BPLN0039 fianl dissertation 19116350 Youngseo Park

by Youngseo Park

Comparative analysis of the achievements and limitations of projects that support local businesses in an area undergoing gentrification: A case study on Brixton

Youngseo Park

MSc Urban regeneration

Being a dissertation submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of the MSc Urban Regeneration at University College London:
I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work and that ideas, data and images, as well as direct quotations, drawn from elsewhere are identified and referenced.

Signature: _____

Date: 8st September 2020

Word count: 10,819
Appendices: 2,356

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude to those who supported and helped my study. First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Daniel Fitzpatrick for guiding my dissertation with passion and sincerity. I also would like to thank Dr Sonia Freire Trigo and Professor Mike Raco for their guidance and encouragement throughout the course.

I am grateful to my course mates Andy, Derek, Jiabei, Osman, Shahin and a sincere friend Mr Kon for sharing this precious time together.

Lastly, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my lovely family who spent a dream-like year in London together.

8th September 2020
Youngseo Park

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of tables

Abstract

This research has been conducted to find answers to the questions of how projects that support local businesses work in areas undergoing gentrification and what are the achievements and limitations of these projects, based on the case study of two projects supporting local businesses in Brixton in the London borough of Lambeth.

To this end, this study collected data through interviews with local businesses belonging to each project and analysed them based on prior research on the projects, evaluation reports, and articles in the media. It began by investigating the supporting mechanisms of projects that support local businesses in the area, and then analysed and evaluated the projects' contribution to local businesses and the impact on the local community according to these mechanisms. The findings of this study, which were obtained through this process, are as follows.

The two projects in the case study showed contrasts in their support mechanisms, governance, and the role of Lambeth Council, and the local businesses' evaluations of the projects' support differed depending not only on the support mechanism of each project but also on business type and perceptions of the impact of gentrification. In addition, the evaluation of each project's impact on the local community differed greatly from the economic and social perspectives. While the evaluation of the economic impact on the local community was similar to the local businesses' evaluation of the support of each project, the evaluation of the social impact was affected by the local residents' sense of relative deprivation, exclusive pressure, and racial issues. The evaluations were also reflected in the evaluation of Lambeth Council in relation to each project.

1. Introduction

1.1 Research context

Brixton, in the London borough of Lambeth, was a flourishing middle-class suburb in the 1880s and one of the most thriving shopping districts by the 1920s, with Electric Avenue the first market street to be lit by electricity. It later became a centre of diverse culture, mainly established with the arrival of black immigrants of the 'Windrush' generation in the late 1950s.

Brixton, which experienced two riots when London was going through various waves of regeneration from the 1970s, is now "feted as a cultural hub just as its identity as a black neighbourhood dissolves" (Dayle, 2010) through changes to catch up with the maelstrom of regeneration that has encompassed London in line with the 2012 Olympics (Campkin, 2013). With this change, average property prices in Brixton rose by 75% between 2006 and 2016, exceeding rises in fashionable places such as Shoreditch, neighbouring Clapham and Peckham (Marsh, 2016). The newest residents who are taking advantage of both the location and the cultural diversity are predominantly white middle-class (Dayle, 2010). Many changes have occurred, not only in residential areas but also in markets and retail stores on the streets. Described by Wheatle (2015), a Brixton-born author, the process of change was the replacement of traditional markets and local businesses which were serving the Caribbean population by more trendy shops for gentrifying neighbourhoods. Local shopping spaces can be "one of the most obvious battlegrounds of gentrification" (Hubbard, 2018, p.294).

Marcuse (1985, p.207) described that when a family sees that "the stores they patronise are liquidating and new stores for other customers are taking their place", they feel the severe pressure of displacement. Hubbard (2018, p.294) also argued that the changes in a local shopping street should be recognised not just as an indication of local social transformation, but also as further pressure that can drive the social, cultural and economic transformations of a given locality.

