

Preface

I would like to start with a word of thanks for the people who have made it possible to write this paper. Firstly I would like to thank Michael Edwards for getting me in touch with useful contacts and giving me suggestions and advices during the writing-process. Secondly I would like to thank Mark Saunders of Spectacle. He gave me the unique chance to talk with various active citizens in Pepys Estate and Silwood Estate during his film reportages in both estates. Finally I would like to say thanks to the persons I have interviewed for my case study research.

Content

Content	2
1. Introduction	3
2. Theoretical and Policy Framework	4
2.1 Urban Regeneration Policy	4
2.2 Urban Regeneration Partnerships	5
2.3 Collaborative Planning	6
2.4 Citizen Participation	7
3. Case study research	8
4. Case study Lewisham	9
4.1 Introduction Lewisham	9
4.2 Community Involvement	9
4.3 Role of the Local Council	10
5. Case study Pepys Estate	12
5.1 Introduction Pepys Estate	12
5.2 Pepys Community Forum	13
5.3 Community Involvement	13
5.4 Role of Pepys Community Forum	14
6. Case study Silwood Estate	15
6.1 Introduction Silwood Estate	15
6.2 Community Involvement	15
6.3 Role of London & Quadrant	16
7. Comparison	17
8. Conclusion and Reflection	18
9. Bibliography	20

1. Introduction

Urban regeneration is a key principle in today's planning practice. Urban regeneration is a way to reduce urban problems in an area by improving the social, economic and environmental conditions (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). Through the complexity of urban regeneration projects there are many actors involved in the planning of these projects like local government, private developers, public organizations and local community (Carley, 2000). One way of dealing with urban regeneration projects is to bring the key actors and shareholders in a regeneration area together in urban regeneration partnerships. In today's urban planning practices there is a growing attention for a collaborative way of planning whereby different partners try to find a win-win situation. Under influence of the British urban policy the role of the local community seems to become more and more important in urban regeneration projects.

In this paper I will discuss urban regeneration projects with a focus on the role of local residents in regeneration. In the theoretical part of this paper I will describe a short trajectory of British urban regeneration policy and relevant policy papers. Afterwards I will examine urban regeneration partnerships and the role of collaborative planning in these partnerships. Finally I will describe the different levels of community involvement in urban regeneration projects. In the empirical part of this paper I will describe two estates – Pepys Estate and Silwood Estate – located in the London Borough of Lewisham and partly in the London Borough of Southwark. The Pepys Estate is an example of a community-led regeneration while the Silwood Estate is an example of a government-led regeneration. The aim of the case-studies is to get more insights in the challenges of community involvement in urban regeneration projects by comparing the differences and similarities between both estates. The research question of this paper is:

What are the challenges of community involvement in urban regeneration projects in the case of government-led Silwood Estate and the community-led Pepys Estate?

In the next chapter I will define a theoretical and policy framework which is based on theories and policies among urban regeneration and community involvement. In chapter three I will explore my case study research in more details by giving a short overview of my quantitative and qualitative research. In chapter four, five and six I will discuss the cases and I will finish with a comparison between both estates. Finally I will formulate an answer on my research question in the conclusion and I will give a short reflection on my research.

2. Theoretical and Policy Framework

This chapter will discuss urban regeneration partnerships in general and the specific role of community involvement more specific. First I will give a short overview of urban policy in the United Kingdom and I will discuss relevant policy papers related to urban regeneration. Afterwards I will describe the basic principles of urban regeneration partnerships and I will discuss the challenging role of collaborative planning in these partnerships. Finally I will discuss the role of local residents in urban regeneration projects by discussing different levels of community involvement.

2.1 Urban Regeneration Policy

For understanding today's British urban regeneration policy a short overview of the trajectory of urban policy is required. From 1945 till 1979 there was a *social democratic period* which is characterized by strong government intervention which addressed the market failure of the labour and financial markets (McCarthy, 2007). During this period there was criticism on the lack of solutions for major economic problems as unemployment, inflation and economic restructuring. As a reaction against this period the *neo-liberal period*, from 1979 till 1997, is based on the promotion of market processes and outcomes in determining the allocation of resources. This period led to the de-regulation and privatization of the urban regeneration policy and is often called as the period of 'Thatcherism' or 'New Right' (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 1997). Paradoxically this period was also illustrated by increasing government centralization and in many respects the attempts to dismantle structures of intervention were largely unsuccessful (Colomb, 2007). The *Third Way period*, from 1997 till onwards, use to be a pragmatic mix of elements from the social democratic and neo-liberal approaches. The aim has been to show how social democratic principles could evolve to meet new challenges such as globalization, environmental concerns and the need for active citizenship, with recognition of the successes of the neo-liberal approach in some respects in relation to economic efficiency, productivity and competitiveness (McCarthy, 2007). In 1998 the Urban Task Force got by government order the task to identify the causes of urban decline in England and recommend practical solutions to bring people back into cities. The report of the Urban Task Force 'Towards an Urban Renaissance' contained over hundred recommendations in various policy sectors (Urban Task Force, 1999). Taking on board many of the recommendations of the Urban Task Force report, the British government published the 'Urban White Paper' setting the agenda for the implementation of the 'Urban Renaissance' (Colomb, 2007). New Labour urban policy is concentrated on getting local communities more actively involved in the conception and implementation of regeneration projects (Ball and Marginn, 2005). One of the key instruments of the 'Urban Renaissance' is strong local communities and active citizenship. In the 'Urban White Paper' the role of local communities is recast within a process of state restructuring in which individuals are called upon to play a bigger role in their governance and welfare (Colomb, 2007). With the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) New Labour's government wants to facilitate a comprehensive

