to enable London's role as a capital and world city. It also recognises London's unique historic character which needs to be preserved and balanced against the competing and sometimes conflicting demands made upon it by a range of economic and social activities and pressures such as housing, commerce, leisure, tourism etc. RPG3 ranks housing as an essential activity in London, which should be recognised as important as any other central London activity and therefore vital to those wishing to live close to where they work in central London (Paragraph 2.27).

RPG 3 recognises the importance of mixed-use development and the contribution it can make in attaining additional housing through the creation of new dwellings from other existing uses. It suggests that at borough level local authorities should consider increasing the provision of housing in mixed-use developments. This is based on the premise that by encouraging housing in areas of mixed use this will make a important contribution to achieving sustainable development and improving quality of life (paragraph 4.6 – 4.16).

Secondly, the Greater London Authority published the draft London Plan in June 2002. The draft London Plan provides the new 'Spatial Development Strategy' for London, which supports the principles of mixed-use development and housing.

*"national planning policy strongly supports measures to extend mixed-use development (PPG1 and PPG3). The capital's economic growth depends heavily on an efficient labour market and this in turn requires adequate housing provision to sustain it. Lack of housing, especially affordable housing, is already one of the key issues facing London employers. Thus, as a general principle, strategically important employment generating development will be expected to contain a range of other uses, including housing".(paragraph 3B.25)*

The draft London Plan's rationale for mixed use policy follow the main recommendations in national and regional guidance and the draft London Plan i.e. strengthened by government guidance in PPG1, PPG3 and PPG13 which generally promote mixed use development and city centre living and which give residential use priority by encouraging more housing to be located in existing urban areas (paragraph 3B.25).

The draft London Plan specifies policies through which mixed-use development is achievable. It recommends that increases in office floor space within CAZ [Central Activity Zones] or Opportunity Areas should also include a significant residential component, although the proportions of which are left to the sub-regional frameworks. The draft London Plan makes room for exceptions in areas where the proposed mixes use development would undermine strategic policy for other types of development. In such circumstances off-site equivalent provision of housing will be required.

Within the draft London Plan, policy 4B.1 on design for a compact city, sees the achievement of mixed use as one of the key design principles that should apply to all development. Paragraph 4B.7, recognises the importance of design in successful mixed-use developments:

*"Mixed use development encourages a reduction in the need to travel long distances, by including a balance of housing, employment, commercial and other community facilities in the same area. Mixing uses can also help achieve intensive development by using the same space for more than one purpose. It contributes to vitality and safety by preventing areas becoming deserted and hostile. New developments*

*should create or enhance a mix of uses with large buildings, within the development and between the development and its surroundings. Use of open space as well as buildings should be taken into account. Where mixed uses are problematic (e.g. between housing and industrial areas), innovative design should be used to reduce ambient noise, and other nuisances.”*

In November 2000, the government produced its white paper: ‘Our Town’s and Cities: the future. Delivering an Urban Renaissance’, following the Urban Task Force report ‘Towards an urban Renaissance’. The White Paper through its initiatives primarily encourages Brownfield development and regeneration within mainly deprived towns and cities in the UK. It refers directly to its new guidance on housing in PPG3 as being an integral driver of the ‘urban renaissance’ and the importance of local authorities in implementing this effectively. The White Paper lists 8 actions Local authorities should undertake and how they can ‘promote mixed development so homes are closer to jobs and services’.

*The Green Paper ‘Planning: delivering a fundamental change’ (December 2001) and Planning Policy Statements: ‘Sustainable Communities – Delivering through Planning’ and ‘Making The system Work Better – Planning at Regional and Local Levels’ (July 2002)*

In December 2001 the Government issued a Green Paper, Planning: delivering a fundamental change’. On 18<sup>th</sup> July 2003 the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister Issued two policy statements in the light responses received to the Planning Green Paper and the recommendations of the Transport, Local Government and Regions Select Committee of 1<sup>st</sup> July 2002.

In the Planning Policy Statement ‘Sustainable Communities – Delivering through Planning’, at paragraph 3, the Government has reiterated its aims for the planning system which aims to: “...deliver in a sustainable way key Government objectives such as housing, economic development, transport infrastructure and rural regeneration whilst protecting the environment” and to “...create and sustain mixed and inclusive communities”.

## **SUMMARY**

***The mixed use policy approach is aimed at achieving Sustainability goals by helping to reduce the need to travel, encourage the use of public transport, increase the amount of residential accommodation including, where appropriate, affordable housing in the centre of the City, offering access to the widest range of employment, leisure and other facilities, whilst building on existing linkages between activities and ensure that there continues to be a distinctive mix of uses in central areas of the city.***

# Part 1:

## Section B:

### Review of New legislative context

#### New Planning Policy Context for Islington (Clerkenwell):

This short report will provide a legislative and planning context to the borough in which Clerkenwell sits in – London Borough of Islington (LBI). It will consider the implications of the:

- Local Government Act 2000
- The Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004
- The London Plan 2004

*It will examine the inclusion of community issues in Islington's Local Development Framework. This is a result of the changing remit and objectives for the whole planning profession that have emerged from the Local Government Act 2000. This report will summarise the changes to the system envisaged in PPS 12, and the work already undertaken by the Islington Strategic Partnership in drawing up a Community and Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy. The planning context in which this Borough operates will then be examined, as it is recognised that a number of opportunities and constraints exist, particularly with respect to the Mayor's Spatial Strategy, the London Plan.*

#### 2. The Legislative Context

The changes to the planning system are embodied in two key statutory instruments:

- The Local Government Act 2000,
- Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004.

*The implications of these Acts on the London Borough of Islington will be examined in turn.*

##### 2.1. The Local Government Act 2000

The Local Government Act 2000 aims to change modernise the structure, role and procedures of local authorities. In this sense, it is not inherently planning-focused, yet these changes affect the entire remit of the planning profession.

A key requirement of the Act is for all local authorities to adopt a 'Community Strategy' (CS), which aims to improve the social, economic, and environmental well-being of communities (ODPM, 2002). The aims, objectives, and underlying principles



of community strategies are outlined in Table 2.1. Islington has already produced a Community and Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy in line with its statutory requirements.

Aims	Objectives	Underlying Principles
<p>Improve the quality of life of local communities and contribute towards sustainable development in the UK</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ allow local communities (based upon geography and/or interest) to articulate their aspirations, needs and priorities;</li> <li>○ co-ordinate the actions of the council, and of the public, private, voluntary and community organisations that operate locally;</li> <li>○ focus and shape existing and future activity of those organisations so that they effectively meet community needs and aspirations; and</li> <li>○ contribute to the achievement of sustainable development both locally and more widely, with local goals and priorities relating, where appropriate, to regional, national and even global aims.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ engage and involve local communities (see paragraphs 50-58);</li> <li>○ involve active participation of councillors within and outside the executive;</li> <li>○ be prepared and implemented by a broad 'local strategic partnership'<sup>6</sup> through which the local authority can work with other local bodies;</li> <li>○ be based on a proper assessment of needs and the availability of resources</li> </ul>

Table 2.1. – *The Aims, Objectives, and Underlying Principles of Community Strategies (from ODPM, 2002)*

Under this new legislation, Central Government has challenged what it saw as the 'old culture' of Local Government. This culture was seen as in need of reform in terms of accountability, decision-making and efficiency of service provision (ODPM, 2001). The new culture is based upon putting communities first by improving social, economic and environmental well-being of communities. Indeed, this is now a statutory duty of Local Government, and is achieved by a number of means, including changing political structures and improvements through Best Value. In effect, local authorities have greater freedom and powers to enhance social and spatial well-being by joining-up mainstream service provision at the community level.

The Act also introduced a duty on councils to form Local Strategic Partnerships (or LSPs). It is the task of the LSP to produce the Community Strategy for the local authority. LSPs are seen as "the key to the strategy of delivering better towns and cities" (DTLR, 2001a).

LSPs were initiated to reflect the belief that Local Authorities cannot tackle local issues themselves. To quote the Prime Minister, there are "more players on the pitch in the community" (Blair, 1998), so partnership working is envisaged between local authority service providers, and external parties from the private and voluntary sectors. LSPs have to be formally recognised by Central Government, and have a range of statutory duties, including developing the Community and Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy.

In addition, as Islington is one of the 88 most deprived areas in England, the LSP was required to produce a Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy as a pre-condition to receiving funding from the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF). It was decided in Islington to combine the Community and Neighbourhood Renewal Strategies into one document, in order to prevent duplication.

## 2.2. The Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004

The Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 will result in the most fundamental change to the British planning system for over 10 years. While the development control aspects of the system are relatively unchanged for the time being, the policy side has been subject to massive reform. The main aims of the reform are to:

- speed up the system
- increase its flexibility
- enable greater community involvement

The reform also changes the emphasis in development planning towards a shorter *streamlined* plan, with a more *holistic* approach, a clear *strategic* vision and a *spatial* focus rather than pure land-use policies. Development Plans will have to reflect the aims and objectives contained in the *Community Strategy*, as well as other corporate plans and strategies. These reforms are intended to make the planning process more focused and relevant to the wider community.

The current development plan system is most often criticised for its lengthy and complex preparation procedures, with development plans taking up to six years to prepare and often becoming out of date as soon as they are adopted. In addition, the complexity and the adversarial nature of the current development plan preparation process works against wider community involvement. Proposed changes aim to address these issues.

The new system is still plan-led like the previous system, meaning that the primary consideration in determining applications is still a locally produced plan. However, the structure of the plan system and local plans has been altered fundamentally, resulting in the need to develop a 'Local Development Framework' (LDF). An LDF is essentially not dissimilar to the previous Unitary Development Plan (UDP) combining both statutory and non-statutory planning documents. However, there will be no separate supplementary planning guidance. Whereas the UDP is one plan, the LDF is structured differently (Figure 2.1), in that core policies are supplemented by specific action plans for specific areas, with the aim of creating more flexible, more locally focused documents. In addition, these need to be integrated with other more strategic spatial planning devices such as the Regional Spatial Strategies, or in the case of London the 'London Spatial Development Plan.' These now form part of the development plan. Due to their nature, LDFs are conceived as more of a folder of documents, rather than a single document (for more details refer to PPS12).

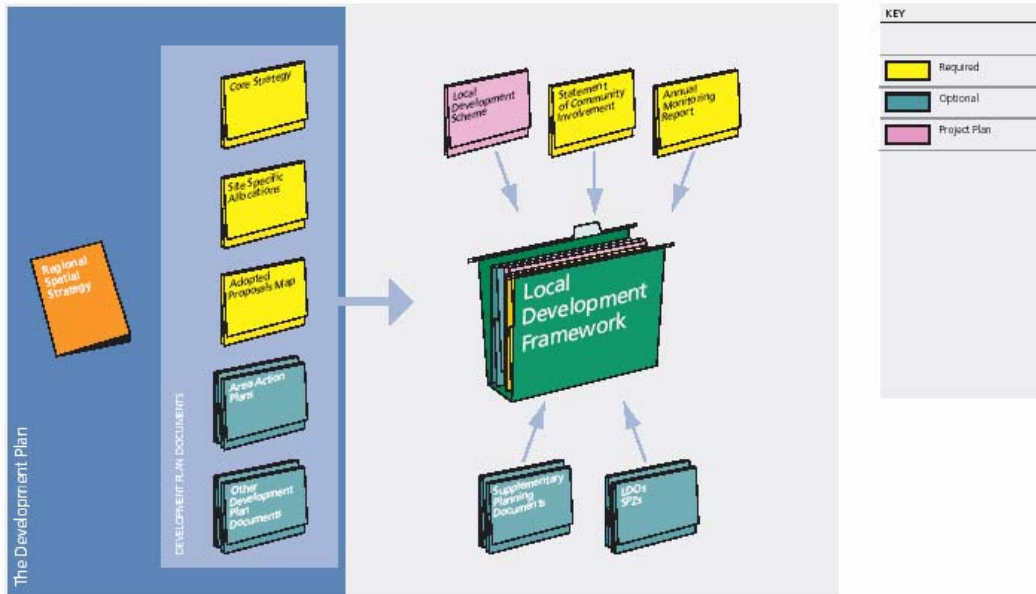


Figure 2.1 – What constitutes a Development Plan and an LDF in the new Planning System (ODPM, 2004)

The review of LDFs is to be an on-going process. As a minimum, the statement of core policies should be re-examined and re-published every 6 months, taking into account all of the requirements set out above. A complete review of the whole LDF document is required every 3 years.

*The LDF is a spatial plan and will contain policies that are related to land use, but not dependent upon the grant/refusal of planning permission. Policies will arise from related strategies of the Council and other bodies. The emphasis will be on extensive public consultation early on in the process (“front loading”), followed by a formal “deposit” of the plans and some form of independent examination. The ODPM and the Planning Inspectorate are looking for less formal and less adversarial ways of considering development plans, i.e. round table discussions instead of Public Local Inquiries. There might have to be two or more inquiries/examinations instead of one UDP inquiry, which would have cost implications for the Council.*

### 2.2.1 Community involvement

*The Act also places a statutory requirement on Local Authorities in that the LDF must contain a ‘Statement of Community Involvement.’ (SCI) This is a Council’s statement of intent to involve communities in production and reviews of the LDF, and in commenting on planning applications. Such statements aim to provide a basis of good practice in involving the community, for use by the Council and other organisations alike.*

*The Community Strategy will play a pivotal role in the development of LDF policies. By focusing on this strategy which in itself should be the result of community participation, therefore reflecting local needs, the LDF process should be ‘front loaded’ towards local priorities. This document aims to discuss the implications of this new approach.*

## 2.2.2 Spatial Planning

*The notion of spatial planning is introduced in the Act. The traditional notion of statutory planning focuses solely on the permitted land use on a plot of land. Spatial planning aims to take a wider view as outlined in Box 2.1.*

### Box 2.1 – Spatial Planning

*“...spatial planning goes beyond traditional land use planning to bring together and integrate policies for the development and use of land with other policies and programmes which influence the nature of places and how they function...” (ODPM, 2004a)*

*“...spatial planning can instil an approach to plan-making that is:*

- **Visionary** – setting out a clear, distinctive and realistic vision of how an area will develop and change;
- **Wide-ranging** – going beyond a narrow land-use focus to provide a mechanism for delivering sustainable development objectives by addressing social, environmental and economic issues and relating them to the use of land;
- **Participative** – based on strengthened mechanisms for community involvement to consider the needs, issues and aspirations of communities and stakeholders within an area, to provide a basis for making difficult choices and to build commitment to delivery;
- **Integrating** – an integrated approach which informs, takes account of and helps deliver other strategies and policy;
- **Responsive** – a flexible approach, informed by monitoring, that can respond to developments in wider policy, degree of progress with implementation, development pressures and changes on the ground; and
- **Deliverable** – focusing on implementation, setting out delivery mechanisms, including development control, and identifying how the plan will be delivered with and through other organisations with the powers and resources to make a difference.” (ODPM, 2004b)

## 3. The Planning Context – the London Plan

*Along with the changes to local authority level planning, changes have been taking place at sub-regional level. The Mayor has taken over responsibility for strategic planning in London from the Secretary of State. This replaces the previous strategic planning guidance for London (known as RPG3), issued by the Secretary of State. The London Plan is a wide-ranging strategic plan for London's development that puts planning issues into context with other areas of responsibility for the Mayor, including economic development, social development and the environment. It also takes into account European, national and regional planning policies. It sets the guidelines for how London should grow and change, and is crucial to the integrated development of the capital. This section outlines the key points from the London Plan.*

### **3.1 Overall Strategy**

#### ***Sustainable growth***

*The overall population of London is set to increase by 800,000 to 8.1 million by 2016. In parallel, it is projected that there will be 640,000 additional jobs - concentrated in business services and in growing economies such as information technology, media, culture and green industries. A range of new workspaces, including 8 million sq metres of office floor space, is needed. Up to 33,000 new homes a year are required to accommodate the increased population and to deal with the backlog of sub-standard housing.*

#### ***Linking growth to public transport capacity***

Around 40% of the employment growth will be in East London - the Mayor's priority for regeneration, with another 40% in central London, primarily within the Central Activity Zone (CAZ). Growth is to be focused in the early years of the Plan in defined Opportunity Areas and Areas for Intensification, as well as existing Town Centres throughout London where there is capacity on the public transport network.

In later years, major new projects such as Crossrail will be the catalyst for sustainable growth at key locations. This relationship between new development and public transport capacity is seen as critical - it will be developed further through the preparation of Sub-Regional Development Frameworks in each of London's five sub-regions.

#### ***Securing a compact city, a better environment and high quality design***

This scale of growth can only be accommodated, without building on the Green Belt or on open spaces in London, by building to higher densities. The Plan also promotes tall buildings where appropriate and where high standards of design are achieved. The Plan also includes a range of policies to protect and improve the historic environment, the public realm, and green and water spaces as well as strategic views. In the past the Mayor indicated a lack of enthusiasm for protected views, but the EIP panel supported them, and they have therefore been retained in the Plan.