However, compared to the number of these discourses on the changes in retail and stores with gentrification, relatively few studies have been conducted on activity to respond to changes in commercial areas, including local businesses. In this context, this study starts with the assumption that the various discourses on gentrification discussed and experienced so far could serve as a driving force for new movements to defend diversity and local characteristics. Along with this, examining the impact

5

of gentrification on local businesses in Brixton and projects to support them, this study aims to analyse the mechanisms and the performance of projects supporting local business in an area undergoing gentrification.

1.2 Key questions and research objectives

This dissertation will conduct research to find answers to the following questions:

1) How do projects that support local businesses work in areas undergoing gentrification?

2) What are the achievements and limitations of projects that support local businesses?

The answers to these research questions will be understood by following these following research objectives:

1) To analyse the local context and changes caused by gentrification.

2) To investigate the supporting mechanisms of projects that support local businesses in areas undergoing gentrification.

3) To analyse and evaluate the contribution of the projects to local businesses.

4) To analyse and evaluate the impact of the projects on the local community according to the supporting mechanisms they provide.

1.3 Structure of Research

To achieve these research objectives, this dissertation will have the following: After this chapter, it begins by reviewing the preceding theories and literature related to the research in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 describes the methodology of the research, including the methods of data collection and analysis. Chapter 4, to analyse the local context and changes caused by gentrification (R.O.1), examines the brief context of the research area. Chapter 5 begins by introducing the background information, activities and main issues of the projects, to investigate the supporting mechanisms of projects that support local businesses in the area (R.O.2), and then analyses and evaluates the contribution of the projects to local businesses (R.O.3) and the impact of the projects on the local community according to their supporting mechanisms (R.O.4). Finally, Chapter 6 concludes this research.

2. Literature Review

This literature review begins with an explanation of gentrification, including a definition, mechanism and analysis of gentrifiers. It then examines studies on the local business and retail market as an object of retail gentrification.

2.1 Gentrification

The term 'Gentrification' was first coined by Ruth Glass (1964) to describe the process of displacement of working-class residents by the newly moved middle-class in the background of inner London in the 1960s.

Smith (1979) illustrated the mechanism of the process of gentrification from the economic perspective using the 'Rent gap model'. 'Rent gap' means the difference between the potential value and the current value of properties in areas requiring urban regeneration. When external investments or urban regeneration improve the environmental conditions of an area, the rent increases until it reaches the potential price, and this leads to gentrification, with the displacement of the existing tenants who were occupying properties with former lower rent.

Clay (1979) explains the process of gentrification using a four-stage model. It begins with flows of a small group of pioneering gentrifiers into a lagging area in a large city. The first gentrifiers create a unique locality, which begins to be introduced in the media. The unique characteristics of the area stimulate the taste of the middle-class and attract them to move into the area. Then the property price begins to increase. This stimulates mass external investment into the area and the property price soars. Finally, the local retail establishments that made the unique character of the area are replaced with global companies or large chains that can afford expensive rents; even the gentrifiers are displaced, and the unique locality of the area also diminishes.

The characteristics and behaviours of the middle-class gentrifiers have been examined in several studies. In the late 1980s, the term 'yuppie', defined by Short (1989, p.174) as "a young upwardly mobile person", was widely used to indicate the new middle-class. He called them "the new urban order" and described the circumstance of their emergence as the loss of manufacturing employment and an increase in service employment, against a background of rising unemployment. He argued that

such social changes affected a reduction in the power of the traditional male working class, an increase in female employment and the emergence of the new middle-class "yuppie".

Ley (1996) argued that gentrification represented new urban development containing consumption factors, taste, and a particular aesthetic outlook of the expanding "new middle-class". In the same context, Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008, p.116,118) described a "new middle-class" of cultural consumption and demand. Zukin (2010) also illustrated the character of the middle-class as a generalised one having the consumption tastes and habits of white people and argued that "gentrification generalized" is a broad process of "re-urbanisation" which leads to the replacement of poor and old people with wealthy young professionals. As a result of this process, low-income people and local businesses relying on local customers are displaced and the existing communities are eroded. Cultural and economic barriers are created, and finally, the diversity and characteristics of the area diminish.