strategic response to regenerate selected geographical areas from a single funding source. The SRB seeks to regenerate communities by funding, on a competitive basis, projects which are locally defined and directed. Hereby it is objected to secure targeted local regeneration by supporting public-private partnerships which develop and implement bottom-up strategies (Raco and Imrie, 2000). The role of the state slightly moved from that of a provider of (welfare) services to that of a facilitator which enables communities and individuals to take more responsibilities. The government stimulates community involvement by stimulating a joint-up policy approach for urban policies (Ball and Maginn, 2005). The Government's Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 requires all local planning authorities to prepare a Statement of Community Involvement (Mayor of London, 2004). The aim of the Statement of Community Involvement is to strengthen community involvement in planning over time.

'We want to offer new opportunities for neighbourhoods everywhere. We want people to help shape the local public services they receive and we want them to become more involved in the democratic life of their community. By action at the neighbourhood level, people everywhere can make a significant difference to the quality of our country's public services. In this way, local people, working with local councilors, can play their part in creating sustainable communities.' Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005)

Although there is a high emphasis on community involvement and active citizenship in policy papers there still seems to be less public participation in practice. Despite of the commitment for more bottom-up governance and community involvement in planning processes there is criticism on the actual impacts of New Labour's urban policy. The local urban regeneration agendas remain often dominated by market-led and economic competitiveness objectives (Colomb, 2007). Therefore it is questionable whether the Third Way period, from 1997 onwards, actually exists or that there still is a strong influence of neoliberalism. New Labour does not react on the quest for a stronger role of local government, more democratic partnerships and community-led regeneration (Colomb, 2007).

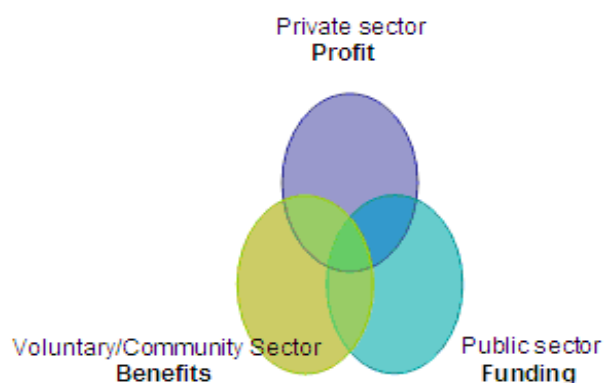
2.2 Urban Regeneration Partnerships

One way to deal with the complexity of urban regeneration projects is to bring the key actors and stakeholders in a regeneration area together in urban regeneration partnerships. Since the 1990s there is a growing attention in British urban policy for partnership principles (Ball and Maginn, 2005). Urban regeneration partnerships consist of cooperation between local government, public organizations, private developers and local residents (Carley, 2000). There are different reasons for the emergence of urban regeneration partnerships. Firstly partnerships are often required to receive *funding* of private actors (McCarthy, 2007). Often the public sector does not have enough budgets to finance the regeneration project and therefore the financial input of the private sector it often required to implement a project. The private sector is interested to participate in an urban regeneration partnership because of the *profits* they can make out of it (McCarthy, 2007). In general the private sector does not

want to take (high) risks in a project and therefore risk-sharing between the public and private actor is a challenge for urban regeneration project. Secondly the problems that the partnerships are addressing are relatively complex and ask for a wide range of actors and a multidimensional approach (Carley, 2000). Urban regeneration projects also include the social aspects of an area e.g. employment, safety and education level. Therefore it is important that different actors and stakeholders are involved in the partnership.

Especially the role of the community is important in urban regeneration projects because the community will be more willing to support the changes in their neighbourhood if they can participate in the urban regeneration process from scratch. For the voluntary and community sector it is interesting to participate in the partnership because they can make *benefits* out of the project (McCarthy, 2007). By negotiating in partnerships they can improve the situation in a neighbourhood by asking, for example, for more public facilities and services.