*The Plan also includes policies on climate change, energy efficiency, waste, biodiversity, noise, air quality and other environmental issues.*

#### ***Ensuring social and economic inclusion***

*The Plan strongly promotes social and economic inclusion, with policies targeted at different communities, smaller enterprises, black and minority ethnic businesses and the voluntary and community sectors more widely. It also promotes inclusive environments.*

*The policies to ensure that 50% of all new housing is affordable are considered by the Mayor to be essential to greater social inclusion. The policies to ensure that Londoners obtain relevant training and skills to compete successfully for the new jobs are also seen as vital, for social, economic and sustainability reasons.*

***This section sets out a number of key points for the Council to consider, and draws some tentative conclusions on how the London Plan might affect Islington, and what actions need to be taken. In particular the introduction of LDFs provides an opportunity for the Council to rethink its planning policies and set out how it wishes Islington to change over the next twenty years. The approval of the Arsenal redevelopment, the swathe of regeneration schemes***

***happening across the borough, the A1 Borough initiative and 'One Islington' show what can be done when a positive planning approach is taken***

### **3.2 The key legislative implications:**

**The *statutory status* of the London Plan has the potential to cause great difficulty for the boroughs and will devalue the status of the borough's own planning policies.**

The GLA is producing a substantial amount of additional *supplementary planning guidance*. LB Islington does not support additional SPGs, which are unnecessary and can only add to confusion. It is considered that non-statutory advice prepared by the Mayor should only be applied to major planning applications, and not to 'non-strategic' schemes, which are the responsibility of the boroughs.

The LDF must be in general *conformity with the London Plan*. The Council believes that planning decisions should be taken at the most devolved level possible, to better involve local people. This is why the Islington has delegated planning decisions to Area Committees. Islington welcomes a strategic framework for truly strategic issues but do not believe that this should override appropriate local planning decisions.

*The following points relate more specifically to the relationship between the London Plan and Islington.*

- **Housing Provision.** Islington has provided a very high level of housing completions over recent years and is therefore likely to meet the targets currently allocated in the London Plan, certainly in the short and medium terms. When related to the size of the borough, this level of growth is probably the highest in London. The London Plan seeks even higher housing provision in the future, and the question is whether or not LB Islington wishes to see this level of housing development continue. It could also be argued that future growth should be directed elsewhere in London. The impact of continuing high growth needs to be examined in terms its effects on the quality of life of existing (and future) residents; impacts on existing infrastructure; and the ability of health, education and other services to accommodate population increase.
- **Housing Density.** Islington's policies on housing density are more sophisticated than those in the London Plan, and are based on the impact of individual schemes rather than on empirical figures. The preparation of the LDF gives Islington the opportunity to consider their approach to very high density schemes.
- **Affordable housing.** Islington's would need to revise its existing Affordable Housing SPG to incorporate an increased target of 50% provision of affordable housing, in line with the London Plan. The implications of this will need to be considered in detail (for example the type of housing to be provided, and the balance between affordable housing and other benefits) The housing and planning services will work together on this issue and to develop a joint strategy for the delivery of all types of affordable housing in Islington, including intermediate housing.

- **Mixed use.** LB Islington supports the policy for mixed use development, and this is already embedded in its UDP. There needs to be a recognition that in some circumstances housing development as part of commercial schemes would not be appropriate, as such schemes might not provide adequate living environment and could undermine implementation of employment and town centre policies.
- **Economic development.** An issue for Islington is whether it should continue to seek to retain the existing supply of employment floor-space, in line with the current UDP policies. This is a key issue for Islington that will need to be addressed in the Local Development Framework. It is intended to commission an employment study of the borough, which will seek to examine the supply of, and demand for, employment land and premises in Islington.
- **High Buildings.** The London Plan sets out the Mayor's desire for more high buildings in London. Islington's concern must be to get the best development opportunities for the community, including high buildings where they are appropriate. This will not be in every location, and strategic view lines traverse the borough from north to south.
- **Sub-Regional Development Frameworks.** Concerns remain among London Boroughs that, in proposing to develop sub-regional frameworks, the Mayor is being unduly interventionist and is attempting to influence issues that are of local rather than strategic nature. It is considered that Islington should take a pro-active role in the preparation of the Central London SRDF. This could potentially help the borough to address, at sub-regional level, the key issues that affect Islington, and to progress our ideas, such as revitalising the A1 corridor. It will also encourage cross borough working on matters of mutual interest.
- **Town Centres.** Islington is in the process of developing strategies for all its town and district centres. For the Angel, and perhaps in the future other areas, it is being recommended that the priority should be to develop retail capacity rather than office, residential or other forms of development, as proposed in the London Plan.
- **Transport.** The transport policies contained in the London Plan are fully supported by the Council and are broadly consistent with the UDP and the Borough Spending Plan the Council supports the implementation of the major rail projects proposed in the Plan, and for sustainable transport policies across London.

#### **4. Conclusions**

This report has highlighted the legislative and policy context of relevance to the Borough of Islington, which can be addressed through the Local Development Framework planning system. The new framework will have to take on board the fact that Islington is an immensely polarised borough, with deprivation dispersed in small pockets throughout.

The new planning framework has huge resource implications for Islington's Planning Team. It is still unclear whether planning staff will have the right balance of skills to engage in the level of participation envisaged and be able to reach out to all the communities, which constitute Islington. Conversely, it remains to be seen whether or not the people of Islington have an appetite for greater participation in the planning process. In addition, there is uncertainty as to whether the shorter time frames of the plans being sought are compatible with this participatory approach.

One of the major issues of concern is raised by the statutory nature of the London Plan. Although there is support for strategic level planning in greater London, this can constrain the freedom for local authorities to compile and customise locally specific policies according to its needs where strategic and local objectives conflict. It has been demonstrated that, if the transition to the development framework system runs smoothly, the new planning system offers a number of opportunities for Islington to deliver on the key community priorities of the Borough.



## Part 2:

### Section C:

## Clerkenwell - Islington's UDP review

### Islington Planning Policy Background:

Islington Council has devised a number of approaches to address the national shift in planning policy towards more sustainable and mixed-use developments. The policies achieve this by 'limiting the amount of office development on any given site; encouraging live-work units and, where appropriate enabling the conversion of business spaces to residential use'. This approach has significantly affected the character of areas such as Clerkenwell.

### **A Review of the UDP for Islington (Clerkenwell)**

The local planning authority for the case study area is the London borough of Islington (LBI). The local planning authorities perspective brings together both factual and attitudinal analysis. It combines the opinions and attitudes and ideas from a selection of interviews with local authority planning officials and a review of statutory and non-statutory literature published within the department, such as supplementary planning guidance, planning briefs and master plan documents. The main focus of analysis is based around the Unitary Development Plan (UDP – adopted version 2002). This section will attempt to provide an overview of the policy approach and practical experience of mixed-use development. The principle aim of this part of the analysis is to examine the way London borough of Islington's unitary development plan has dealt with mixed-use development.

### **Definition of mixed-use development in the UDP**

In terms of providing a definition of mixed use development - the UDP does not contain such a conceptualisation. Importantly the UDP does not define or characterise mixed-use development. However, the plan does include policies to retain an existing mix of use and contains specific policies encouraging mixed-use development. A policy analysis of the UDP revealed that five chapters encouraged and promoted mixed-use development and had specific area wide policies encouraging mixed-use development within the 'Clerkenwell and Smithfield' area.

## A Review of mixed use and related policies in Islington's UDP (Adopted 2002)

Topic	Sub-themes	Policy Number	Policy Description
Economic Regeneration (C.5)	Accommodation for employment - business development	E2 (p.12)	'require Class B1 developments to provide a full range of B1 uses'
		E3 (pp.12-13)	Require the incorporation of non-B1 uses in Class B1 (Business uses) schemes
	Loss of Business Use	E4 (p.14)	Loss of B1 uses will not be permitted Restricts the change from B1 to residential
	Identification of sites for employment uses, and the preparation of planning briefs	E11 (p.15)	Aim to secure a mix of uses, facilities and economic initiatives.
Design & Conservation (C.12)	Design of New development - designing in context	D4	acknowledge the most important elements of the urban context and create a positive relationship with Surrounding buildings and spaces
		iv	Encouraging a mix of uses
12.3 Conservation Areas	Land use	D20 (p.47)	Within Conservation Areas with an industrial or commercial character...encourage a variety and mix of uses, and may require the maintenance or such uses where these exist at ground level
Implementation (C.13)	The Efficient and Sustainable Use of Land and Buildings – Mixed Use	Imp 5	Encourage mixed-use development, where appropriate, through the preparation of development briefs
	13.6 Special Policy areas - central London	Imp 14 (p.53)	vi) encourage a mix of uses, and suitable community benefits, in major development schemes
		Imp 15 (p.54)	The Clerkenwell/ Smithfield area has a special architectural, cultural and historic character to protect its character
		Imp16 (p.54)	retention of the mixed-use character of the Bunhill area, including residential and local service uses
Clerkenwell/Smithfield Special Policy Area: (C.14)	Business use	CS1 (p.56)	any scheme for Class B1 development to comply with the following criteria:
			i) proposed floorspace should be allocated for uses other than unfettered Class B 1. Such uses should comprise one or more of the following: light industry (B1c), industry (B2), showrooms, shops and local services, eating and drinking, residential etc
			ii) no loss of existing non B1 floorspace, with the exception of warehousing
			iii) existing none B1 uses on ground floor street frontages should be retained
			iv) non-B1 uses will be encouraged at ground drawer street frontages where they do not currently exist
	Residential use	CS2 (p.56)	Permission for new residential floorspace, either by conversion or new building will normally be allowed if:
			i) proposal does not involve the loss of premises suitable for uses within Class B1b or B1c of the Use Class Order
			ii) proposal does not involve residential floorspace at ground floor level except where the premises were originally designed for residential use and remain suitable
			iii) In the main thoroughfares listed in schedule 14.1 no more than 60 per cent of the total floor space of any building is in residential use

The table summarises planning policies from the UDP, which contain specific policies encouraging mixed-use development - all of which are listed in the table. However, policies E3, CS1 and CS2 contain specific policies requiring mixed-use development. As already mentioned the UDP does not define or characterise mixed-use development but does include policies to retain an existing mix of use.

It would seem as a result of the UDP not containing a 'working' definition of mixed-use development, the definitions held by LBI's planning officials tended to adopt a loose yet flexible conception of it and thus showed slight variations. This corresponds

with the impression formed from the analysis of many of the local authorities statutory and non-statutory documents and policies. The following definition provided, by or one of the senior planners helps to define mixed-use development in planning policy and practice terms:

*I think about it in terms of a single planning application that contains more than one use, so I'm not talking about mixed use areas, talking about mixed use schemes, that would frequently be in the same building but if you had a larger redevelopment scheme then obviously you'd have different buildings that made up that application, so it could be that to that extent it could be in different buildings. But I think it's either of those two things really.*

LBI – Senior Policy Planner

This definition encompasses not only a single planning application, which includes 'more than one use', but also a large redevelopment scheme consisting of a mixture of single use buildings. In addition, this definition is expanded to be a broad area level policy approach:

*There's no zoning. It's simply a policy for the area. It applies to all of the Clerkenwell and Finsbury wards.*

LBI - Development Control Planner

Despite the local-authority not having a specific mixed-use policy, nevertheless the review of its UDP revealed that it was an important policy priority within the local authority. Notably the local authority's policy approach on mixed-use was about achieving a policy outcome which impacted the character of the whole borough and not focusing on individual discreet mixed-use outputs.

*In addition UDP analysis revealed that: policies for density standards in housing are always applied to mixed-use development in the same way as all other developments but applied flexibly. The policies on the size standards for housing units and parking standards for housing are always applied to mixed-use development in the same way as all other development. Significantly, UDP does not allocate specific sites for mixed-use development in town centre locations*

#### **Benefits cited for mixed-use development in the UDP:**

The local authority documents and officials mentioned specific benefits that could be derived from mixed-use development. The following factors are considered to be the main benefits from achieving mixed-use development:

- 1. Creates Vitality and vibrancy**
- 2. Provision of services and employment**
- 3. Crime reduction**
- 4. Reduction in the need to travel**
- 5. Meeting Housing Needs**
- 6. Sustainability**
- 7. Brownfield development**

(see next section)

#### **Constraints in the development of mixed use development:**

According to the local authority planners perspectives the key factor in the last five years, which perceived to have hindered the development of mixed-use development schemes, was to do with an overwhelming market demand for single use housing

development. The policy approach recognising this demand and the adverse impact on employment and other marginal uses - responded by insisting on the provision of mixed use on most proposed residential development schemes.

*...in lots of other places they're looking to get more housing in but in Islington...it's the opposite...because housing is the only thing anybody wants to build so in Islington we would be looking to something you know in addition to residential*  
LBI – Senior Policy Planner

*...So it depends on what the market is within each area. So I mean basically what we're having in as you know from Clerkenwell the principle thing is the change from a business area into a residential one, so our objectives in terms of mixed use of B2 partly to keep some employment within the area and at the same time to provide additional facilities locally such as shops and restaurants and clubs etcetera and indeed any other sort of use...*  
LBI – Policy Planner

Planning puts forward one of the rationales behind the demand for housing on to the differing goals between planners and developers: the former has long term interest in a place whereas the latter is only interested in the short-term gain:

*.... Development will say no to commercial because no demand but planners will say in few years time there could be high demand for it, and if you develop all this space into residential usage there's no space for commercial...Planners plan for the future, developers plan for now*  
LBI – Policy Planner

### **Summary of Policy:**

At strategic policy levels Islington's UDP policy encourages mixed-uses, 'both at the neighbourhood level and individual building' level - achieved through the preparation of 'development briefs', the councils own regeneration schemes and through working collaboratively on particular development proposals with external agents such as developers and local communities. The council takes the following principles into account:

1. Development containing more than one use strongly recommended – in the interest of land use diversity, providing opportunities and reduce car travel.
2. mix use in new development at local neighbourhood level will pay special attention to good design.
3. Different uses within a building should be compatible in terms of potential disturbance, access and security
4. Separate access to uses on upper floors should be provided in ground floor layouts.
5. Different uses should be provided with shared servicing facilities
6. Ground floor elevations should be designed to have a positive relationship to the street.

***LBI promotes mixed-use development in policies and documents other than their UDP such as Planning briefs, Master Plans, Supplementary Planning Guidances and other documents.***

**For Example: Supplementary planning guidance on Business Use to Residential, May 1997)**

The council has produced supplementary planning guidance in 1997 which reinforce its UDP policies and provides detailed practical guidelines when considering a mixed use development:

- Ground floors on busy streets are not considered suitable for residential use where a non-residential use will be preferred,
- Within a 'Central Activity Zone' and the specified Conservation Areas the ground floor and basement is preferred to be in a non-residential use.
- Some streets are selected due to their architectural qualities for particular types of development such as Tabernacle Street is ear-marked to encourage the reuse of buildings for live/work units, with the ground floors remaining in employment use.
- Planning permission will not be granted for the change of use to residential in areas with poor residential environment.
- Potential suitability will be based on a number of planning considerations such as: Noise sensitiveness, Land Use Assessment reports, pollution and danger, access to sunlight and daylight and issues of privacy.

These considerations are further reinforced by other council set standards and design policies on: density, dwelling mix, room sizes, layout details, refuse storage facilities, safety and security, subdivision, orientation, thermal and acoustic upgrading, mobility housing, residential amenity, overlooking, extensions, parking standards, access and servicing, external elevations etc.

## Key UDP policy summary

Table 1. Key UDP Policies

		<i>Clerkenwell – Islington Borough Council</i>
	<b>Date of UDP</b>	2002 – under review for LDF
	<i>Does the Plan have specific policies to:</i>	
1	<b>Encourage</b> MXD	Yes
2	<b>Require</b> MXD	Yes
3	<b>Defines</b> or characterizes MXD	No
4	<b>Retain</b> an existing mix use	Yes
5	<b>Encourage</b> the development of housing in town centre locations	No
6	Inclusion of <b>affordable housing</b> in town centres	No
	Apply to MXD in the same way	Yes
7	<b>Density</b> standard for housing	Yes
	Apply to MXD in the same way	Yes
8	<b>Size standards</b> for housing units	Yes
	Apply to MXD in the same way	Yes
	<b>Parking standards</b> for housing	Yes
	Apply to MXD in the same way	Yes
10	<b>Allocate specific sites</b> for mxd in town centre	No
11	Promote MXD in policies or <b>documents other than a plan</b>	Yes
12	Securing MXD in town and city centres to be <b>important</b>	Yes
13	<b>Benefit</b> from achieving mixed use	Sustainability
	<b>Main constraint</b> to development of mxd schemes	Demand for Housing
	<b>Initiatives</b> to overcome constraints	None

# Part 3: Findings on Case studies

## Section D:

### Clerkenwell - Interview analysis on mixed-use policy and practice

#### The Experience of Mixed-use Development Practice in Clerkenwell

The research undertook semi-structured interviews with a wide-range of key informants representing key interests in the case study locality: these interests were represented by:

**Local planning authority professionals:**

- Planners from development control and planning policy-making
- Housing
- Regeneration
- Elected members (Ward councillor)

**Property professionals:**

- Estate agents
- Property management
- Developers

**Local business**

**Community groups**

**Residents**

This chapter reports on some of the key experiences and views expressed during the case study research. This section summarises with selected examples the views and opinions of mixed-use development given by the interviewees. They provide an insightful overview of the types of issues and concerns, which underlie mixed-use development.