Florida (2004) defines the "creative class" as referring to those who are engaged in science, engineering, R&D, culture and arts, or knowledge-based professions, and reported on innovations and qualitative economic growth in US cities such as San Francisco, Boston, Seattle, Austin, and New York. He suggested diversity, openness, and the role of universities as conditions for attracting the creative class, but also noted the problems caused by the externality of the creative economy, such as housing problems, uneven development, and political and social polarization.

Davison et al. (2012) observed resistance in communities mainly comprising the white middle-class against a development that ignored the local identity in east London. However, the authors pointed out that the community action aiming to preserve the diversity and local identity was not for the originally existing people but for their cultural taste, based on the preference for exotic diversity at a distance. Middle-classes in a gentrification area celebrate local diversity but rarely engage with that diversity in their everyday lives (Butler and Robson, 2003, p.11,12).

2.2 Local Business and Retail Gentrification

The term 'local business' is often used to refer to a business owned by local people and sometimes also includes franchises or corporate branches operating within a local area. However, in this research, 'local business' is defined as a business owned and operated within a local area by local people and excludes franchises or corporate branches.

One of the most representative examples of local business is the traditional retail market, including indoor or outdoor, permanent or itinerant gatherings of sellers and buyers (NMTF and NABMA, 2018). Traditional retail markets play a role in providing good quality, healthy and affordable fresh food, opportunities for social and cultural interaction, and relatively low-cost and accessible trading, particularly for lower income, marginalised and vulnerable people. However, despite these broad benefits, traditional retail markets face challenges such as cuts to local government funding, urban regeneration projects displacing existing communities, competition with the retail industry, and changing consumer behaviour, all of which threaten the social and cultural function of the traditional retail markets (Bua et al., 2018).

However, sometimes the social and cultural values of traditional retail markets can paradoxically promote gentrification of these markets. Gonzalez and Waley (2012) analysed the process of the rebranding of a market for a new wealthier customer interested more in local, environmentally friendly, ethical and "authentic" shopping experience, through a case study on Kirkgate Market in Leeds, the largest in Britain. They argued that a traditional market in a city tends to be a gentrified toward an upscale market that doesn't fit local customers.

Various studies have also been conducted on the relationship between the community and local businesses. As argued by Liebow (1967), local retail has played an economic and cultural role in neighbourhood development not only by fulfilling material needs but also by providing social and cultural capital to the community. If economic and social changes such as gentrification bring new consumers having different tastes and raise rents, local businesses suffer. Residents with new services, new employment opportunities and street vitality also experience the potential interruption in the culture and services which they historically had relied on. Furthermore, through two case studies on gentrifying neighbourhoods in Melbourne, Shaw and Hagemans (2015) found that transformations of shops and meeting places cause a sense of loss of place even without physical gentrification.

Meltzer (2016) researched the impact of the economic and social changes in the community, such as gentrification, on small businesses in the area, with a case study using microdata on properties and businesses in New York City. The research found that when businesses leave gentrifying neighbourhoods, the spaces tend to be vacant for relatively long periods compared to non-gentrifying neighbourhoods. In addition, gentrifying neighbourhoods are more likely to attract new types of services and they more often attract chain stores to replace displaced businesses.

Sullivan and Shaw (2011) focused on the racial divide as a result of retail gentrification on Alberta Street, Portland in the US. Alberta Street is a symbol of the creative class, bohemians and embracing diversity. It has experienced a decline in Black businesses and an increase in white ones, in the process of being "mainstream and bohemian". Findings through in-depth interviews with long-term Black and White residents show that race is a crucial factor to understand the use and response to the new retail sector. While many Blacks express their negative feeling with racial language to articulate the reason why they dislike the products of the new retail and the sense of cultural exclusion, mainstream White residents fully embrace the new shops and also show refashioning of their cities in a way that dilutes the diversity of the area, including long-term Black residents.

Jeong et al. (2015) also conducted research about the gentrification process and its impact on local businesses through in-depth interviews with local business owners and data analysis in Gyeongridan neighbourhood, Seoul. This area offers an exotic atmosphere and products that few other places in the city offer and receives praise from the media for widening the diversity of consumption spaces. It attracts culturally sensitive visitors to enjoy the new consumption experience, but this is at the expense of the local businesses. The respondents linked their dissatisfaction with the changes to different reasons such as displacement, losing its old charm and the lack of diversity in new shops. In addition, the interviewees' consistent response was that "they do not relate to the new social and cultural atmosphere in their neighbourhood" (p.152).