Figure 1: Reasons for three different sectors to participate in urban regeneration partnerships



Source: own interpretation

2.3 Collaborative Planning

By bringing the key actors and stakeholders together in urban regeneration partnerships it is possible to maximize the degree of cooperation and consensus between the partners. Still it is difficult to achieve a win-win situation for all the partners involved in urban regeneration partnerships. Sometimes it is impossible to reach consensus with each other when there are fundamental conflicts between the partners. But in other cases it is possible to bring the different interests of the partners together into one coherent initiative (McCarthy, 2007). Hereby there is a challenging task for urban governance to achieve cooperation and collaboration between the different partners. Last decennium there was a communicative turn perceptible in planning practices which is characterized by an increasing interest in forms of public involvement in policymaking (Tewdwr-Jones and Thomas, 1998). Communicative planning, argumentative planning and planning through debate are all terms that have been used in planning theory literature over the last ten years. The main components of communicative rationality in planning have been summarized by Healey (1992). She stated that planning is an interactive and interpretative process and that the participants are able to collaborate to change the existing conditions of a project. The institutionalization of collaborative planning is a way to secure consensus with the background of good decisions that are taking in cognizance of the concerns of all partners involved in the decision-making process (Healey, 1996). Communicative action and public collaboration- and

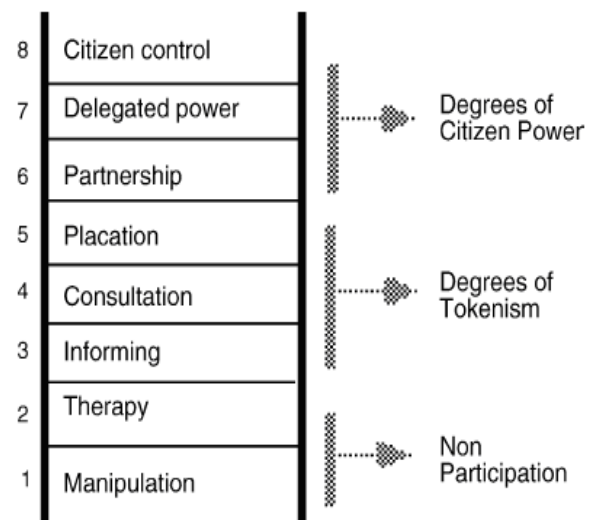
participation are necessary to strengthen planners' positions as critical analysts and strategic planners (Pløger, 2001). Public participation can make planning more efficient, reliable and improving the possibility of reaching formal agreements (Pløger, 2001). Public participation as a part of a planning system can be seen in a formal scene of negotiation, collaboration and consensus-building.

2.4 Citizen Participation

The high attention for public participation in theoretical and political way has encouraged the involvement of communities or active citizens in urban regeneration projects. Citizen participation gives citizens the opportunities to take part in governmental decision-making or planning processes (Maier, 2001).

Arnstein (1969) distinguished different levels of public participation as rungs of a ladder (see figure 2). This ladder indicates the steps 'nobody's has to take to become somebody's with enough power to make institutions responsive to their views, aspirations and needs' (Arnstein, 1969, p.216). The lowest rungs of non-participation are manipulation and therapy. The next steps are degrees of tokenism: the rungs of information and consultation. Here citizen can be heard but decisions can be made without taking into account the voice of the citizens.

Figure 2: Arnstein's ladder of citizen engagement



Source: Arnstein, 1969

The next steps are placation where citizens have an advisory position, and partnership where trade-offs are made. Only on the top of the ladder does the citizens' role reach the rungs of delegated power and citizen control, where citizens have a major role in decision-making processes (Arnstein, 1969). The different rungs on the ladder relate directly to the degree to which citizens have attained decision-making power. However the opportunity to take part in planning and decision-making may not necessarily lead to real participation: citizens may fail to take part of even they may refuse it, feeling their incapability or lack of willingness to take responsibility (Maier, 2001). The position of mainstream planning remains strong, while attempts for informal, community-led planning are rather marginal and dependent on external support.

3. Case study research

In this chapter I will clarify my case study research in more detail and shortly explain how I did the research. The aim of this comparative case study is to provide more insights in the role of local residents in urban regeneration partnerships. For my research I selected two urban regeneration projects in London – Pepys Estate and Silwood Estate – designed in explore the similarities and differences between a government-led and a community-led regeneration project. Lewisham is for both estates the responsible council for the regeneration. Although Silwood Estate is for a small part located in the London Borough of Southwark they are not actively involved in the regeneration process. The responsible planner of Southwark could only give me practical information about the regeneration and could not say anything about the entire regeneration project.

For the case studies I try to combine different primary and secondary sources like official policy-documents of government or (public/private) companies, promotional websites and newspapers. I explored the estates by taking some pictures in the neighbourhood. Moreover I did several interviews with different actors by attending the film reportages of Spectacle. Spectacle is an independent television production company specializing in documentary and community-led investigative journalism (website Spectacle). At the moment they are making a reportage about citizen participation in both estates. In the Pepys Estate they arranged a meeting with some active citizens of Pepys Estate and here I talked with volunteers of the Coo Pepys Community Arts Project. Moreover Spectacle arranged a community meeting for local residents of Silwood Estate. Here I got the chance to interview Mrs. Dower who is the chair of Silwood's Tenants and Residents Association and I talked with various local residents. Besides these film reportages I arranged an interview with Mr. Adams, who is strategic regeneration communication manager of Lewisham Council. Finally I also interviewed Mr. Herlitz who is the chair of Pepys Community Forum.