#### 1.1 What is mixed-use development?

In order to understand the nature of mixed-use development it is important to explore its definition. Nearly all interviewees we were asked to define what they understood by the term mixed-use a development whereby almost everyone was able to do so, with varying conceptions of it. The most common definitions were that of a single building with one or more 'use':

*It's development with 2 or more uses within the same development.*

Local Estate Agents

*A single planning application that contains more than one use...*

LBI - Planning Policy officer

*A building that serves a variety of purposes.* LBI - Development Control Planner

*Traditionally it's about different uses in the same building.*

Local business occupier

However some explanations offered a wider conception moving beyond the building level of development:

*...if you had a larger redevelopment scheme then obviously you'd have different buildings that made up that application, so it could be that to that extent it could be in different buildings..*

LBI - Planning Policy officer

*Classic example will be one that has office space, residential space, live/Work, or some retail space, A3 restaurant, and social housing space, or altogether to form one village within it self.*

Local Estate Agents

*It's simply a policy for the area. It applies to all of the Clerkenwell and Finsbury wards.*

LBI - Development Control Planner

These conceptions illustrate that mixed-use development can also take on the form of a mixed-use 'village', a 'large development' comprising buildings with different uses or can be applied to a whole 'area'.

Most explanations went as far as distinguishing the physical and functional configurations:

*...Strictly horizontal divisions. Clearly marked lateral conversions: retail on ground floor /offices on 2/3 floors and residential above with affordable housing component...*

Local Estate Agent

*...Usually the lower levels are commercial offices or shops or bars or community uses art galleries and the upper floors are residential.*

LBI – Development Control Planner

*Development of a site, which includes residential and various kinds of commercial, probably a mixture of A class uses, retail, food, services and B class uses, some industrial or light industrial services.*

LBI – Regeneration officer

Thus, mixed-use development can mean horizontal structural divisions within the same building. The land-use functions or the types of uses are separate which means that typically the retail, food or commercial office type land-use functions we will tend to occupy the ground or lower floor with residential on the upper floors.

The various examples illustrated above also demonstrate that there is discrepancy in definitions between the various planning professionals within LBI

*... we don't really have a definition of mixed use development the name really says it all, it's something with different uses.*

LBI - S106 Planning officer



This statement helps to pinpoint the source of the ambiguity in definition within the local authority. This stems from the fact that there is no official working definition of this concept within the local authorities policies, even though it is widely used concept within its planning practices (The Local Authority Perspective section).

### Summary

Thus, the explanations offered so far seem to suggest that there is no single definition but most statements seem able to distinguish it from a single use development. They also suggest that the scale of mixed use can range from a building, large development site - with more than one use occurring horizontally within the building or a collection of buildings arranged vertically alongside one another - to then a larger local area wide level. The explanations seemed to offer a multi-faceted dimension to the concept, which highlight the structural configurations, multi-functionality, types of land uses and their occupation, location and scale.

### 1.2. Is it an area-based policy?

Most of the local authority professionals statements confirmed that mixed-use has always been a feature of the borough and consequently led to a area wide policy approach with special 'policy' emphasis within our case study area of Clerkenwell - through its designation as a Conservation Area containing a significant proportion of the Borough's historic building listings (see map - Appendix I). There is acknowledgement that the mixed-use characteristics of the case study derive from its legacy from historic 'City Fringe' land-uses that endow it with distinction and thus forwarding a policy approach to preserve this existing characteristic.

*I mean I think Islington has always been a mixed-use area*  
LBI - Planning Policy Officer

*There's no zoning. It's simply a policy for the area. It applies to all of the Clerkenwell and Finsbury wards.*  
LBI - development control planner

*Islington has always had mixed use approach throughout the borough...the land-uses in Clerkenwell have unique quality of mix uses which are a product of the Old City Fringe activities even though those historic city fringe uses have long gone...*  
LBI – Principle Planning officer

*The council recognises Clerkenwell, through its policies as an area of special character... lots of small businesses and lots of craft activity, we're trying to maintain that kind of character and that kind of employment uses.*  
LBI – S106 Planning Officer

### 1.3. What is the most common mix?

*...if you've got a major redevelopment then every major redevelopment will be mixed use...it would be very rare to have a hundred percent for single use*  
LBI - Planning Policy Officer

The perceived definitions of mixed use offered by interviewee's highlighted to some extent the vagueness of the terminology whilst at the same time importantly revealed something about the perceived composition of mixed uses.

The table below attempts to provide an example of: firstly the order in which each use is mentioned in any stated example and the frequency of each use overall. Thus, most combinations of uses did not include more than four uses; nearly all mentioned residential uses, and residential with commercial or retail uses seemed to be the most popular mix. Restaurants and then other uses such as clubs, bars, art galleries, and light industries diversify the mix.

#### 1.4 What floors?

*Usually the lower levels are commercial offices or shops or bars or community uses art galleries and the upper floors are residential.*  
LBI - development control planner

*... retail on ground floor, offices on second and third floors and residential above.*  
Local Estate Agent

*...In Great Sutton St that area has recently developed a lot of art galleries it's something of a media area architects, graphic designers and artists. They tend to occupy traditional shop fronts. The in the upper floors you get conversions to flats.*  
LBI - Development Control Planner

Generally the comments suggested that shops and office uses occupied the lower or ground floors and residential was first floors and above. [In addition, the last statement says something about the nature of business uses that are being attracted which require perhaps street level access and visibility for business success and can adapt easily to previous retail or commercial functions of the building they occupy...perhaps not space intensive uses?]

#### 1.5 What Locations?

*Most prominent locations are good at encouraging mixed use.*  
LBI – S106 Planner

*It depends on what accommodation is there. In Great Sutton St that area has recently developed a lot of art galleries it's something of a media area architects, graphic designers and artists. They tend to occupy traditional shop fronts...*  
LBI - Development Control Planner  
*In terms of mixed use it going to depend on site by site location, a mixed use scheme might be ...ok in one location than another, depends on the location and the type of building, e.g. a scheme on Clerkenwell Rd, take a site there we might consider 3 storeys as business activity with residential, whereas a street just round the back, might completely be inappropriate to have any residential, or any business use, it depends on the uses.* LBI – S106 Planner

## 1.6 Do they insist on certain mixes?

The 'Planning' professionals displayed a positive attitude towards encouraging mixed use within the Borough, however they would also insist on certain uses being part of any given mixed-use development scheme:

*...in lots of other places they're looking to get more housing in but in Islington its in order to get mixed use, it's the opposite ... we would be looking to something...in addition to residential... so our objectives in terms of mixed use is to get a mix of B2 partly to keep some employment within the area and at the same time to provide additional facilities locally such as shops and restaurants and clubs etcetera and indeed any other sort of use... LBI - Planning Policy officer*

*The council recognises Clerkenwell, through its policies as an area of special character... lots of small businesses and lots of craft activity, we're trying to maintain that kind of character and that kind of employment uses. LBI – S106 Planning Officer*

*In Islington there is a policy to encourage two thirds in employment uses where feasible. LBI – Principle Planning officer*

This highlights the balancing act planners undertake in decision-making in planning proposals around mixed use. The planners display a protective attitude towards keeping a balance between the different types of uses, which is perhaps a reflection of the policy framework that encourages mixed use in the Borough. Their views demonstrate the need to curb the proliferation of any one use particularly which is seen to have the potential to undermine the 'special mixed character' of the area. There is recognition of the demand for residential threatening employment and local shops, which is (implicitly) likely to have a detrimental impact on the local community and affect the overall dynamic of the mix.

## 1.7 What type of mix in Clerkenwell?

### Examples of mixed use developments in Clerkenwell:

*St John's Street all the buildings on each side of it that were previously offices would be all business works and warehouses all sorts of things are now almost wholly residential apart from the mixed use elements that we've insisted on.*

LBI - Policy Planner

*Saffron Hill – is a mixed use street. Local Estate Agent*

*In Amwell Street...you had commercial properties. Amwell Street was often referred to as a village. There were a number of lock-up shops the proprietors would set up shop in the morning and then walk away. At the side of their door was the door to the dwelling above. LBI - Housing officer*

*Finsbury Estate where you have Finsbury Library one of the two main libraries in Islington and above you have Patrick Owen House. The two don't interfere with each other. When the Finsbury Council built the Finsbury Estate, they built as part of the local facilities the accommodation, the football pitch and the library. They seemed quite keen on doing that on St. Luke's Estate there's a library and in Greenwood House where there's a library these are all estates built*

LBI - Housing officer

*Kingsway College...office space on one of the outer buildings being used by an architect as office space and the main foyer being used as a gallery*  
Local business occupier

*Built in 1875 the first secondary school in London - Hugh Middleton school was built on a former prison site/house of detention now offices and studios.*  
Local business occupier

*Allied brewery site large development site and large section 106 agreement attached to it. That was mixed use, comprising residential, office and a supermarket, the office is built but not filled and residential has been built but not the supermarket*  
LBI - S106 Planner

The examples cited above give a flavour of the wide-ranging variety of mix uses that exist in Clerkenwell. The mixed-use approach in Clerkenwell has generally meant restoration and adaptation of old buildings for new uses. The historic urban framework has provided a ready-made context for the incorporation of new uses and additions.

### **1.8 What are the Benefits attributed to mxd development?**

*They employ a reasonable number of people, they add vitality to the streets, they are of interest at ground floor, they are of economic significance, people employed there will then use other uses in the daytime. It sustains the economy.*  
LBI – Development Control Planner

Almost all the participants perceived mixed use positively and regarded it to be beneficial for reasons differing reasons. The following table summarises some of the most frequently stated benefits mixed-use is perceived to bring:

1. Providing mixed use builds in flexibility for change of use depending on future demands
2. Does not undermine profitability – as you can spread the investment risk
3. Prevents over saturation by one use – namely residential
4. Offers people the opportunity to live and work in the same area,
5. Potential for crime reduction
6. Increased surveillance
7. More people around
8. Brings activity at different times of the day
9. Reduces the need to travel out of area for local shopping needs
10. Brings a range of amenities closer to where people live
11. Creates liveliness, vitality, ambience and distinctiveness for area
12. Protects employment uses it – especially less profitable uses
13. Meeting Sustainability

Most of the comments refer to the supposed beneficial impact mixed use is likely have in an area in terms of encouraging sustainability, increasing diversity of uses and users, that it brings sociality and vitality, which can then help reduce crime rates and reduce the need to travel out of the locality for essential needs. There is an implication here that there is a set of ‘knock-on’ mutual benefits to be gained from mixed-use developments.

## 1.9 Problems with Mixed-use development?

All case study participants were asked to discuss the problems they associated with mixed-use development. The following examples attempt to illustrate some of the key factors identified by interviewees:

### Demand for Housing

Many comments focused on the trends within the property market that is experiencing rapid growth in the housing market – which is partly stimulated by the governments growth agenda. There is a perception that whilst developers now build mixed-use development it was not always the first choice for them. Developers still preferred the most profitable types of development – mainly housing. This has had a knock-on-affect on the supply of business premises. The high demand in residential development has meant that within a mixed-use development scheme, the residential components outsell the commercial component, often leaving them vacant for longer periods. In one example – Brewers Yard - within the case study area this has meant that the developer has sought planning permission to convert the remaining vacant commercial component into residential.

*...I think developers are more and more happy with mixed use anyway, I mean they I think in the past they were more reluctant*  
LBI - Policy Planner

*... obviously developers are always gonna look to make most profit that they can.*  
LBI - Policy Planner

*... there are trends overarching demand for residential by developers everybody wants that. There are some sites where we're getting applications for business uses, but are less common than residential...*  
LBI - S106 Planner

*If you're in the market for different products in a building its more difficult to market. Typical around here is commercial on the ground floors, and residential on upper floors. Equally typical is all the residential selling out and commercial spaces vacant for a long time...*  
Local Estate Agent

*For example, the Allied brewery site, large development site and large section 106 agreement attached to it. That was mixed use, comprising residential, office and a supermarket, the office is built but not filled and residential has been built but not the supermarket... they're trying to come back and negotiate to build that as residential as well. That's typical reaction.*  
LBI - S106 Planner

### Funding & Management Complexity

The ability to acquire funding and investment from financial institutions are cited as a significant constraint in gaining funding for mixed use development off the ground in the past but this is a perception that has supposedly changed in recent years. There is a perception that the design of mixed use increases costs due to its complexity when compared to single use building designs and thus fostering the preference in developers for single use buildings. In addition there will be more than one owner for

the different uses, which means that overall maintenance and repairs become complicated in terms of the allocation of responsibility for these.

*...one of the constraints that there has been actually for a very long time not just five years is the financial institutions...but it's often quite difficult or has been difficult to raise money, borrow money for a mixed use scheme. The banks and investment companies regard it as a potential problem and liabilities...*

LBI - Development Control Planner

*...its an argument that's been put to this in the past that well you can't possibly have residential above offices 'cos we'll never be able to borrow the money for it...I haven't heard that argument quite so much recently...*

LBI - Development Control Planner

*We may have to deal with different agents for commercial sites...*

Local Estate Agent

*...if you build a new building and there are different uses in it can be I suppose complicated in terms of you know who's responsible for what in mending the roof and all this sort of stuff whereas they prefer single use, single occupancy buildings very self-contained which are nice and easy then...*

LBI - Development Control Planner

*there are clearly design problems, which can make it difficult for them you know in terms of adding to the cost of the development and this sort of general difficulty...*

LBI - Policy Planner

### **The Planning Process**

There is a perception that the developers may be embracing mixed use as a way of avoiding providing affordable housing (AH). This means that developers are building below the affordable housing threshold – 15 or more residential units require AH – and then providing a non-residential use, which would then mean that the development would qualify for mixed-use and hence no need to provide an AH component. This highlights not only the reluctance of developers to build AH but how its unintended consequence benefits the development of mixed use (This is a problem that perhaps a symptom of not having minimum standards on what uses qualify as mixed use development). Section 106 agreements are a natural output of large developments. Planners use these as a means of attaining 'less profitable' uses such as community uses or employment uses, which the market may not voluntarily provide but can be delivered through the opportunities, created by a large mixed-use development scheme.

*...affordable housing policy which... kicks in at fifteen units, so once you provide fifteen units then you need to provide affordable housing, so people in order to get around that and they do that by putting in schemes for fourteen units plus employment on the ground floor or something. By doing that they don't have to provide any affordable housing, so therefore they are sort of voluntarily doing mixed use schemes.*

LBI - Policy Planner

*The section 106's in mixed use are more a factor of the size of redevelopment rather than a factor of mixed use, where we do sometimes use S106 to acquire mixed use or a special type of activity we want in a building, we'd use S106 to get a medical practice in a building and other such uses...*

LBI - S106 Planner

### **The Local Context**

The comments suggests developers only produce mixed-use development as a compromise to the local authority planning intervention, however they do not fully embrace the notion of mixed-use and attempt to only deliver the minimum required to qualify for planning permission. A more critical perception is that mixed use characteristic of the case study area has been declining over 15 years and has recently re-emerged as a way of preventing an escalation of residential development. Finally, lack of space and build up nature of the borough of Islington means that there are very few large development opportunity sites and this means any new development is likely to be on an infill site and small in scale.

*An example...Kingsway College they sold it up...to a developer, the developer put forward plans council insisted on there being mix use because it was losing jobs in the area, their nod towards mix use was to having office space on one of the outer buildings being used by an architect as office space and the main foyer being used as a gallery. They put paintings up (on Sands Walk) there and got around Mixed use by nodding to it.*

Local business occupier

*There hasn't been any serious mixed-use development policy in any of the city fringe areas. Mixed use has been pressing in this area for 15years...they have to have it now because housing development has grown so fast...new lofts, industrial developments has turned to studios, new restaurants*

Local Activist and Resident

*Now lack of space is an issue. For example, the Brewery development is unique massive site 30 acres or so...all the developments that happen in Islington are quite small scale and they're on gap sites really...*

Local Estate Agent

### **1.9 Incompatibility and conflict between uses**

The comments highlight conflicting activity patterns between new residential occupiers and new commercial, leisure and entertainment type activities. it is perceive that new residents are more likely to perceive night time activities as a problem and therefore more likely to make complaints, especially with regard to noise, litter and smells.