In this context, a study has been conducted to investigate the more broad and crucial impact of retail gentrification. Hubbard (2018) suggests that changes of local retail shops drive significant transformations of the area by changing the social, cultural and economic character of a given locality. He emphasised that the factors within this change not only include the replacement of local markets by global companies or chains but also lead to a new type of local company run by wealthier independent operators. In this process, the emergence of new types of retail instigates significant exclusionary pressures to the local people, who cannot afford the new shops in the neighbourhood. This implies that retail gentrification is not merely indicative of gentrification, but a more crucial phenomenon that can lead to further social, cultural and economic processes of gentrification and particularly to residential gentrification, alienating and displacing longer-term residents in the process.

3. Research Methods

This chapter explains the research methods used in this research, including the data collection and data analysis method.

3.1 Case study

The study selected a case study method, which is effective in developing a nuanced view of reality (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.223), to achieve the following research objectives: to analyse the local context and changes and the supporting mechanisms of projects that support local businesses in areas undergoing gentrification, and to analyse and evaluate the contribution to local businesses and the impact on the local community.

3.1.1 Study area selection

In order to conduct effective research, the research area had to meet conditions of containing diverse local businesses and undergoing gentrification. In this perspective, Brixton, in the London borough of Lambeth, was selected as the research area, because it has famously diverse local businesses, described in the London Plan 2016 (Para7.30, p.297) as "vibrant town centres and shopping areas" and has been experiencing gentrification with a notable rent increase (Dayle, 2010).

3.1.2 Case selection

In the process of selecting a project for the case study, Flyvbjerg's (2006, p.230) "Strategies for the Selection of Samples and Cases" was referenced. Accordingly, "to maximize the utility of information from small cases", cases were selected based on "expectations about their information content". In addition, "to obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for cases", two projects with very different organizations and methods of activity were selected for the case studies.

In this respect, the Brixton Pound and Pop Brixton projects were selected for the case study. They were both launched with the aim of supporting small and local businesses in Brixton in response to gentrification, but they have significant differences in their organisation and in the ways in which they support businesses. A variety of media articles and research reports on their activities were available, and these materials were used effectively in the case study process.

3.2 Data collection

Various data collection methods were used in this study, including documented research and policy data, media articles, and interviews. A detailed explanation of each data collection method is provided below.

3.2.1 Document data and media articles

First, relevant policy and planning documents on the study area and local economies were collected and analysed in order to gain an overall understanding of the area and the government's perception of the region and thus to predict the direction of the area's change. In particular, in the case of Pop Brixton, planning applications were also included in the data collection and analysis.

Also, as mentioned previously, Brixton Pound and Pop Brixton have project reports of their research and consulting institutes that have studied their activities and achievement. These data were also used for the case studies.

Finally, in order to grasp the latest information on the research area and each project, and to examine the various responses of the local community, related articles from various central and local media and posts on social network services were collected and used for this research. The main collected data are as follows.

Table 1 Data Sources

Category	Type	Source
Common Data	Plan Document	Future Brixton Masterplan 2009
		Brixton Supplementary Plannig Document 2013
		Lambeth Local Plan 2015
		Brixton Economic Action Plan 2017
	Local Media	https://www.brixtonbuzz.com
		https://brixtonblog.com/
		https://www.urban75.net/
Brixton Pound	Report	NEF (2015) Money with a purpose
Pop Brixton	Report	Regeneris (2018) Pop Brixton Evaluation
	Planning Application	Pop Brixton 49 Brixton Station Road London

3.2.2 Interview data

Interviews were planned to collect the complex and multifaceted opinions of the local community and local businesses on the gentrification of the research area and the projects supporting local businesses under the concept of 'human experts' (Dreyfus, 1986; Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.222).

i) Interview design

Interviews were planned to be conducted with key respondents from local businesses belonging to the case study projects and with local residents. Particularly, for the interviews with local businesses, based on information on each project's website, local businesses were categorised by their business type and main customer base and the location of each business was established in advance.