Picture 1: Entry of Coo Pepys in Pepys Estate



Picture 2: Name-plate of Pepys Community Forum



Source: own picture

4. Case study Lewisham

4.1 Introduction Lewisham

Lewisham is located in South-East London and lies at the head of the Thames Gateway regeneration area (see figure 3). Lewisham is the third largest inner London borough in terms of both population and area (Lewisham, 2007). The borough's population is relatively young and ethnically diverse with 140 languages spoken in the borough. Lewisham has many social problems such as high concentrations of deprivation, high percentage of unemployment, low education level and high (youth) crime figures.

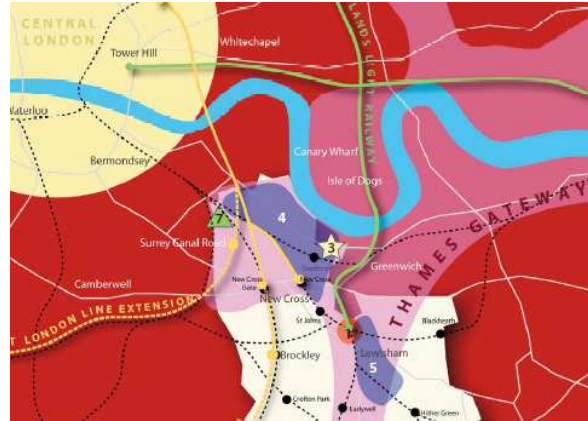
With the Lewisham Regeneration Strategy 2008-2020 'People, Prosperity, and Place' the local council tries to improve the situation in the borough. The Regeneration Strategy is Lewisham Council's vision for the future from 2008 until 2020 and the projects and plans which are underway to deliver this vision (Lewisham, 2007). The draft version of the Regeneration Strategy was used to find out whether the local residents and other shareholders in Lewisham share the vision of the local council. Examples of shareholders are small local entrepreneurs, representatives of public organizations as a chair of the local football club and members of an environmental organization or an association of disable people. In different consultation rounds they were asked whether they support the key themes of the document and the aims, objectives and issues identified for each theme. Over the hundred individuals and groups took the time to read the draft version of the Regeneration Strategy and feedback their comments. The final version of the strategy incorporates many of the suggestions and comments made in the consultation rounds (Interview Mr. Adams).

4.2 Community Involvement

'Together we will make Lewisham the best place in London to live, work and learn'(Lewisham, 2007, p.1)

Lewisham tries to involve the community in different ways, for example by training days, surveys and face to face consultations. Lewisham tries to involve 'people of the street' in consultations by paying the people to come along. Through a recruitment screening process Lewisham tries to create a representative sample of local residents. Lewisham is trying to involve people or (minority) groups who are normally not really active involved in consultations. Through interactive and hybrid consultations

Figure 3: Location of Lewisham in Thames Gateway



Source: Lewisham, 2007, p.5

Lewisham tries to organise a debate between the local residents and shareholders in the regeneration area (Interview Adams).

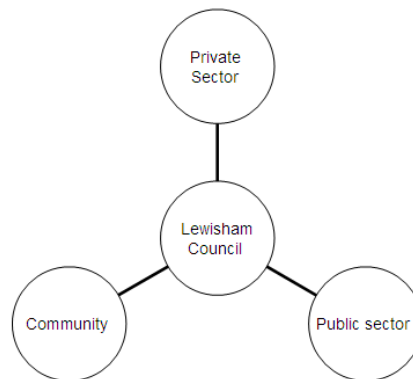
'One of the priorities of the London Borough of Lewisham is to develop opportunities for the active participation and engagement of people in the life of the community' (Lewisham, 2007, p.7).

It is the aim of Lewisham to make the urban regeneration process more transparent for the local community, which makes the regeneration process more democratic and legitimate. But the involvement of residents has also its limitations. Mr. Adams, strategic communication manager of London Borough of Lewisham, stated that *'the public need is not always the same as what the community thinks that is necessary.'* It is the task of the local council to decide whether the input of the local community is useful and valuable for the area. That is the reason why not all the local community initiatives and ideas are followed up by Lewisham. The local politics always have the power to decide where they want to spend the (public) money on. The local council does not take all these decisions alone but they are often making use of the expertise of specialists or professionals, for example official research- and consultancy bureaus who can analyze the actual needs in a neighbourhood.

4.3 Role of the Local Council

In the urban regeneration projects Lewisham is one of the key-partner who collaborates with a wide variety of partners. Figure 4 is a schematic view of the three main sectors in Lewisham. The collaboration with the *private sector* depends whether the local council have a land owner position. If the local council does not have a land owner position they can only influence the developments with planning procedures. They have to secure the benefits of the local community by making the S106-agreements with the private or other developers. It is the task of the local council to oblige the private sector to invest in the community infrastructure and social services of an area.