*Housing development has grown so fast...new lofts, industrial developments has turned to studios, new restaurants clash between the 24hr culture and residents.*

Local Activist and resident

*One of the problems is with some of the incomers, new residents, don't quite understand that it's a mixed use area, so they don't like a nightclub for example, they don't like people wandering down the street at two o'clock in the morning making noise... they don't like the fact that they can hear the air-conditioning from an office which has been there perhaps for a very long time...*

LBI – Development Control Planner

*...classic environmental health cases, when new residents moved in and within a few weeks they've filed a formal complaint to environmental health against air-conditioning say Reuters who've been there for twenty five years.*

LBI – Development Control Planner

*Most of the objections are to do with takeaways the noise, litter and smells and the difference with a takeaway might be open till 2 am and attracts people coming back from the pub to a quality café or restaurant.*

LBI – Development Control Planner

However, one of the Planners, suggests how some of these problems maybe mitigated in the future: for example through the new Use Class Order which would allow for more control over uses that are more likely to have an adverse on residential environment. In addition, one comment suggests that conflicts within mixed-use should be expected and that new residents perhaps are unrealistic in their expectations of living in mix use development.

*The use classes will allow us to give consent to one and not the other and you will need permission to change from one to the other...In terms of the use classes, there will be more control over whether something is a bar or a takeaway or a café. That will allow us to have a more subtle approach to mixed use.*

LBI – Development Control Planner

*There are conflicts and with any sort of mixed use area, it requires a certain amount of tolerance doesn't it.*

LBI – Development Control Planner



# Part 4: Findings on Quality of Life Issues

## Section E: Clerkenwell - Interview analysis on residential quality of life

### Findings: Quality of Life issues from Interviews in Clerkenwell.

This summary draws on primary research conducted through interviews and focus groups undertaken in Clerkenwell in 2004 (see survey charts & maps – Appendix I).

The aim was to understand what it was like to live in a diverse and mixed-use neighbourhood and to observe how those living in that space perceive and experience such a neighbourhood.

#### Broad Objectives

- In what ways do mixed uses in a neighbourhood affect or constrain those living in them?
- How do those living in a mixed neighbourhood deal with everyday problems associated with the neighbourhood?
- What aspects do they like or find beneficial about living in a mixed-use neighbourhood
- What are the features that constrain peoples quality of life in the neighbourhood and how do people overcome these constrains

**Table 1.1: Who are the participants in Clerkenwell?**

Ward Councillor (x1) Community group organisers (x2) Community worker at Local Authority (x1) Mother and Toddler Group (x4) Pensioners Group (x5) Residents (x7) Local Authority and community professionals (approx 20) only a few extracts taken from these interviews as main focus was only policy and practice around mixed use
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**These Questions used only as guidelines** – most discussions were conducted in semi-structured but informal way and in most cases taped:

- 1) What type of choice involved in residency of the neighbourhood?  
How long respondents had lived in the neighbourhood  
If newcomer: what reason for choosing to live in the neighbourhood  
If existing resident: How did they end up living in this neighbourhood
- 2) The neighbourhood as a place to live:  
whether they liked or disliked living in the neighbourhood

- 3) How respondents felt about having other activities nearby them (where applicable) what issues respondents raised, whether they had a positive or negative impact on their everyday life
- 4) What respondents thought about their community? How did they engage in that community? Did they take part in any local community activity?
- 5) What did respondents think about shopping and leisure facilities in their neighbourhood?
- 6) How did people get about for different types of activities, perceptions of public transport?
- 7) Perceptions of personal safety and experience of crime, anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood
- 8) Other issues: provisions of services and amenities – was there access to open space, playgrounds, child care and schools, dealings with the council, perception of change in the neighbourhood.
- 9) Other Comments

The sort of issues that emerged in the group interviews:

- Housing
- Crime
- Bars, clubs and restaurants
- Open spaces
- How “late night” activities affect residents
- Refuse collection
- Litter and street cleaning
- Anti-social behaviour
- Recreation and leisure
- How decisions are taken about these things e.g. by the Council,

### **Limitations of this analysis**

The survey analysis here does not reflect a representative sample and thus all findings should be treated as being more as anecdotal. The opinions expressed are used selectively to provide an overview of the type of issues facing a mixed-use neighbourhood. The following section reports on key emerging findings:

### **Key Themes:**

#### **Who took part?**

Some examples of profiles of the respondents:

For the respondents (x8) who currently occupied social housing the choice to live in the neighbourhood was initially a result of the Council housing allocation policies. For those who could afford to buy and had the potential to move out, the decision to remain was never the less regarded as being a positive on the whole, although there were more complex issues underpinning this choice.

For those longer established residents (x3) (resident for more than 10 to 15 years), who owned their homes, the decision to move into the neighbourhood was initially a rational decision very much dictated by the availability of cheap housing. This was also influenced by the historic characteristics of the area and the availability of street level Victorian and Georgian terraces in need of repair and renovation.

*I've lived there about 20 years. These four houses are in a terrace in Seckford St. I'm on the curved bit, furthest from the churchyard. Four of us bought these houses from the council they were in a ruinous state. The one next to me was in the best condition; mine was next best, the others were worse. A developer bought the other houses in that street and made them into flats. Mine was a one-owner house and I've got a student on the top floor.*  
Clerkenwell Resident

The Pensioners group (x5) on the whole had a mix of profiles and not easy to generalise. This group tended to be more single households and who had lived in Clerkenwell for most of their lives and most were leaseholders of their flats in Clerkenwell.

### **What are the attractions of this locality?**

The survey sought to find out what people think of their quality of life in relation to their physical environment. The interviews reveal that there were many mixed positive and negative views, which were being balanced against each other in perceptions of the area. Many views were expressed about what people liked about Clerkenwell and related it to the attraction and appeal of living in a central city neighbourhood or more generally a feature of living in London:

#### **Unique place**

*Clerkenwell is unique area...nationwide policies do not take into account of this uniqueness.*

Clerkenwell Resident

#### **Social diversity**

*Richest and poorest people live cheek by jowl with each other in Clerkenwell*

Clerkenwell Resident

#### **Location is key**

*It's always good being very central...the location is quite important.*

Clerkenwell business owner

Most respondents expressed high levels of satisfaction with the neighbourhood as a place to live for varying reasons whilst acknowledging that there were aspects of it they found to be problematic and in need of improvement:

#### **Positive overall perception of the place**

*It's a very nice area – nice housing, interesting shops we've been here a long time. Even if you don't know people well, you get on with them*

Clerkenwell resident

#### **Good transport connection and accessibility**

*Everything is within walking distance. We have 6 tube stations...you have all the buses you need, buses that take you anywhere in London, you have Liverpool St, Farringdon takes you to Luton, Brighton, Gatwick Airport, Kings Cross takes you to Heathrow...*

Clerkenwell resident

**Poor public Space**

*There are good facilities but they are not looked after and maintained. In Clerkenwell Green, the churchyard, it's not as good as it used to be. The plants are not looked after, but that may be because there are so many people using it.*

Clerkenwell Resident

**Anti-social behaviour in public spaces**

*Only winos and drug addicts use that park now. They used to have tennis courts there, a nice playground and it's fallen to bits.*

Clerkenwell Resident

**Decline in public facilities due to poor maintenance**

*That's true of the one in Middleton Square as well. There are good facilities but they are not looked after and maintained. If they ever have to put them back, they have to spend a huge amount of money because they didn't spend a little money on maintenance*

Clerkenwell resident

**Loss of local public facilities**

*They closed the swimming pool down in Northampton Square. That used to be handy*

Clerkenwell resident

The examples above show, whilst people had positive feelings about the place the poor environmental quality was of concern. For example, most were concerned about the lack of maintenance of public spaces and parks, closure of community facilities such as swimming pools and libraries, and anti-social behaviour – many of these problems were seen as a failure by the council to keep up repairs.

**Dissatisfaction: Feeling of not belonging**

It's something to do with not feeling that you belong to a community when you get to the point that you don't care anything about a place.

Clerkenwell resident

**Dissatisfaction with council services**

The key issue in this area is that the council doesn't do its job properly it doesn't clean the streets properly, maintain the parks properly, - doesn't provide the services it's supposed to provide.

Clerkenwell community worker

**Housing**

Interviewees (almost half) who were council tenants had real concerns about the maintenance, repair and upkeep on their houses and flats. They blame the council for poor cleansing, rubbish collection and deteriorating facilities inside their building this in turn contributes to feelings of marginalisation. In some cases this is about feeling the council has forgotten about them.

**Lack of money for repairs in council housing**

*The Infrastructure that we live in whether it's a house or flat has been over the years been neglected...always the excuses not enough money*

Resident (pensioner)

### **Repairs do not improve conditions**

*...now the repairs they're going to do under the auspices of ALMO or whatever you call it...the repair will extend the life for a few more years ...it doesn't improve the properties*

Resident

Some comments suggest children, relatives, friends and finances often tie people into a certain place. Of those council tenants and leaseholders who initially said they had no choice about their housing allocation, stayed on in the neighbourhood as a result of establishing family and friendship ties in the neighbourhood.

Concerns were expressed about the availability and affordability of housing for the younger generation of low-income households. This was seen as a push factor, which had made a few of the interviewees children move out of the neighbourhood and continues to be an outstanding concern for existing young people in the neighbourhood.

### **Impact of the rise in housing value**

*People who purchase or rent council accommodation do so because it's a cheap option. They can't quite afford the private sector. House prices have gone crazy in this area because we are so close to the City and we are fashionable. I fear that - where are the sons and daughters of today's council tenants going to live in 20 years' time? They are never going to be able to get council accommodation and it's very unlikely that many of them will be able to buy or rent in this area.*

Clerkenwell: Local Authority Housing officer

### **Young people are priced out**

*In terms of the stats...many of whose youngsters have moved away from the area. There is a knock-on effect on schools...*

Clerkenwell: Local Authority Housing officer

Of the few respondents (3 council tenants), who said they would like to move out of the neighbourhood, the reasons for moving related to the 'poor state of the property they lived in' and the 'neighbourhood' they lived in. Unhappiness with neighbours and upkeep inside the building as well as the deterioration of the neighbourhood outside the home are cited as reasons for wanting to move. Although council tenants have difficulty moving out, as they cannot afford to move out even if they want to.

### **Transport and Car Parking**

There were wide variations in attitudes to travelling and transport usage. Most residents felt that transport networks and services in the neighbourhood were very good and easily accessible, epitomised in the following:

#### **Good transport services and networks**

*Everything is within walking distance. We have 6 tube stations, Kings Cross, Farringdon, Barbican, Moorgate, The Angel, Old St - 6 within walking distance. It takes 15 minutes to walk to Liverpool St, you have all the buses you need, buses that take you anywhere in London, you have Liverpool St, Farringdon takes you to Luton, Brighton, Gatwick Airport, Kings Cross takes you to Heathrow...*

Clerkenwell resident

Car-ownership was very low amongst the respondents with only one person currently owning a car but only using it occasionally for long trips outside Clerkenwell. With a few residents (two), giving up their car, since moving to the area, one 30 years ago and one 5 years ago. The low car ownership was down to the fact that although many would like to own a car they could not afford to do so and the restrictive parking availability deterred them even further. The one resident owning the car did not need to use it as much as everything was within walking distance of where they lived:

**Proximity to services reduced need to use car**

*I have a car. I do a lot of my shopping on foot because it's nearby. It's easier than finding a parking space...* Clerkenwell resident

The high levels of traffic flow through the neighbourhood generally was seen as having a negative impact on some residents quality of life:

**Negative: Traffic calming measures not effective**

*The council has put in speed bumps. Most of that is welcome we feel that some are rather ugly...The cars that go through the area very quickly, Post Office vans going to Mount Pleasant roar through the area at high speeds late at night.* Clerkenwell resident

The introduction of congestion charging is regarded as having a positive benefit helping to ease traffic flows in the neighbourhood:

**Positive: Congestion Charging**

*The traffic has got better after the congestions charge*  
Clerkenwell resident

**Road width too wide and now fewer cars due to congestion charging**

*...This area is intersected by big main roads. You've got wide roads like this there's no reason for them being so wide. The reason for them being so wide in the first place had something to do with trams. Now, with the Congestion Charge, not so much traffic comes down these big main roads any more Goswell Road, St. John's St to Smithfield Market.*  
Clerkenwell Community leader

Whilst the congestion charging is welcome there is acknowledgment that it also has its downside. For example, it makes it difficult for visitors to park in the area and has detrimentally affected local trade in shops:

**Parking difficulties for Visitors**

*Male interviewee: Yes we have residents' parking. It's not a problem for us it's a problem for people immediately outside the area who are coming to these shops.* Clerkenwell resident

**Negative aspects of congestion charging: impact on local shops**

*One of the flower shops has had to move because of this problem. The shops are in danger, not least because of the way the parking policy is implemented. For instance there are specialist shops that non-local people come to. The shoe shop, another specialist flower shop, a beautiful shop, she's a distinguished florist she's written books they have closed. She can't get enough retail trade there because of the parking.... There are some ridiculous stories about people who are clamped after 10 minutes*  
Clerkenwell resident

### **Schools, Playgrounds and Youth Facilities**

Residents were most positive with regard to public transport but least positive about schools, youth facilities, children's play facilities, parks and open spaces. This is also a point reiterated in the household questionnaire surveys.

Respondents talked about the lack of adequate facilities for their children. The lack of repair of playgrounds and parks for young children in the neighbourhood – these were increasingly causes for concern. Generally, local provision is regarded as being inconsistent with local needs; it was regarded as being good for some age groups but not others such as under 5's and over 16's.

#### **Public open spaces and playground in disrepair**

*...They used to have tennis courts there, a nice playground and it's fallen to bits.*

Clerkenwell Resident

#### **Informal public spaces fall into disrepair**

*The things that are organised are still going on. It's the things that are unorganised to play tennis or play in the park it's those things that are not maintained, they have fallen away*

Clerkenwell Resident

#### **Lack of children's play area**

*Things that can't be changed the lack of space for children to run about in. The little play area in the churchyard they had quite a few things they could jump around on. Now there's only about 2 things they can climb on. I have found teenagers in it they are not meant to go in there*

Clerkenwell Resident

#### **Over-use of open spaces**

*There are good facilities but they are not looked after and maintained...but that may be because there are so many people using it.*

Clerkenwell resident

Schools and schooling standards in the neighbourhood were seen to be inadequate.

#### **Poor schooling teaching standards**

*The schooling is very bad – I have not got a good word to say about schools in Islington...the teaching standard is below the average... They get a new teacher every couple of weeks. The teaching in primary school doesn't prepare them for secondary school...*

Clerkenwell Resident

#### **Poor reputation of school deters parents**

*When the children were younger. They went to school in the borough early on, but by the age of 5 they went outside the borough because we had heard it wasn't good. We did investigate a bit but weren't encouraged.*

Clerkenwell Resident

Heavy demands were being made to existing scarce resources reducing the quality of overall local provision available, especially to those on low incomes. Residents (parents) worried about what could be done to offset the negative externalities threatening provision for children. They feel that children are on the one hand unable to play outside freely due to lack of amenities and on the other hand are less

disciplined, or prone to taking part in anti-social behaviour such as graffiti, vandalism, drugs and crime.

**Youth anti-social behaviour due to lack of other leisure alternatives**

*... they just hang around...they drink get drunk and nick bikes. They damage cars, they do a bit of graffiti...There is a problem. For most of the time they just mill around not doing much. Suddenly one of them will get an idea and they will go and damage a car.* Clerkenwell Resident

**Children/Youth do not respect public spaces**

*...It's like putting pearls in front of sows they can't appreciate what they've got, they destroy it. If you tell their parents, it makes no difference because the parents are not much better.* Clerkenwell Resident

There is a perception here that parents need to take responsibility for the children's actions.

**Lack of understanding of 'young' peoples needs results in overzealous policing off streets**

*An issue that will cause problems 20% of the borough's population range from 0 to 18 years and lots of kids need to go out and hang out. They often hang out on the council estates. You end up with people not familiar with council estates find that unacceptable. They demand the police and council move the kids along you are just moving the problem around. Unless you address the issues of providing youth provision for those excluded from school or have problems, you are going to have a real dichotomy...*  
Clerkenwell Housing officer

**Crime, Safety and Security**

On the whole people felt happy with personal safety and security in their homes and outside on the streets at most times of the day – although most were cautious about where they walked at night.

**Feeling safe at night**

*Even at night. It's not a bad area. I feel quite secure and so does my daughter... I never see any drug dealers or people hanging around*  
Clerkenwell Resident

Most of the older residents (Pensioners groups aged 60+) understandably felt the most unsafe and worried about walking after dark.

**Fear of crime**

*I walk very quickly...I worry about it (safety) but it doesn't stop me walking. If I walk back from the Angel late at night I always come along the main street...after dark I feel unsafe I've never actually had a problem...some of my elderly neighbours don't.*  
Clerkenwell Resident (pensioner)

Most residents said they had not experienced any forms of crime personally but knew of people who had been burgled or assaulted verbally in the neighbourhood. However, this did not equate to a feeling that the area was getting worse or unsafe than before but rather this was 'part and parcel of living in London'.