Interviews were scheduled to last around 20 minutes and were designed as semi-structured interviews with the following questions.

- Opinions on the influence of gentrification on Brixton and the local business. (for local businesses and residents)

- Opinions on how helpful the support of the project was to local business. (for local businesses)

- Opinions on the impact of the project on the local community, from an economic and a social perspective. (for local businesses and residents)

ii) Interview data collection

In the last week of July 2020, a total of three interviews were conducted, including two twenty-minute face-to-face interviews with local businesses belonging to the Brixton Pound and Pop Brixton and an email interview with one of Brixton Pound managers. A larger number of interviews with various categories of businesses were originally planned. However, there were many limitations to conducting the interviews due to COVID-19. Accordingly, in addition to the three interviews conducted in this study, further interview data collected for previous studies and comments on local media articles and social network services were also used as secondary data. The total interview data used in the analysis of this study are as follows.

Table 1 Interview Participants (*Details

Category	Group	Notation	Interview Type
Brixton Pound	Participating Businesses	Business#A1	Face-to-face Interview
		Business#A2	Video-1 (Secondary Data)
	Local Residents	Resident#A1	Video-2 (Secondary Data)
		Resident#A2	Video-3 (Secondary Data)
	Brixton Pound	B£-Manager#A1	Email Interview
POP Brixton	Participating Business	Business#B1	Face-to-face Interview
		Business#B2	Report-1 (Secondary Data)
	Local Businesses	Resident#B1	Report-1 (Secondary Data)
		Resident#B2	Report-1 (Secondary Data)

* The sources of the secondary data are in Appendix A

3.3 Data analysis method

In this study, both content and thematic analysis methods were used for each data source. First, for the document data, content analysis was mainly conducted to organise information into categories related to each research objective (Bowen, 2009, p.32).

Second, to analyse the collected linguistic data, such as interviews, secondary data in the research reports, and comments on articles, thematic analysis was adopted, with reference to the thematic analysis process set out by Braun and Clarke (2006, p.87). This method provides a purely qualitative, detailed, and nuanced account of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.32).

Finally, the results of both the thematic and the content analysis were used together for triangulation purposes in order to achieve convergence and corroboration of these research findings (Bowen, 2009, p.28).

3.4 Research ethics and risk assessment

As the research involved interviews, a risk assessment form was filled out and safety and ethical risks were avoided by conducting all interviews at neutral locations or where neither party could be at risk, and all interview data were kept anonymous. During the interviews, I wore a mask and was able to maintain social distance by using a voice recorder.

3.5 Challenges and reflections on methods

In this research, there were challenges to the use of face-to-face interviews due to COVID-19. Regarding the Brixton Pound, many businesses were closed, or only allowed a limited number of people to enter the store, and some businesses declined to be interviewed. The Brixton Pound Cash Machine also seemed like out of management. For Pop Brixton, access to the food and beverage stores was controlled and only mobile orders were allowed, so in-person contact was impossible. All offices, social enterprises and retail stores were closed except for one retail store.

Figure 1. The Impact of COVID-19 (Author, 2020)

| Brixton Pound | Pop Brixton |
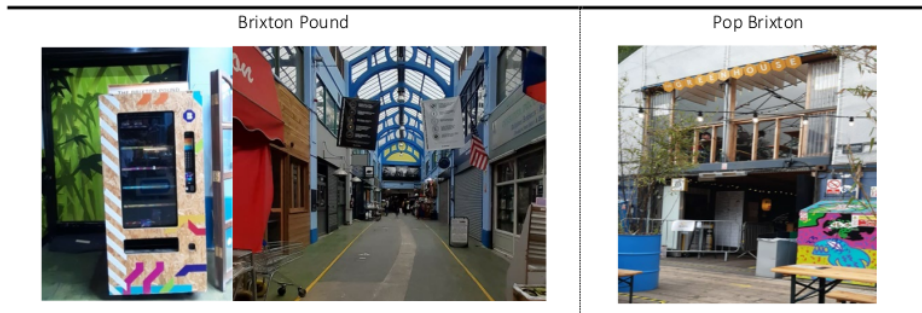
As a countermeasure to these limitations, email interviews were also attempted. However, most of the small local businesses did not have homepages or disclosed email addresses. There were no responses to emails except for the Brixton Pound manager. Eventually, interviews on similar subjects in previous studies and websites were searched and applied to the study as secondary data.