Figure 4: Schematic view of collaboration in Lewisham



Source: own interpretation

The collaboration with the *public sector* consists of the coordination and cooperation with representatives of public organizations. For example public sectors those are delivering services in the borough such as Primary Care Trust, the Metropolitan Police and various sport organizations. For the collaboration with the *local community* Lewisham created eighteen local assemblies which made it legally required to get the local community in touch with each other. Each local assembly has a steering group, elected by the local community, who is responsible for the decision making. In these assemblies people are cooperating with each other and suggesting initiatives or improvements for the

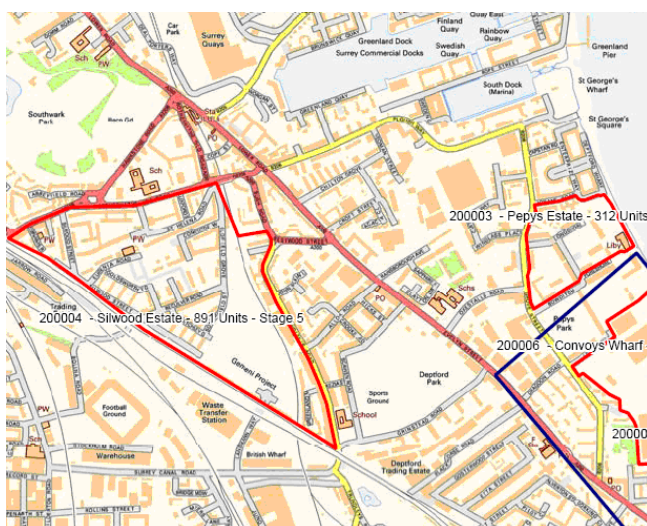
neighbourhood, especially for the local community services. They can make use of a locality fund which is £50.000 for each local assembly. In some cases the local assemblies are working together by spending the budget in a joint initiative. The local assemblies can make their own decision where they want to spend their money on but there is a strong control of the local government.

5. Case study Pepys Estate

5.1 Introduction Pepys Estate

Figure 5 outlines the location of Pepys and Silwood Estate in Deptford in the London Borough of Lewisham. Deptford - in the northern part of Lewisham - is in the London Plan identified as an *opportunity area* which is capable of accommodating substantial new jobs and homes (Mayor of London, 2004). The area is closely located to London's centre of business Canary Wharf. The Dockland Light Railway has strongly improved the associability of the area.

Figure 5: Location of Silwood Estate and Pepys Estate in Deptford, Lewisham



Source: Lewisham Council, 2008

Initially the urban regeneration of Silwood and Pepys Estate started with two separated bids. In 1997 Pepys Estate residents got together to find ways to improve the quality of life and services, leading to the formation of the Pepys Community Forum (PCF) in 1998. The PCF consists of a group of workers, local agencies and residents defining a community development SRB-bid to revitalise facilities, services and the local community infrastructure.

Picture 3: Pepys Estate



Source: own picture

At the same time Lewisham Council did a SRB-bid for the physical regeneration of Silwood Estate. Despite of the separated SRB-bids the Government Office London decided that the both estates only get the SRB-funding when they cooperating with each other and merge the two requirements together into one bid. The Pepys Estate became a self-contained project within the Silwood SRB-program.

5.2 Pepys Community Forum

Pepys Community Forum – *Building trust in the community through a community trust* (website PCF)

The PCF is one of the first experiments of a community-led regeneration in the United Kingdom and therefore the project gets a high attention. The PCF is a community-led not for profit organisation funded by SRB Round 5 (website PCF). They received a SRB-fund of £3.3 million for the regeneration of the Pepys Estate for the period 1999 until 2006. With the funding the PCF set up a Community Development Trust which enables local residents to set up, manage and develop services and resources in the area based on a legal, constitutional and democratic framework. The board of the PCF exist of local people who are living in the Pepys Estate for years (Interview Mr. Herlitz). They made the decisions for the allocation of the SRB-funding with taking into account the criteria of the Government Office London. The PCF divided the SRB-fund among several social, cultural and sport organisations in the Pepys Estate and they organised various other community based projects by themselves. For example the employment project they have running to tackle the high percentage of unemployment in the Pepys Estate. Another initiative is a community café where local people can come together for a drink and a chat with their neighbours. Since 2006 there is no government funding anymore and the PCF is now independently funded from various sources. Last years the number of staff members of the PCF declined from 18 persons in 2000 till 4 persons in 2008. These members are all part-timers because there is not enough money to employ the staff on a full-time basis. The funding system in United Kingdom is more based on project funding rather than core funding and therefore it is easier to receive a funding for one or two years projects rather than for a permanent community organisation as PCF. Mr. Herlitz criticised the lack for a long term view of the London government. Local community building is a life-time work and it is impossible to realise this with only short term projects.