### **Youth Nuisance**

*Youths hanging around street can be nuisance. This is London wide problem*  
Clerkenwell Resident

There was a high perception of youth related crime in the area that needed to be prioritised in crime reduction initiatives in general in the area. The Most common cause for concern for residents was with noise nuisance created by people using motorbikes and mopeds and the related problems of high motorbike theft and misuse by youths on and off the streets.

### **Concerns for youth crime and anti-social behaviour**

*they just hang around...they drink get drunk and nick bikes. They damage cars, they do a bit of graffiti...There is a problem.*  
Clerkenwell Resident

### **Bike crime**

*Last week I was in the office talking to them it was the middle of the day, this young man came running saying 'have you seen someone, they just nicked my bike' They said 'yes they just went past us, sat on a moped' - because it had a steering lock they pushed it past the office where all the cameras are. They don't care.*  
Clerkenwell resident

People felt intimidated and insecure at the presence of 'youths hanging around street corners' and the resulting anti-social behaviour commonly drug usage, graffiti and vandalism. However, some sympathetically felt this was a factor of the lack of youth spaces and social exclusion:

### **Lack of understanding of 'young' peoples needs results in overzealous policing off streets**

*An issue that will cause problems 20% of the borough's population range from 0 to 18 years and lots of kids need to go out and hang out. They often hang out on the council estates. You end up with people not familiar with council estates find that unacceptable. They demand the police and council move the kids along you are just moving the problem around. Unless you address the issues of providing youth provision for those excluded from school or have problems, you are going to have a real dichotomy...*  
Clerkenwell Housing officer

In addition, some feel better policing of the streets and faster police response to incidences is needed:

### **Need for better policing**

*So many times, I've phoned the police station because someone's getting beaten up or gangs were nicking cars. I hang on for 45 minutes to get through because they tell me not to call 999.*  
Clerkenwell resident

### **'Bobbies on the Beat'**

*The occasional policeman walking around would be helpful. I also wonder if a few cameras up would be helpful. People are aware of cameras.*  
Local business owner

### **Need for improving safety**

*Q: How could this area be improved?*

*A: Make people safer at night*

Clerkenwell resident

### **Affects of “Late Night” Activities**

Strong concerns were expressed about the need for the harmonisation of what is regarded by many to be conflicting uses in the neighbourhood. These were mainly to do with night time leisure uses such as bars and nightclubs and their detrimental impact on the residential environment.

For example, nearly all respondents had experienced some form of noise disturbance and anti-social behaviour outside their homes late at night. In nearly all cases these were attributed to late night drinkers leaving clubs and bars. The anti-social behaviour was described as being disorderly drunken behaviour i.e. fighting, loud singing and shouting, strewn litter, visible drugs usage, vandalism and graffiti – undertaken by those perceived to be from outside of the area. These problems seemed to be accentuated during the weekends and a cause for sleep disturbance to nearly all residents.

#### **Impact of late-night bars/clubs: result in noise and nuisance in area**

*...The bars didn't like losing their trade at 11 o'clock people just went to a nightclub. So a lot of them have applied for entertainment licences and have discos until the small hours as well as the nightclubs. This brings huge numbers of people to the area. There are a lot of problems some people are drunk, throwing up, urinating in the streets and alleyways. It's noisy - the music is so loud that anyone who wants to make a phone call goes outside. So you have people making loud or drunken phone calls outside...*

Clerkenwell Councillor

Residents felt that the local authorities were sidelining their interests over commercial goals. In turn, late night 'alcohol' licence-holders abuse licensing hours by staying open longer and or playing music louder than their legal permit. The local council seems unable to enforce licensing rules and is ineffective in resolving complaints about noise and nuisance:

#### **Noise disturbance from neighbouring bar**

*Sometimes till midnight, sometimes till the early hours of the morning...it doesn't have a licence to stay open late and it doesn't have a licence for music...complained to council no change. There used to be a noise patrol there still is but you can never get them they are too busy. Although the licence was withdrawn on one occasion 15 months ago but they soon came back and they'd granted it to the same people without knowing. It is better, but there is still a problem some nights. It's a premise in the wrong place. If you are going to do that sort of operation, you need to be somewhere like Upper St not in a residential area.* Clerkenwell resident

#### **Noise from those leaving pubs/bars**

*It is pretty spread out now. It only takes one nightclub to cause disturbance over quite a wide area. I've had complaints of horrendous activities where they close and all the clients spill out onto the street, someone turns up the car radio and they carrying on bopping in the street until all hours. It's outrageous.* Clerkenwell Councillor

### **Complexity with planning, licensing, policing and enforcing: lack of co-ordination between departments when issuing licenses**

*The licensing system the local council is only now taking over the alcohol licensing the magistrates and to some extent the police would give out extended licenses for alcohol consumption. There was a big problem of co-ordination with the police in many cases they were giving extended licenses to nightclub or bar owners, even though the hours for which they were granted did not have planning permission. I spent a lot of time even before I was a member getting the planning and licensing departments to talk to each other and the police to talk to either. People were getting licenses that their planning permission did not allow them to have*

Clerkenwell Councillor

### **The Community**

*It's a very nice area – nice housing, interesting shops we've been here a long time. Even if you don't know people well, you get on with them*

Clerkenwell resident

Residents generally felt a sense of community and had friendly neighbours and people in and around their neighbourhood that 'looked out for each other'. This created a sense of trust and security making the neighbourhood a better place to live in despite having concerns about other aspects of where they live. The comments indicate that people place varying importance to having friendly neighbours. Whilst some will chose to keep themselves to themselves or will prefer to have more neutral relations with neighbours:

I have lots of friends. I know most of my neighbours

Clerkenwell resident

*Q: Do you have friends and neighbours nearby that you know?*

*A: Not really. I know one man in one of these houses. I nod to people. I know one or two people just by saying hello but that's as far as it goes.*

Clerkenwell resident

Tensions are directed towards the newer more affluent residents moving into newly built 'luxury' and 'posh' upmarket residential accommodation. There is a sense of 'them and us' that increases the sense of polarisation, where the rich and poor are seen to be living next door to each other or on the same street but seldom meet or interact with one another:

### **Social mix doesn't happen between different socio-economic groups**

*The council wanted to have a mixed area. I don't think I'd like to live in an area where it was all one type of person. They're just over the road in council flats and houses. It's like miles and miles they never speak to each other across that void we don't fraternise at all.*

Clerkenwell resident

### **Changes in Clerkenwell: Affluent Newcomers**

*A lot of affluent people moved into the area recently. We were originally part of that but now it's much more affluent people...In the 70s, what were the reasons for people moving in...To get affordable housing, people were willing to buy old properties and do them up. There were a lot of them, there aren't now. The young people who are moving in are very different to the older people...Much more affluent. They go away a lot at the weekends...*

Clerkenwell resident

**Impact of residential change: housing unaffordable for locals, there is no social mixing between locals and newcomers (residents)**

*Locals priced out and outnumbered by affluent newcomers. Locals have become insular, no mixing, those who work go home, locals hang out cheaper pubs...young move out of area. Clerkenwell estate agent*

**Development of social polarisation and exclusion**

*...you are going to have a real dichotomy those that have high expectations of what they want and those who haven't got anything they feel they will wreck what other people have got when you see someone with a big, flash £50,000 car parked outside a smart restaurant do you wonder why someone who has very little in their life ends up putting a brick through it. I don't condone it, but society needs to look at the issue a bit more. In terms of the stats, we have a high proportion of elderly people in this area. Many of whose youngsters have moved away from the area. There is a knock-on effect on schools if there is a drop of numbers of youngsters in school that has an effect on the schools... Clerkenwell Housing officer*

Whilst this is a socially diverse area where the rich and poor live side by side there is very little social mixing going on in the neighbourhood. The new affluent young people moving in to the area are regarded suspiciously as they are blamed for making the area unaffordable to locals and changing the nature of the local community.

**Mix Uses & Changes in the neighbourhood**

Questions were asked about non-residential buildings and activities on the same street and nearby streets. In many cases people talked about other mixed activities without having to be prompted.

*History of the area:*

*Clerkenwell's success linked to the success of the city of London: Clerkenwell became a barometer for how the city was doing  
Clerkenwell estate agent*

**Previously a declining area**

*Before the 80's – The area was like a ghost town with a few odd cafes and photocopying shops, no one wanted to come and live in the area.  
Clerkenwell business occupier*

**A test bed for new ideas**

*Clerkenwell became a test bed for new ideas in architecture and building construction. Resulting in a proliferation of leading architect firms occupying contemporary buildings of high standard...  
Clerkenwell developer*

**Historically a mixed-use area**

*The history of Clerkenwell was as a residential area with a mixed business use, many of the houses had basements and were used by small companies – for plating purposes for jewellery, gold smiths and clock making. Majority had no more than 4 people and employed local people  
Clerkenwell resident and activist*

A mix of people and activities and uses is valued by most and an essential part of the areas character:

*It's a very nice area – nice housing, interesting shops we've been here a long time. Even if you don't know people well, you get on with them*  
Clerkenwell resident

*Having these other uses and activities are part and parcel of where u live.*  
Clerkenwell resident

*We find it very invigorating we like the fact that it is a mixed area. It's very central*  
Clerkenwell resident

The neighbourhoods mix of activities; shops, industry and commerce, buildings (old and new) and different social diversity are valued and regarded as creating an interesting place to live in. Residents express benefits to living close to shops, restaurants and other non-residential uses.

**Positive value to living close to amenities**

*Opposite, there's a laundrette, a café, a little food store. There's the library and the university. We've got Northampton Square, with a tiny bit of green...*  
Clerkenwell resident

**Access to a range of shops valued**

*Everywhere. Budgens is very good, very convenient. You have Exmouth Market, you have very nice family who runs it, there's the shop across the road, you have the Angel, you have the new shopping centre, N1, opposite Sainsbury's. They have a cinema, bookshops, all the shops you want, everything. It's fantastic. You have Body Shop, everything*  
Clerkenwell resident

Residents were aware that developments in the area were changing the appearance and nature of it. That there were more affluent residents, new types of businesses, restaurants and bars opening which were seen as something acknowledged as being good for the area whilst having a downside to this.

**Expensive restaurants**

*Some people complain that these restaurants are too expensive...the vegetarian Indian one in Chapel Market is £2.99, all you can eat and it's very good. The good restaurant is more but it's not too terrible. There are a lot of expensive restaurants, which I don't go to very often. I wish there were more inexpensive ones.*  
Clerkenwell resident

**Problem of mixed area: lack of real social mixing**

*The council wanted to have a mixed area. I don't think I'd like to live in an area where it was all one type of person. They're just over the road in council flats and houses. It's like miles and miles – they never speak to each other across that void*  
Clerkenwell resident

### **Awareness that there is a change in the demographic composition of residents**

*There's a lot of building work going on and refurbishment of old buildings that have been derelict for a long time...more residential – the more expensive end. Quite different from the historic communities that have lived in this area and still do in some parts*

Clerkenwell resident

### **Historic features have made the area attractive for redevelopment. There is an awareness of the potential threat of over-development of the area which could result in the loss of its distinctive historic identity**

*The reason the area has become attractive and sought after is because of all the historic things. Businesses that have been here a long time – all the crafts - their history goes back a long way – that historic link has been part of the attraction of the area but it has backfired on itself. We are now all under threat. We could end up with an area full of amazing apartments. The reason those apartments have been developed will be gone.*

Clerkenwell estate agent

### **Impact of change on businesses: Rise in property and rental values in the area**

*The whole way the area has changed has impacted on the value of property in this area. For organisations like us at rent review time, we are faced with an unreal situation in that the values that are applied to a building like this are out of line with what we should be paying. Our last rent review with Islington in 2002 – Islington opened the negotiations with a 100% increase in our lease rent. They claimed that was the market rent.*

Clerkenwell business occupier

### **Perceived problems**

For example people were sceptical about the new restaurants and shops opening up in Exmouth Market, which were seen as displacing small independent local shop owners and replacing them with more expensive and unaffordable shops unable to meet their needs: their needs being the availability of more convenience stores providing good quality fresh foods and other needs affordably, within walking distance rather than more restaurants and bars:

#### **Lack of cheap shops**

*There's no cheap greengrocers, no butchers, so everyone's forced to go there (Angel)...Remember, in Clerkenwell and Bunhill, 60% or people don't have cars only one third do.*

Clerkenwell Community worker

#### **Impact of Change: Exmouth Market**

*There's Exmouth market. 25 years ago it was a market, you had food stores and utility stores, somewhere to get your boots sorted or your clothes and there was a Woolworth's at the end of the road. There has been a change from traditionally working class things – you had a pie and mash shop down there. Now, you have (expensive) wine bars and flash restaurants.*

Clerkenwell resident

The impact of residential redevelopment has pushed a class structure change in the local population. It has moved from being a relatively working class community to a more affluent 'professional class':

**Emergence of new 'professional' class:**

*As property values have risen and Clerkenwell became trendy as commuting become less popular the type of people coming here has changed now its popular with the 'hard working, working-class' professionals who earn a lot of money i.e. Lawyers, bankers, financiers. So the creative people were pushed further east. New types of occupiers are the professional classes, so it's evolved...*

Clerkenwell estate agent

Residents also cited environmental concerns to do with the increase of food and drink outlets in the area, such as increasing noise, nuisance and anti-social behaviour and accumulation of rubbish on the streets (e.g. Exmouth Market, Amwell Street).

**Noise and nuisance generated by nighttime activities**

*This brings huge numbers of people to the area. There are a lot of problems some people are drunk, throwing up, urinating in the streets and alleyways. It's noisy - the music is so loud that anyone who wants to make a phone call goes outside...*

Clerkenwell Councillor

**Litter, smells and poor street cleaning**

*For me the problem is the litter...it stinks. There are 2 problems with rubbish; there are no bins in most places so they drop things along the street. The other is the problem on the street. A lot of people put their rubbish out when they feel like it – maybe 3 days before the collection. It's not pleasant in the summer, especially when the cats get to it.*

Clerkenwell resident

*In Exmouth Market they put the rubbish by the trees – you get one rubbish bag – 2 hours later you've got 10. Every tree has a mountain of rubbish bags.*

Clerkenwell resident

Many of the problems cited are less to do with mixed use *per se* but more to do with the perceived poor local authority service provisions and expenditure:

**Council mismanagement**

*I don't think this council is a good spender of money. Even on the visible things, they don't spend it well. What they've done on the roads recently – they could have achieved it for a third of the price. Maintenance is a big problem – even with their own housing – they let their own housing go to such an extent that repairs are more expensive and they don't do it properly.*

Clerkenwell resident

**Council neglect of local shops:**

*In Amwell Street there are historical shops, chemist is down there (Kings). Meant to have shops preserved in the street but they've been allowed to rot, existing ones have been allowed to rot while the council sold off for other uses in Amwell Street, other uses e.g. solicitors, manufacturing of wholesale use.*

Clerkenwell resident (pensioner)

**Decline and closure of public facilities**

*They closed the swimming pool down in Northampton Square. That used to be handy*

Clerkenwell resident

**Dissatisfaction with council services**

*The key issue in this area is that the council doesn't do its job properly it doesn't clean the streets properly, maintain the parks properly, - doesn't provide the services it's supposed to provide.*

Clerkenwell community worker

**Acknowledge there are many good things about area, which should not be loosed through lack of maintenance:**

*It's also maintenance of what you have. There are some good things there but they're allowed to be let go. The park behind here is a wonderful facility that the council has given up on. Spar Fields.*

Clerkenwell resident

**Need for co-ordinated service delivery**

*We lack someone looking after the whole area, being responsible for the whole thing, making sure, this is their patch. They want to see that the whole area works. If you have mixed use what do you need to do to make it work*

Clerkenwell resident

**Final points**

Investment in the neighbourhood makes some people feel that they are getting better. Access to good local amenities is important for the area. Concerns about crime and anti-social behaviour make others feel that the neighbourhood is getting worse. General litter and untidiness is a constant frustration. The lack of open spaces and facilities for children is a common concern for the majority of residents. Some feel pessimistic about the influence they have in affecting change and resolving problems they face around where they live.

The growth of residential uses into the existing mix uses has stimulated the 'late night economy' and boosted the local economy on the hand but on the other it has also created negative impacts on the residential environmental quality of life – rise in anti-social behaviour on streets. Finally, it is unclear from the perceptions expressed whether the issues discussed are specific to mixed-use areas or not. However, interestingly, similar opinions are expressed in the Sheffield case study.