4. Background information on the research area

This chapter looks over the history and major events of the research area, Brixton, in order to understand the local context, and examines the relationship between gentrification of the shops and markets and the local government's policies and plans.

4.1 Local context of Brixton

Brixton has developed along with the transportation system based on its geographical advantages, since the Vauxhall Bridge was established in 1816. In 1862, Brixton railway station linked Brixton to Central London and attracted the middle-classes, and this led to an expansion of the residential area. Accordingly, several shopping centres have developed, Brixton became one of the thriving shopping districts in South London, having department stores such as Morley's, various markets, shops, cinemas and theatres in the 1920s. In 1971, the opening of the Brixton Tube Station on the Victoria Line further boosting the influx of people working in central London (LBL, 2013b).

Meanwhile, beginning with the arrival of the first immigrants from Jamaica in 1948, the continuing influx of Afro-Caribbean immigrants brought other major changes in Brixton. The immigrants who settled in Clapham and Brixton built an autonomous social space based on the existence of an ethic-community infrastructure and dense networks of relationships and it has become a significant landmark symbolising the beginning of modern British multicultural society (Mavrommatis, 2010).

However, the rapid increase of migrants affected the shortage of residential areas and deterioration of convenience facilities and led to social problems such as the rise of unemployment and crime rates. In 1981, racism and conflicts with the police caused a riot, and this was repeated in the 1990s with complaints about the local government and policies.

On the other hand, the damage caused by the riot triggered Brixton's new conversion (Okada, 2014, p4). In the process of rebuilding the damage caused by the riots, new investments were attracted, which increased property prices, and the geographical advantages, including good public transportation links, and the unique cultural characteristics attracted a new population and led to gentrification gradually. In addition, the wave of regeneration in London alongside the 2012 Olympics

and the cosmopolitanism which aimed to construct an urban brand has encouraged gentrification through the consumption of multiculturalism through the ethnicised identity, all of which accelerated the changes in Brixton (Campkin, 2013; Lees, 2016). However, while the newly established social group introduced new lifestyles and consumption habits to the area and the gentrification restructured what remained as a cultural capital in the centre, the existing Afro-Caribbean residents and their heritage were relatively marginalised and generated both symbolic and spatial fractures (Bertholet, 2012, p.1). In particular, several streets having good geographical locations and advantageous connections with other regions, such as Coldharbour Lane, Atlantic Road, and Railton Road, which were considered the centres of Afro-Caribbean culture were heavily pressured to convert to residential areas due to the influence of gentrification.

Figure 2. Research Area (Author, 2020)
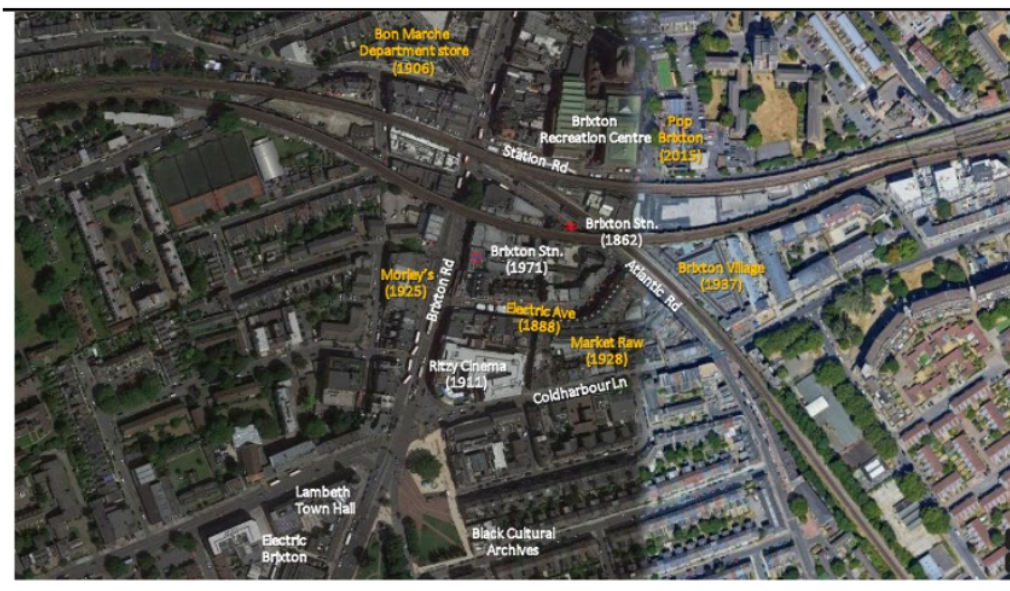
4.2 Local government's policies and gentrification of the retail shops and markets