5.3 Community Involvement

Although the PCF is led by local people living in Pepys Estate there is less participating of the community in the decision-making process. During the urban regeneration process only a small part of the local residents were actively involved in the regeneration of Pepys Estate by influencing the decisions made by the PCF concerning the allocation of the SRB-funding. Although the regeneration of Pepys Estate is led by a community-organisation the involvement of the community is still relatively limited. There are only a few people coming along to meetings like brainstorm evenings organised by the PCF. Although the approach of the PCF aims to attract more volunteers and achieve a higher level of social binding with the local residents. They are continually asking the opinion of the local people in questionnaires, meetings and face-to-face consultations. Through this actively approach they are trying to ensure that the initiatives and developments in Pepys Estate reflect the needs and desires of the local community. Mr. Herlitz explained the difficulty of community organizations as PCF. For local residents it is often difficult to organize themselves, because they do not have enough experiences with managing a neighbourhood. In today's planning policy local communities often get more and more power to

organise themselves but the problems is that people are often not affected. They do not use this power because of a lack of interests.

5.4 Role of Pepys Community Forum

The role of PCF is strongly collaborative because they function as negotiator between the local residents and actors such as the local council. *'The local people should work with Lewisham Council, through the PCF, to ensure that local initiatives in Pepys Estate have local backing'* (PCF, 2004, p.32). Through the PCF residents will have the opportunity to be fully involved in the development of the design proposals of Convoys Wharf – which is the regeneration of an old-industrial area next to Pepys Estate. Many local residents are afraid that the development of Convoys Wharf will put a high pressure on the social services and facilities of Pepys Estate as for example child care and primary health care. PCF plays an active role in regeneration projects since they are trying to stimulate, facilitate, and initiate regeneration projects in the estate.

Picture 4: Example of public consultation of PCF



Source: own picture

Picture 4 is an example how they try to involve people in the decision-making process by asking people in a flyer to 'have your say!'. Another example of the role of PCF is the *Common Ground Master Plan*: *'The PCF set up the Common Ground project to give the community a chance to develop their ideas for the use, development and ongoing life and support of the green and open spaces in their area. This is so that there is a community agreed plan that will enable the community, represented by PCF, to guide and influence positively the decisions of the Council and other agencies looking to invest in the area'* (PCF, 2004, p.1). In this project PCF plays an important role as initiator of the project. Moreover they negotiate between the different partners involved in the project namely the local residents and the local council.

Besides cooperation with the local council PCF is also trying to develop partnerships with public and private agencies who can deliver services in the neighbourhood. There is a need to develop innovative relationships with new founders for example by breaking through the local barriers that have stopped local organisations working collaboratively together. In fact people need external support to give leadership to the community and/or professional support (Interview Mr. Herlitz). In the Pepys Estate the PCF is trying to find professionals interested in running projects in the neighbourhoods; for example the CPP Architects in the Common Ground Master Plan.

6. Case study Silwood Estate

6.1 Introduction Silwood Estate

The Silwood Estate is a government-led regeneration area which is 85% located in the London Borough of Lewisham and 15% located in the London Borough of Southwark. The physical regeneration of Silwood started in 2000 with the demolition of existing homes and the construction of new homes. Lewisham Council was responsible for the regeneration of Silwood Estate and they selected the private developers and architects for the area (Silwood SRB, 2006). They decided to create a Silwood SRB-team that was closely linked to the local council. The role of the SRB-team was to oversee the redevelopment of the Silwood area and also finance a number of community projects in the area. Currently the regeneration of Silwood is still going- on but there is no SRB-team anymore.

Picture 5: Impression of Silwood Estate



Source: own picture

Lewisham Council is no longer responsible for the developments of Silwood Estate because they give all the responsibilities to the housing association London&Quadrant (L&Q). Mrs. Dower of Silwood's Tenants and Residents Association strongly criticized the way how Lewisham retreat themselves of the estate without completing the entire regeneration process, like improving the community infrastructure in the neighbourhood.

6.2 Community Involvement

In official plan documents of Lewisham it is written that there were seven years of community projects and initiatives aimed at improving and increasing opportunities for the local residents (Silwood SRB, 2006). Mrs. Dower of Silwood's TRA is critical about the way how Lewisham Council involved the local community in the urban regeneration project. The local residents did not get the chance to participate in the decision-making process, because they hardly know what was going to happen in their neighbourhood. There was only a standardized questionnaire but there was not another way of consultation. Mrs. Dower stated that the tenants and residents did not get enough information about the regeneration plans for the area and the possible consequences. On the website of Silwood Estate it is written that regeneration is about '*keeping the heart of the community beating*' (website Silwood). But a former resident of Silwood Estate concluded that the heart of the community does not beat anymore. A high percentage of the former tenants and residents could not return to Silwood Estate after the physical regeneration and they had to move out to other estates in or around Lewisham. The

community had to wait for three years before L&Q rebuild their community centre. In this period there were not any community activities anymore. Silwood's new community centre is a modern designed centre on the ground floor of a new mixed tenure residential building. The centre provides the community a range of facilities, including a meeting room and office and computer suite (L&Q, 2006). Through the residential building above the community centre it is difficult to hire the centre for giving a birthday party or organizing a music event because of noise nuisance. Moreover it is expensive to hire a room or suite in the community centre because you have to pay £50 for an hour while the old community centre was for free. Although the community centre is meant to be in use by the community it is not in practice. The community centre is built with S106-money which is in fact public money. Although the local community should be the beneficiary of this money they cannot profit of it at the moment with as result an empty community centre.