## Part 5:

### Summary and Conclusions:

### Implications for Policy

From the Survey findings we have gained a fine grain understanding of:

1. **Degrees of integration and separation of land-uses** within a designated mixed-use case study area
2. Evidence of the **negative and positive externalities** that influence both resident and business occupiers experiences of dense/diverse land-use areas.
  - **Trade-offs** - respondents are trading factors against each other in their assessments of mixed use/central city environments (i.e. dwelling type, land-use mix, location, provision of additional security and public transport networks).
  - **Location factors** - Proximity, Centrality, accessibility and high levels of amenity important
3. The survey data **highlights the scale - from the micro, meso to macro scale** - at which these externalities may be operating in the city.
  - mixed-use scale – more at neighbourhood and street level
  - pattern of separation between residential and commercial buildings – e.g. greater horizontal diversity within business occupier buildings
  - negative externalities - problematic at building level and those associated with street environment – mostly to do with litter, noise and parking.

#### General Findings

1. Growth in city living - Pressure for residential in city centre over employment uses
2. Impacts from post industrial decline, current economic revival at different stages
3. Heavily private sector led – following national trends
4. Social housing component still exists – ALMO and few RSLs
5. Mixed-use Policy - No clear-cut definitions, although the terminology used and the principle is widely applied and is area specific.

#### Clerkenwell - policy & practice

1. Mature City Centre Housing Market
2. Mixed use development – organic, historic underpinnings
3. Private sector led housing market dominant
4. Planning: 'less interventionist' than Sheffield.
5. Relatively pragmatic approach to policy-making

### Implications for Urban Design

1. Growth of city centre living highlights increasing importance of quality of life in these places
2. Negative role of City Marketing in selling places to groups only – typically affluent, mobile professional class people, singles or couples no real ‘mix tenure’
3. Developer – mixed reactions to mixed use development, prefer vertical separation of landuses.
4. Need to explore the relation between the different scales within which the mixing of uses occur.
5. the perceived risks, expressed both by residents and decision makers based on the negative externalities could be reduced if their approach incorporates an understanding externalities and trade-offs.

### Policy implications

- Cant socially engineer mixed
- Policies for mixed use need to be less prescriptive
- mechanisms that generate and sustain diverse urban form cant really be planned instead they grow organically
- ‘urban decision-makers need more joined-up thinking to reconcile competing public and private interests,
- Need for ‘soft’ infrastructure
- the market inevitably fails to provide public goods such as local amenities need to be factored in to areas where new developments are built
- people in different life stages need accommodation
- ‘Socially compartmentalised’ spaces – how to avoid segregation by ethnicity, age, gender and social class?

### Specific issues raised:

- Planning Policies – need for a mixed-use class?
- Building Regulations – soundproofing
- Building Design – sustainability, adaptability issues for changing uses
- Fire, Health & Safety (and more Building Regulation) issues

#### 1. Influence on design and decision-making

- **Connectivity** is still very important in both case study sites.
- **Proximity** to public transport and services/amenities
- **Walkability** and accessibility key to success
- **Not High rise** (above existing building heights./morphology)

*Need for an integrated source of information about local environment – at the moment architects/ designers/ planners/ developers – don’t think about who the end-users will be.*

*The sustainability or durability of buildings is not considered for people different life style needs*

## 2. Further research - potential tools to be developed

- **'Urban Pattern Book'** (locally specific supplementary design guidance) for planning mixed-use development  
rationale: difficult to socially engineer the successful mixed use environment therefore the pattern book would provide a criteria or checklist for its key components and designs.
- **'Local evidence based decision-making'** – it is hoped this will avoid the contradiction between central and local government political and policy interests.  
Keep record of who consulted and build on the knowledge of local area. There should be scope for local people to input their knowledge and concerns within this process – using 'micro-knowledge'.
- **'Legacy Archive' – One archive resource** where different sources of 'local data' about the local environment can be stored including the local evidence base. This will be regularly 'topped-up' and provide a 'longitudinal framework' of knowledge about urban areas, which will provide basis for measuring and evaluating success and failure in urban policies in the local environment.

### Surveys

Appendix I – The summary of household and business surveys are represented in chart and associated map form. This includes spatial analysis of recorded crime and employment/economic activity, and density of land and economic use. Comparative (Clerkenwell and Sheffield, with Manchester City Centre Living) survey analysis is available in the 'Mixed Use: Urban Sustainability and Mixed Messages?' chapter in the forthcoming book: *Urban Sustainability: Decision-making tools and resources for design* (Blackwell 2009).

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**Islington** [www.met.police.uk/islington/index.htm](http://www.met.police.uk/islington/index.htm)

**Islington Strategic Partnership**  
[www.islington.gov.uk/community/community\\_none.asp?sectionid=1826](http://www.islington.gov.uk/community/community_none.asp?sectionid=1826)

**Islington Voluntary Action Council** [www.ivac.org.uk](http://www.ivac.org.uk)

**Islington Primary Care Trust** [www.islingtonpct.nhs.uk](http://www.islingtonpct.nhs.uk)

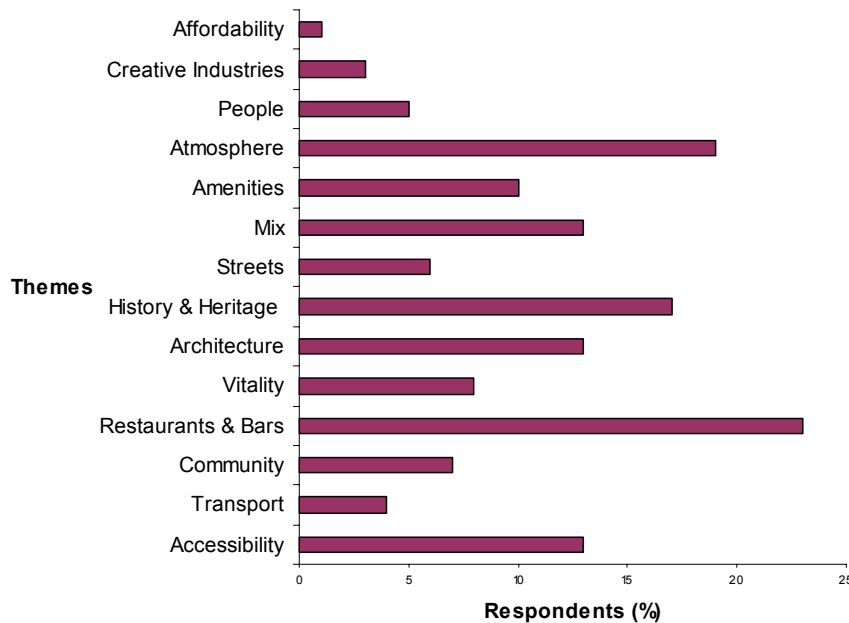
Survey findings - summary

Households/Residents (questionnaire survey)

Respondents	%	Respondents	%
<b>Housing type:</b> House	27%	<b>No. of cars</b>	34%
Flat	70%		
<b>Gender:</b> Male	36%	<b>'Lost sleep'</b> [Noise, ASB]	32%
Female	64%		
<b>Work:</b> full-time		<b>Secure at home</b> <i>after dark</i>	92%
Retired	39% 21%		
<b>Age:</b>		<b>Transport to work:</b>	
26-35	23%	Walk	18%
36-45	19%	Bus	10%
56-65	29%	Train/tube/tram	6%
		Car	6%
<b>Tenure:</b> Rent	53%	<b>New residents:</b> change mode	43%
Own Landlord:	44%	Decrease Car Use	16%
Local authority	32%	Increase Public	
Housing		Transport	33%
Association	8%	Increase Walking	33%
Private	17%		
<b>Ethnicity:</b> White	61%	<b>Disabled</b>	13%

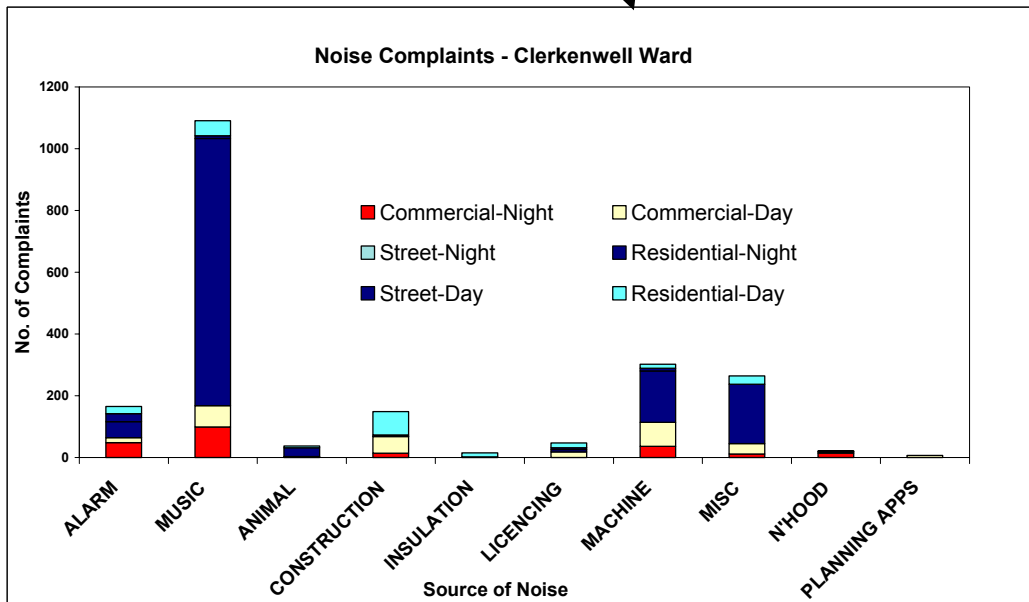
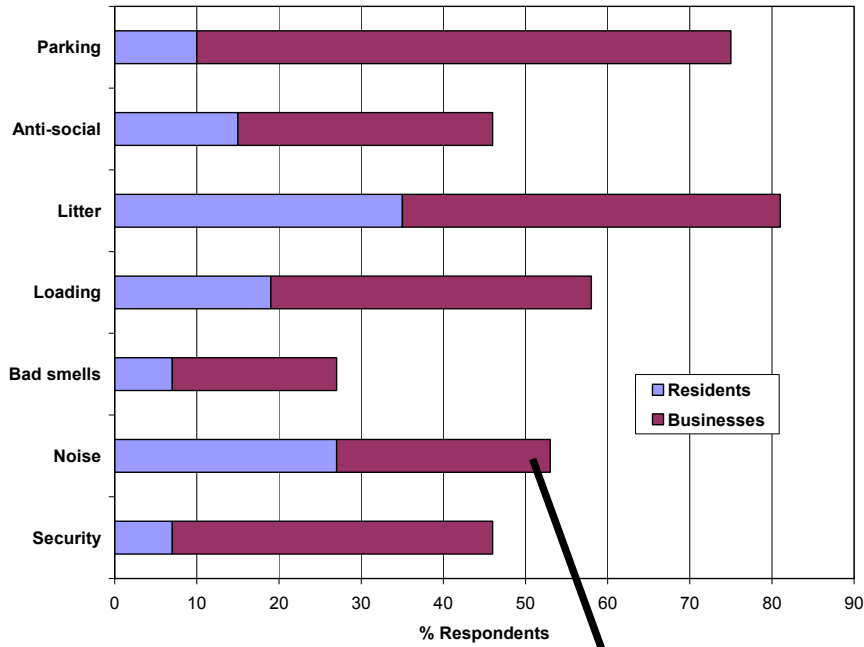
Visitors, Residents, Workers

What people living, working or visiting Clerkenwell liked about it



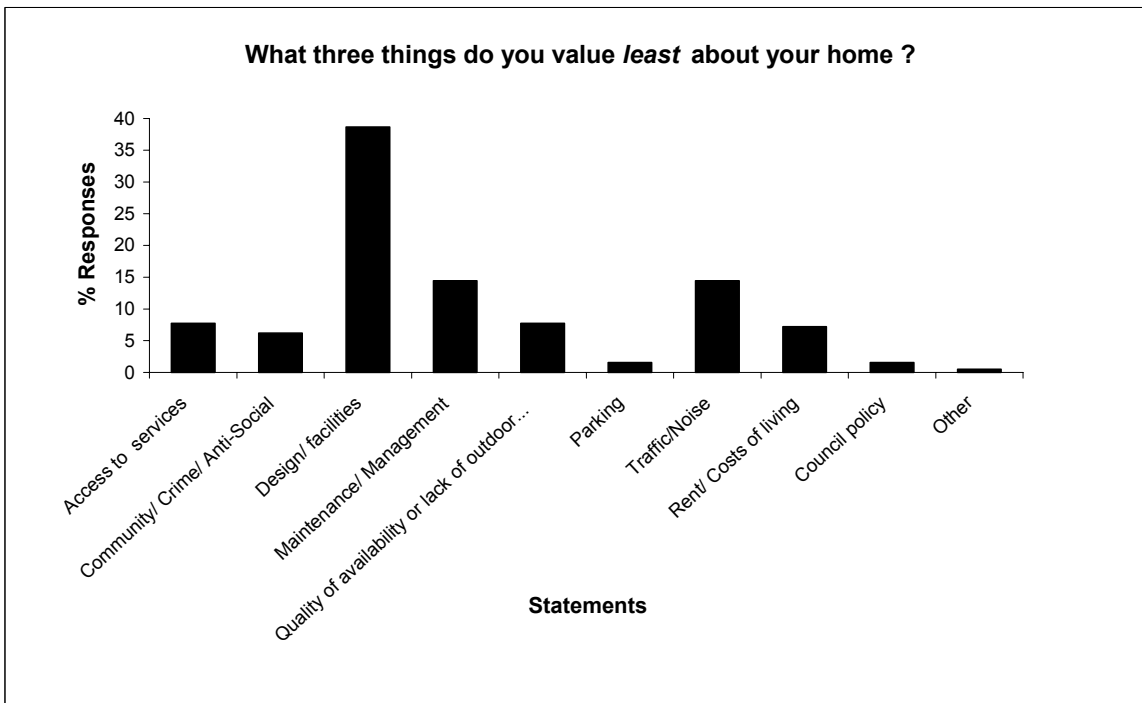
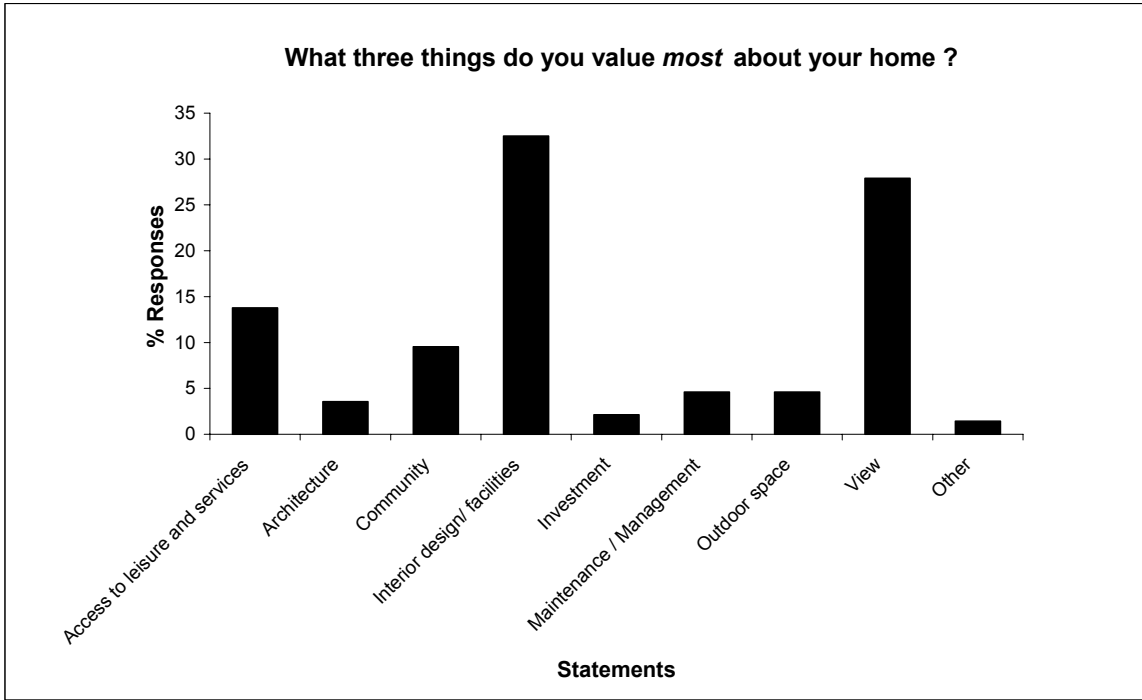
Survey - London Architecture Festival, 2004 (70% local residents)