6.3 Role of London & Quadrant

L&Q is the housing association in Silwood Estate who gets the responsibilities of Lewisham Council. L&Q is responsible for the management of the community facility (L&Q, 2006). Moreover they have the task to get people involved in the estate, for example by organizing community activities. In fact the housing association transferred from contractor to a community based organization which also needs some social skills. In comparison with the active role of PCF the attitude of L&Q is relatively passive. They do not facilitate, initiate or stimulate community activities in the neighbourhood. Moreover they do not finance anything, but in contrary they charge a high price for using the community centre. Mainly the old residents of Silwood Estate are disappointed in the role of the housing association. They know that the housing association is not really familiar with taking care of the social regeneration in the estate.

Nowadays there is no contact between the old and new residents in the estate although there is written in the Business Plan of Silwood's community centre (L&Q, 2006) that *'the community centre will allow for opportunities to be provided for a range of activities aimed at developing the existing community and integrating the new'*. Maybe it is too early for a judgement but L&Q seems to fail in their new role as a community organizer because they did not (yet) succeed in getting the community actively involved in the estate.

Picture 6: Advertisement of L&Q for new apartments in another estate



Source: own picture

7. Comparison

In this chapter I will compare the case studies with each other on three points: leadership, level of public participation and main criticism on regeneration.

Silwood Estate is a government-led regeneration by Lewisham Council. After the physical regeneration of Silwood Estate they gave all the responsibilities to the housing association London & Quadrant. There was a low level of participation of local residents in the regeneration of Silwood Estate. There was consultation in the form of a standardized questionnaire, but a majority of the local residents did not know what was actually going to happen (Interview Mrs. Dower). The regeneration of Silwood destroyed the community heart of the estate. Before the regeneration there was an active community-life, but nowadays there is only an empty community centre. The local council gave all responsibilities to a housing association but they seem to fail in acting as a community organizer. They did not (yet) succeed in getting people involved in community-meetings and organizing activities to improve the social binding in the estate.

Pepys Estate is community-led regeneration by the Pepys Community Forum. The level of participation of local residents is high because local residents got the power and money to control the regeneration of the estate. Although the Pepys Community Forum is a community-organization they also have problems with getting the community involved in the regeneration of their neighbourhood. Only a small group of local residents is involved in the decision-making process and it is questionable whether they act on behalf of the whole community. Still the Pepys Estate can be use as a good example of a community-led regeneration due the active role of the Pepys Community Forum as facilitator, stimulator, negotiator and initiator of regeneration projects.

Figure 6: Comparison between Silwood and Pepys Estate

	Silwood Estate	Pepys Estate
Leadership	Government-led	Community-led
Levels of Participation	Information / consultation	Citizen power
Criticism	Housing association fails in acting as community organizer	Still low involvement community

Source: own interpretation

8. Conclusion and Reflection

This paper examines the role of local residents in urban regeneration projects. It is an attempt to translate theory and policy among urban regeneration and community involvement into practice by comparing two urban regeneration projects: a government-led and a community-led project. In this paper I have try to find an answer on the research question of this paper:

*What are the challenges of community involvement in urban regeneration projects
in the case of governmental-led Silwood Estate and the community-led Pepys Estate?*

One of the challenges of community involvement in urban regeneration projects is the possibility to create a win-win situation for all the partners. In the Pepys Estate the local residents could influence the decisions-making process because the PCF enables them to get in touch with the local government, public organisations and private developers. An example is the initiative of 'Common Ground' project that the PCF set up to give the community a chance to develop their ideas for the use and development of the green and open spaces in the neighbourhood. In the Silwood Estate there is in fact a win-lose situation whereby the local residents have lost a vital community life through the physical regeneration of the estate.

Another challenge of community involvement is that a community organization can play an important role in stimulating, facilitating, initiating and financing urban regeneration projects. Hereby the community organisation has the advantage that they have more feeling with the neighbourhood: they know what is going-on because they are living in the same estate. This is one of the advantages of a community-organisation as PCF. On the other hand the local council has more knowledge about the (administrative) procedure of urban regeneration projects as for example S106-agreements. Intensive cooperation between a community-organisation and local council would be ideal. Although the idea of the local assemblies fits with this idea, these assemblies are in practice too dependent on the local council and does not consist of so much local residents as a community organisation as the PCF.

Finally I would like to place the side note that a community organisation with citizen control seems not to be the solution for low community participation. Although a community-led regeneration project assumes a higher involvement of local residents this is not the case in Pepys Estate. Only a small part of the community is actively involved in the regeneration projects and only a few people are attending the consultation meetings. In this case a community-organisation seems to have the same problems as a local council. Moreover there is a risk that only a small non-representative group of local residents is involved in the decision-making process. This can lead to questions about the democracy and legitimacy of the decisions taken by this group. Can they operate on behalf of the whole community or are they just trying to achieve their own goals?

By researching only two case studies it is difficult to make generalisations for the differences and similarities between government-led and community-led regeneration projects. I have tried to do a reliable research by including different partners, from local government to community organisation to active residents. For a more comprehensive research it is probably interesting to talk with someone of the London Development Agency as well, since they are responsible for the allocation of Single Regeneration Budgets among the London boroughs. The (physical) regeneration in both estates completed a few years ago. One of the advantages of a case study like this, is the possibility to research the impacts of the regeneration. For example the impact of regeneration on the community feeling in a neighbourhood. On the other hand it is difficult to get a complete picture of the decision-making process, because it was difficult to find the responsible decision-makers for the period of 1998-2002.

Through limited time and resources this research is not a comprehensive study on community involvement in urban regeneration projects. Some suggestions for future research on this topic could be the influence of the Statement of Community Involvement on planning processes. Is the position of the local community actually changing through this Statement of Community Involvement? Another topic for future research is the involvement of the local community in community-led regeneration projects. The finding of this research indicates that even in a community-led regeneration project (Pepys Estate) there is less involvement of local residents. Only a small and maybe non-representative part of the community is actively involved while the majority of the community is not interested at all. Is community-led regeneration the panacea for a higher level of citizen engagement or is government-led regeneration a more democratic and legitimate way of planning? Future research on this topic might be required to give an answer on these questions.

9. Bibliography

Literature/Official policy-documents

Allmendinger, P. and M. Tewdwr-Jones (1997) 'Post-Thatcherite Urban Planning and Politics: a Major Change?' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 21(1), pp.100-116

Arnstein, S. (1969) 'A ladder of citizen participation' *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35, pp. 216-24

Ball, M. and P.J. Maginn (2005) 'Urban Change and Conflict: Evaluating the Role of Partnerships in Urban Regeneration in the UK' *Housing Studies*, vol.20, no.1, pp.9-25

Carley, M. (2000) 'Urban Partnerships, Governance and the Regeneration of Britain's Cities' *International Planning Studies*, vol.5, no.3, pp.273-297

Colomb. C. (2007) 'Unpacking New Labour's 'Urban Renaissance' Agenda: Towards a Socially Sustainable Reurbanisation of British Cities?' *Planning, Practice & Research*, vol.22, no.1, pp.1-24

Healey, P. (1992) 'Planning through debate: the communicative turn in planning theory' *Town Planning Review*, 63, pp. 142-162

Healey, P. (1996) 'The communicative turn in planning theory and its implication for spatial strategy formation' *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 23, pp.217-234

Lewisham (2007) '*People, Prosperity, Place Lewisham Regeneration Strategy 2008-2020*' London: Tradewinds

London & Quadrant (2006) '*Silwood Community Facility, Business Plan*' London: L&Q

Maier, K. (2001) 'Citizen Participation in Planning: Climbing a Ladder?' *European Planning Studies*, vol.9, no.6, 2001

Mayor of London (2004) 'The London Plan, Strategic Development Strategy for Greater London' available at <http://www.london.gov.uk/thelondonplan> [accessed 10-01-2009]

McCarthy, J. (2007) '*Partnership, Collaborative Planning and Urban Regeneration*' Aldershot: Ashgate

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2005) '*Sustainable Communities*' London: Government Office London

Pepys Community Forum (2004) '*Common Ground Master Plan*' London: CPP Architects

Pløger, J. (2001) 'Public participation and the art of governance' *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 28, pp. 219-241

Raco, M. and R. Imrie (2000) 'Governmentality and rights and responsibilities in urban policy' *Environment and Planning A*, vol.32, pp.2187-2204

Roberts, P. and H. Sykes (eds)(2000) *Urban Regeneration: A Handbook*, London: Sage Publications

Silwood SRB (2006) '*Silwood Regeneration*', London: Lewisham Council

Tewdwr-Jones, M. and H. Thomas (1998) 'Collaborative action in local plan-making: planners' perception of 'planning through debate' *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, vol.25, pp. 127-144

Urban Task Force (2005) '*Towards a Strong Urban Renaissance*' available at www.urbantaskforce.org [accessed 20-12-2008]

Websites

'*Silwood Online*' available at <http://www.silwoodonline.org.uk/regeneration> [accessed 10-01-2009]

'*Pepys Community Forum*' available at <http://www.mcad.demon.co.uk/pcf.htm> [accessed 12-01-2009]

'*Spectacle*' available at <http://www.spectacle.co.uk/> [accessed 16-01-2009]

Interviews

- 11th of February Interview London Borough of Lewisham
Mr. Nigel Adams - Strategic Regeneration Communications Manager
- 11th of February Reportage Spectacle in Pepys Estate with Mark Saunders
Volunteers of Coe Pepys - Community Arts Project
- 18th of February Reportage Spectacle in Silwood Estate with Mark Saunders
- 18th of February Interview Silwood Tenants and Residents Association
Mrs. Doreen Dower – Chair
- 19th of February Interview Pepys Community Forum
Mr. Lewis Herlitz - Chair