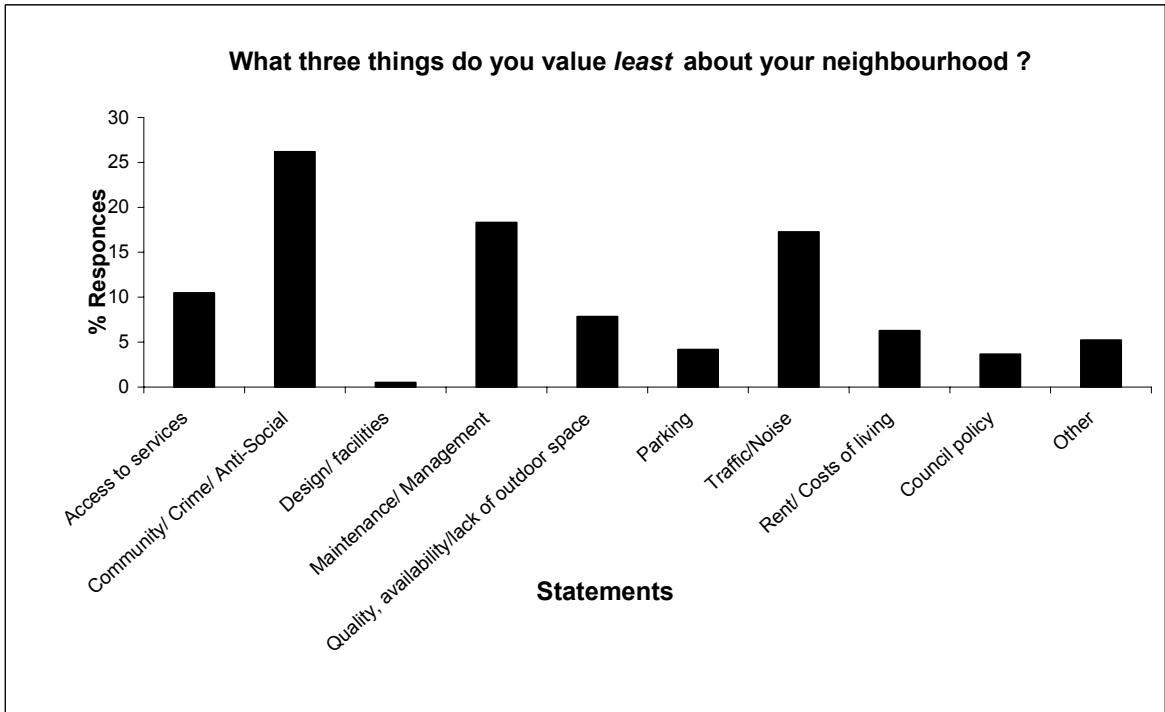
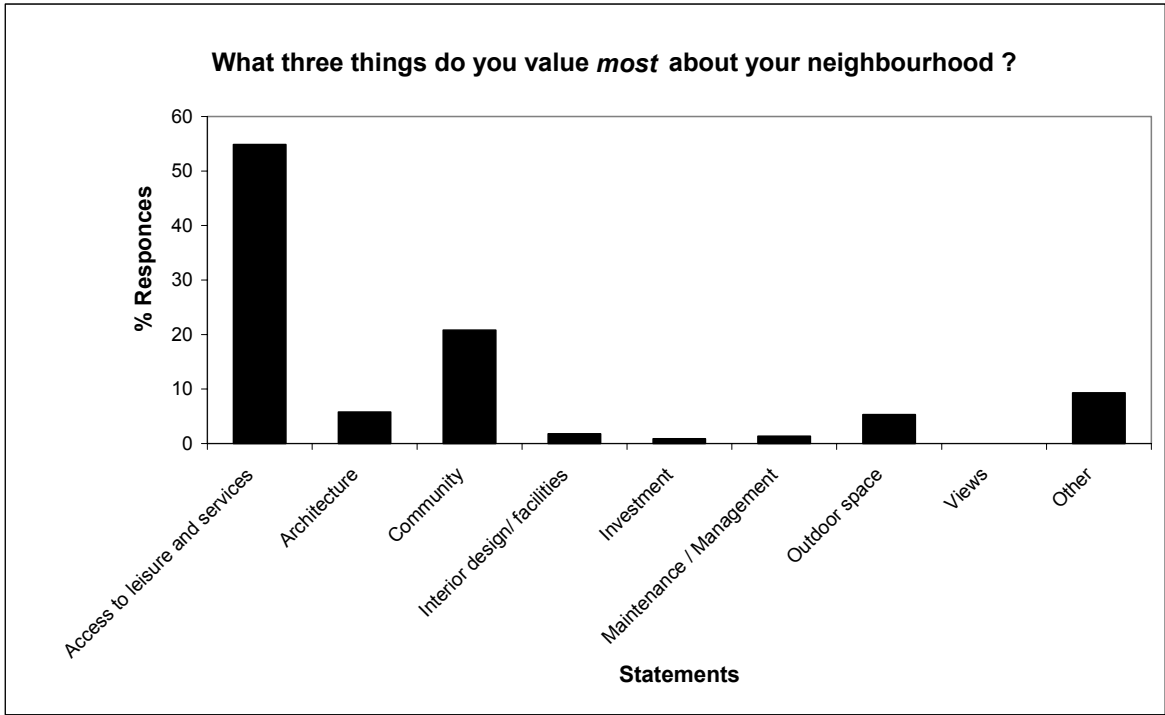
## Problems of Mixed-Use Activities – Residents and Businesses



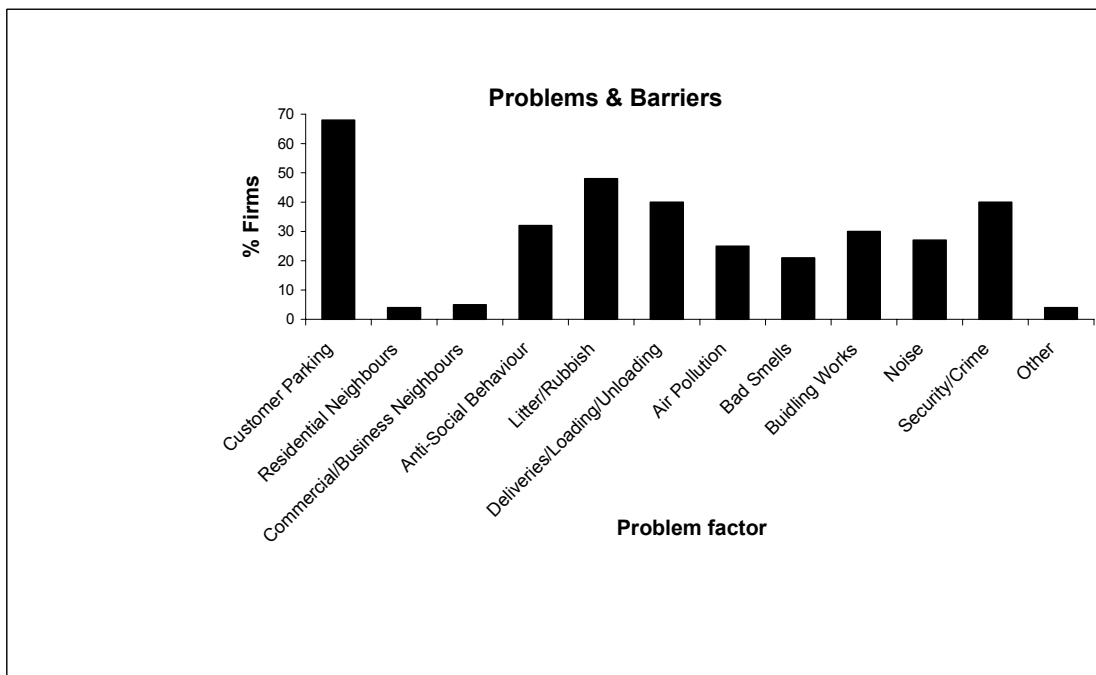
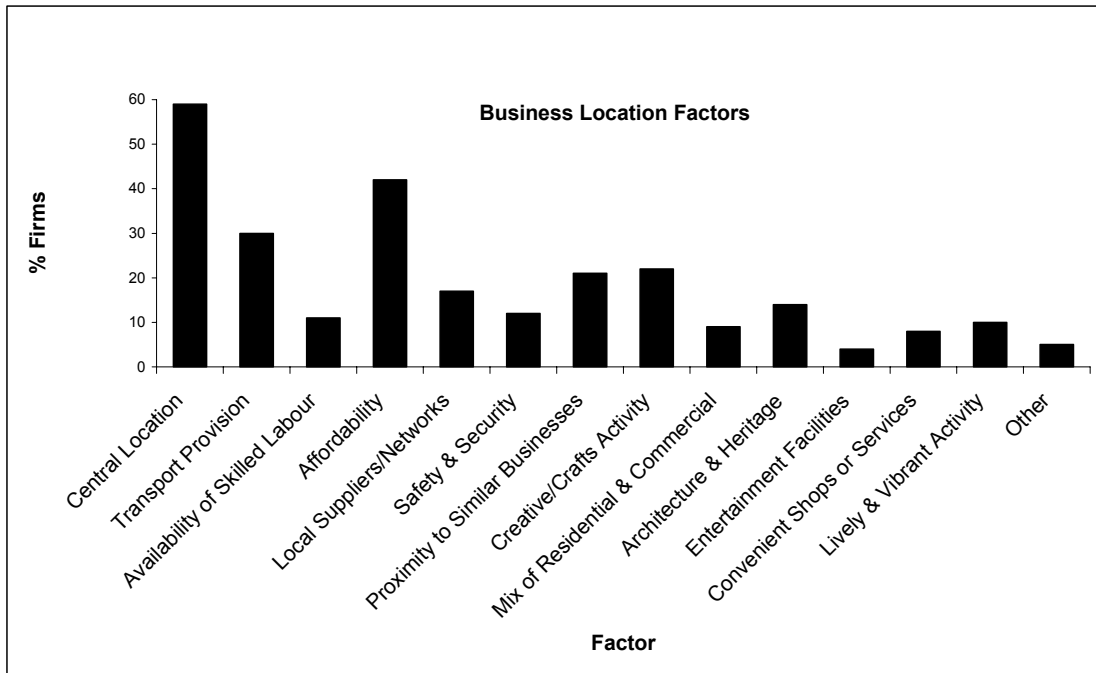
Source: L.B.Islington Environment & Planning, 2004

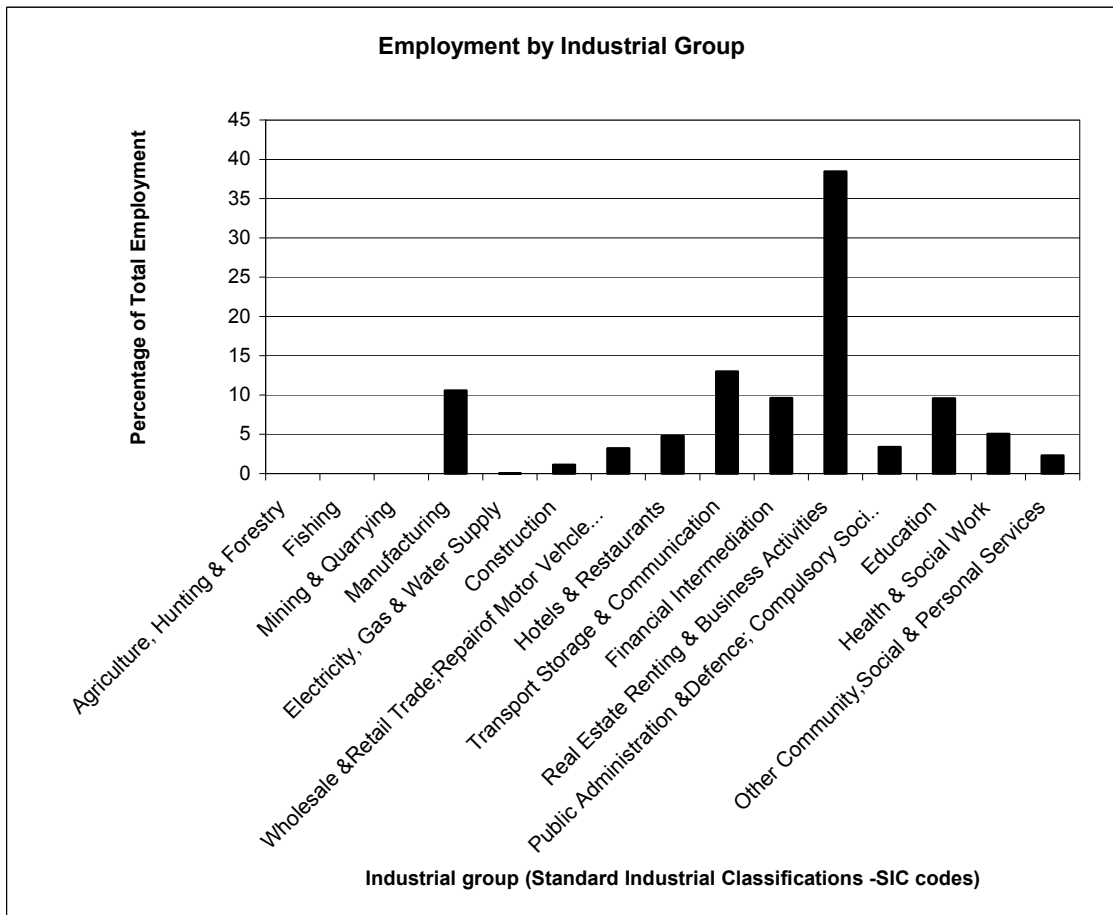
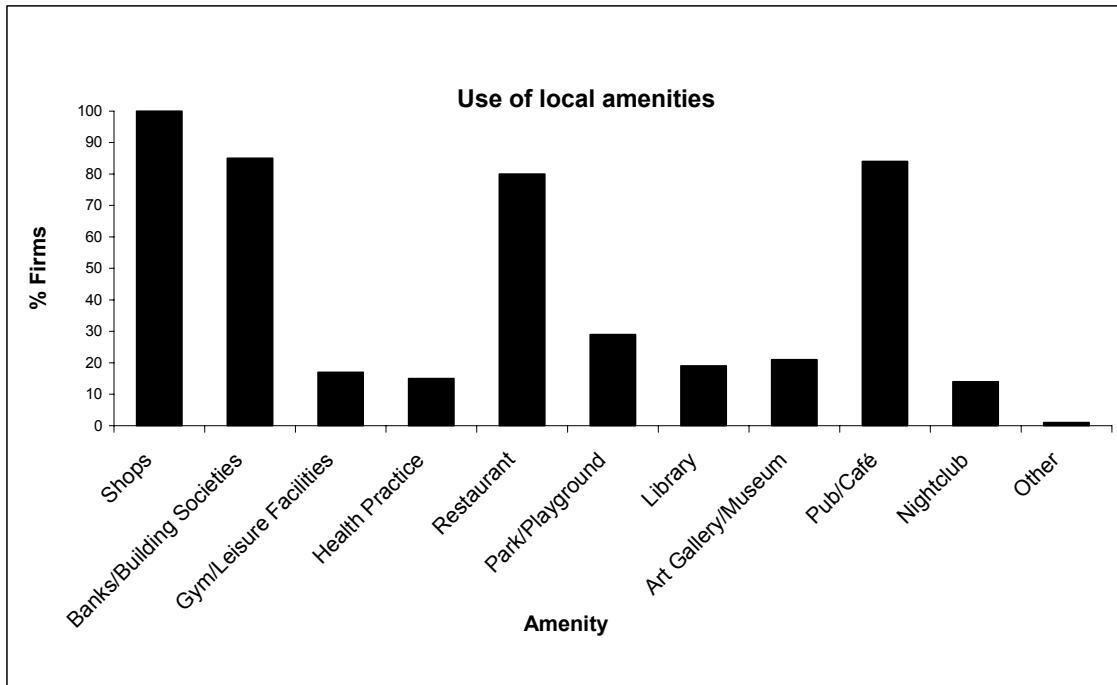






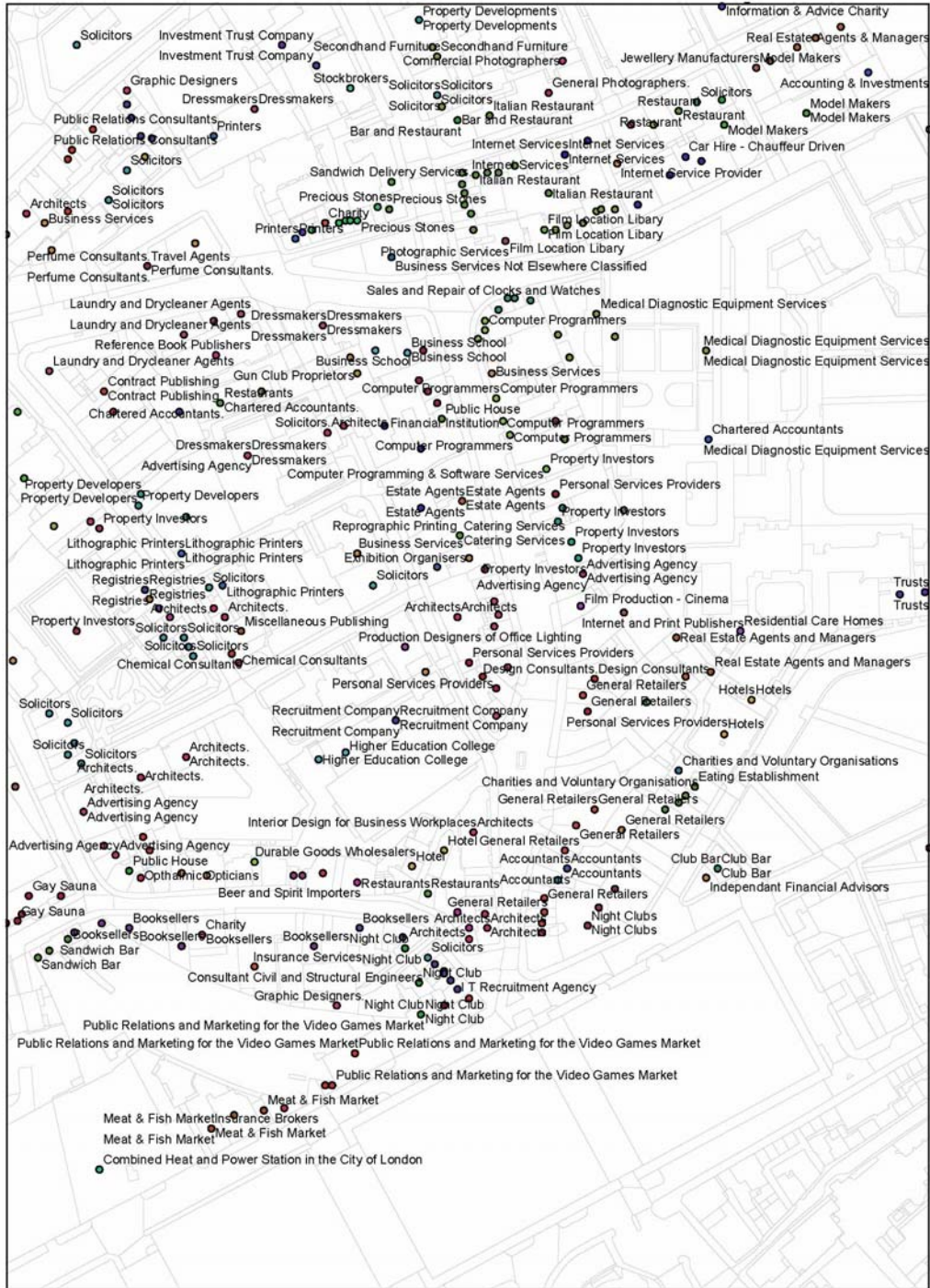
## Businesses



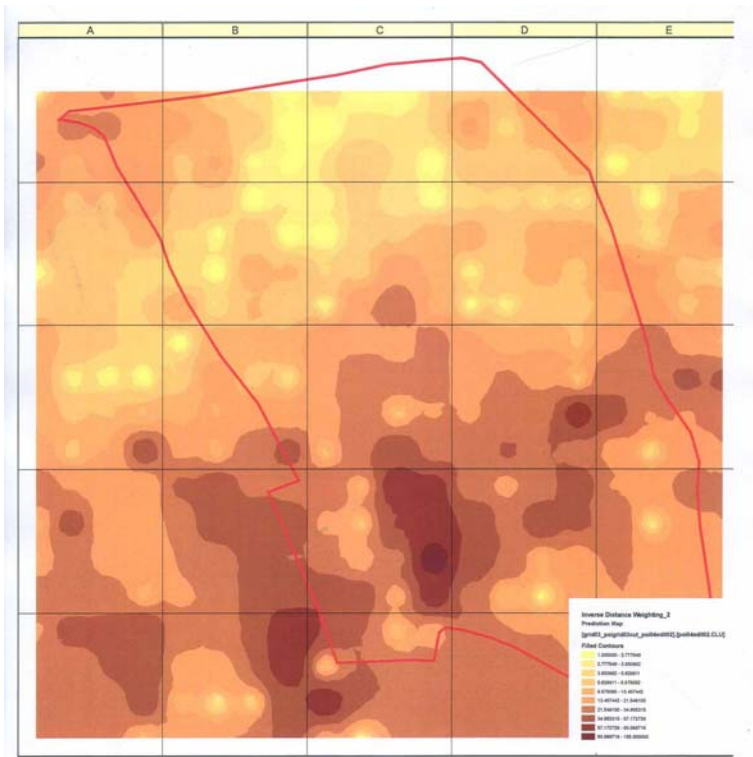


**Total Employment in Clerkenwell - 37,030 (ABI 2005)**

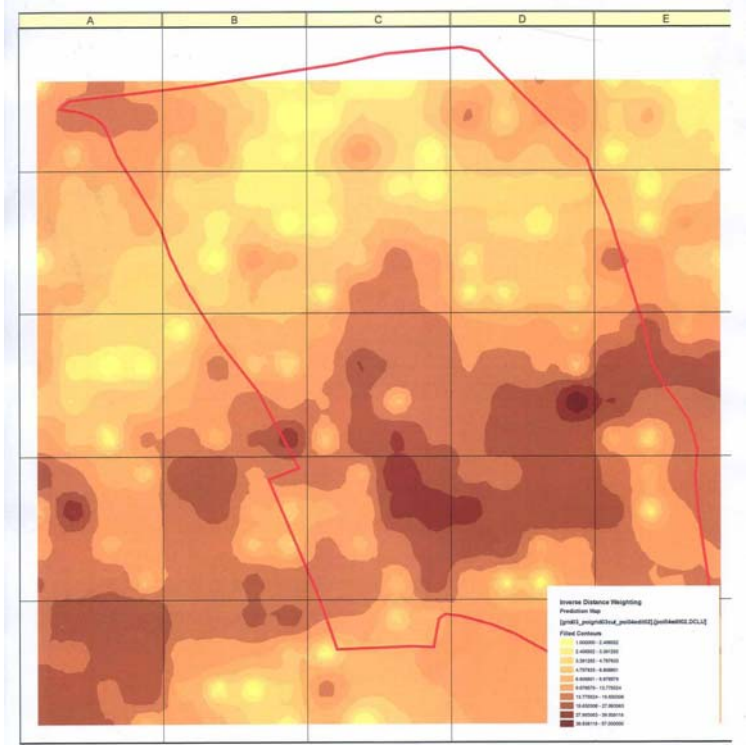
## Business / Economic Clusters



## Density – Land and Business Use

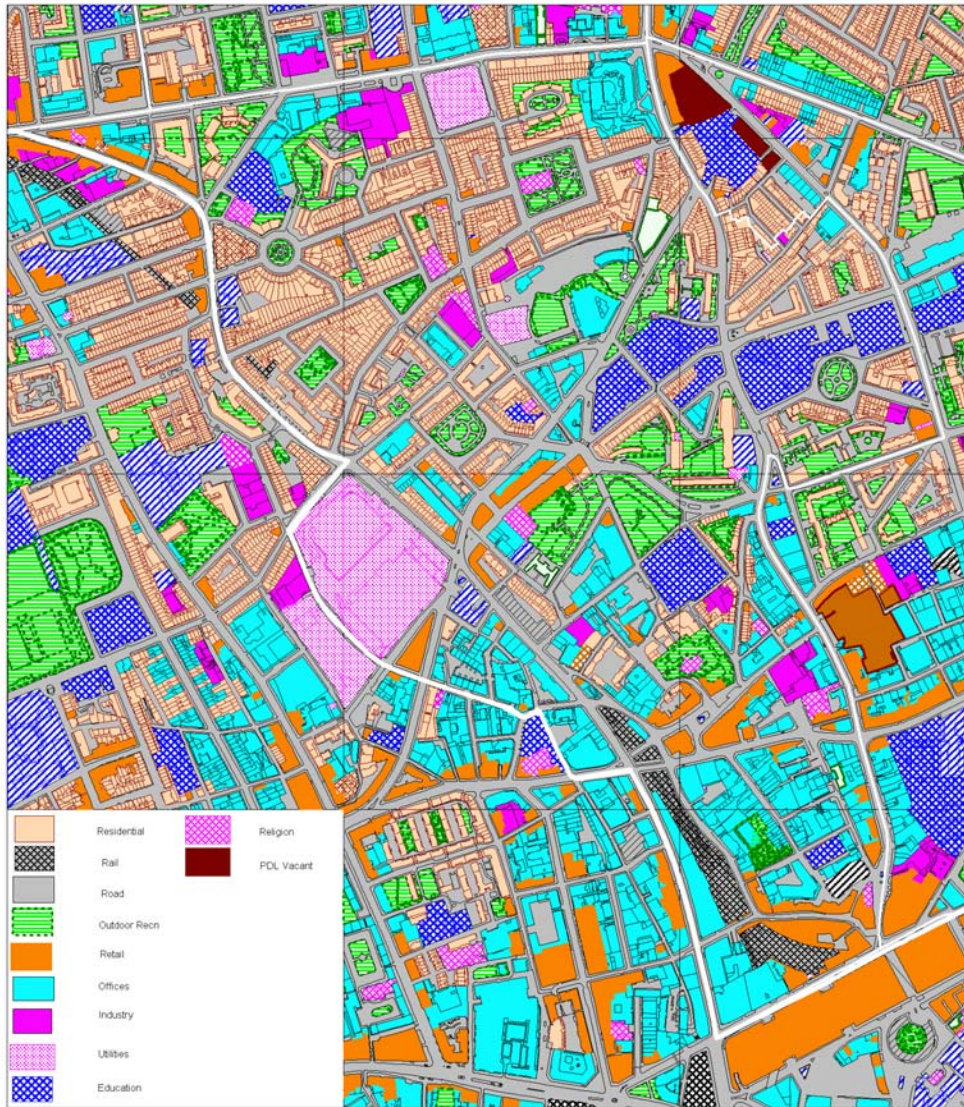


## Density – Activity (Points of Interest) (OS)



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## General Land Use types



**Land Uses in Clerkenwell Ward**

## Land Use - by Floor

Key				
Agribusiness/animals	Community facilities	Industry/manufacture	Residential premises	Transport/communications
Car parks	Education	Leisure/entertainment	Retail premises	Under Construction
Catering	Emergency services/law	Medical facilities	Services	Underdeveloped land
Commercial/Public offices	Hotels	Open public space	Storage	Vacant premises

Ground Floor



First Floor

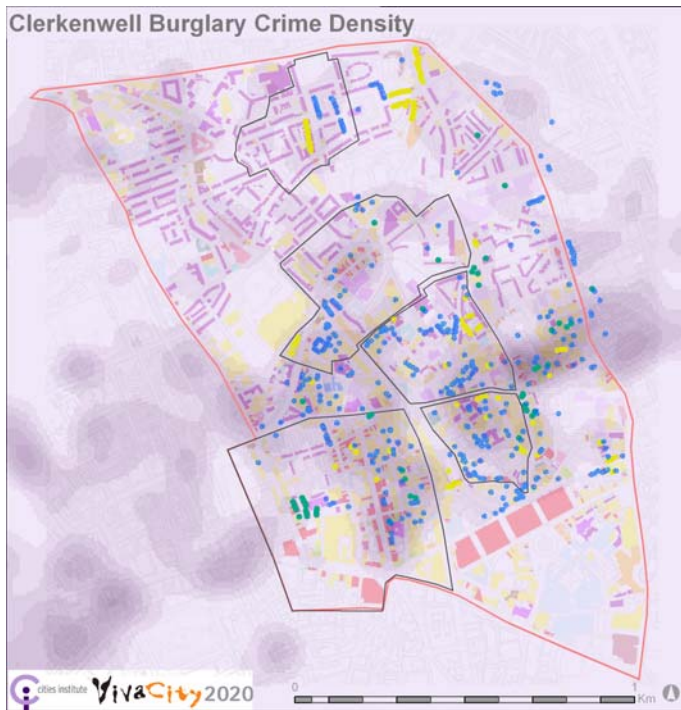


Second Floor and above

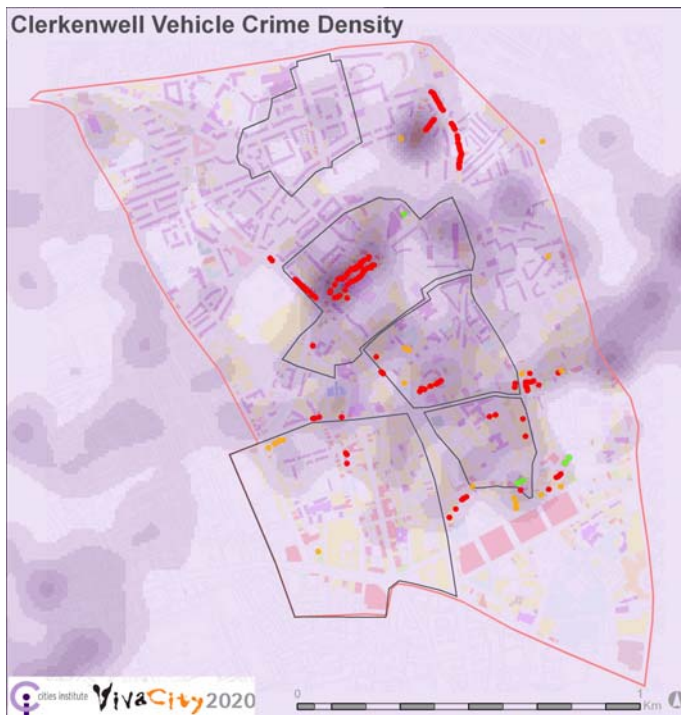




## Crime - Burglary and Office/Services

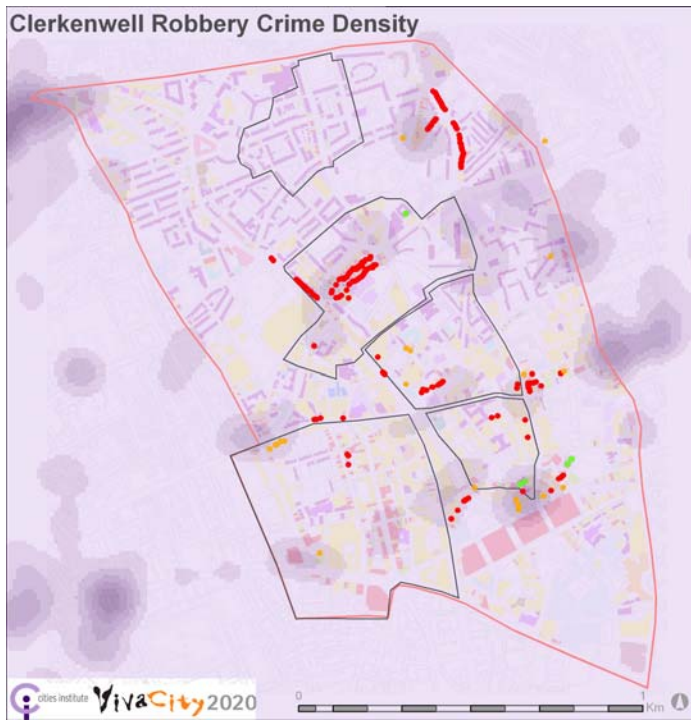


## Crime - Vehicle/Bike (theft, damage) and cafes/restaurants, clubs

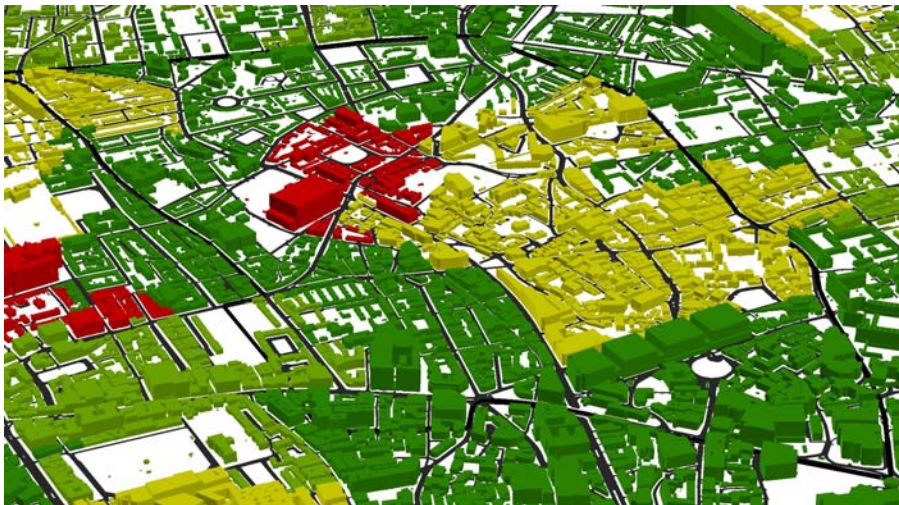


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**Crime - Robbery (Snatch, Theft) and cafes, restaurants, clubs**



**Crime & Disorder (Index of Multiple Deprivation, IMD 2005)**



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