Brixton's local government recognises the diverse cultural characteristics and emphasises the enhancement of the small local companies that make them up. In addition, it focuses on the development of creative industries based on this diversity. Florida (2004, p.11,12) suggested that the conditions of the city to attract the creative class, such as diversity and openness, are the core strategy of the creative industry. Brixton's policy documents also reflect this.

The 2009 Future Brixton Masterplan emphasised the creative culture industry, with small local enterprises and a unique local context. It stated that to retain the character and identity of Brixton, "the uniqueness of the existing urban context and its intricacies and quirks" should be protected, and to do this, "the rich and colourful character of Brixton's markets, reflecting the town centre's diverse social and cultural mix, must be protected, enhanced and celebrated" (Para3.6, p.46). It also stressed the importance of "high-quality spatial provision and affordability [...] in order to strengthen the capacity of local businesses and encourage new enterprise", and the development of "a local economy focusing on the creative and cultural industries" through enhancing "small local enterprise." (Para2.1.1, p.16).

The Brixton Supplementary Planning Document (SPD), published in 2013, also suggests the expansion of the art and creative industries based on Brixton's town centre and cultural diversity. In particular, with the concept that the balance of convenience and independent retail is one of Brixton's key strengths, the SPD promotes positive change through investments that encourage growth and lead to new opportunities and jobs for local people (Para3.3.3, p.22).

This characteristic is also evident in the Lambeth Local Plan 2015. The "independent retail and cultural offer and potential new facilities for higher and further education" are emphasised to support new commercial and residential development of the town centre. In particular, it is stated that "local shops, independent businesses and street markets, [...] and the unique multi-cultural indoor markets" [...] are essential to developing the identity of local areas (Para2.108, p.28).

In the Brixton Economic Action Plan 2015, the lack of good quality "retail and leisure floorspace to accommodate the growing demand" was pointed out as a challenge (Para1.10, p.3). Therefore, the "supply of commercial space in Brixton" was suggested as a crucial role to play in ensuring that the local economy evolves in a sustainable and balanced way (Para1.11, p3).

These local government policies led to many changes in the commercial areas and markets in Brixton town centre. The improvement of the environment and facilities of the town centre promoted the influx of a population with higher purchasing power and led to the gentrification of the markets and shops. The cases of Brixton Village, Market Row and the Network Rail arches demonstrate this process.

Brixton Village and Market Row, a rich and colourful market arcade that forms the identity and character of Brixton, are local markets built in the early 1900s. But, over time, the indoor markets declined, and developers drew up a redevelopment plan that aimed to transform them into a ten-storey apartment building in 2008. However, the local community prevented this and successfully campaigned for the markets to be awarded heritage protection. They tried to revitalise the markets with a regeneration agency (Urban, 2020b). Various cultural events and the diverse and unique characters of the markets led to successful regeneration. Meanwhile, it also coincided with the cultural tastes of the white middle-class, with a "taste for the exotic; for diversity" (Davidson et al., 2012, p.64), and many soon found rent rises. After that, due to rapid gentrification of the markets, which has seen trendy restaurants, boutiques and a champagne bar opening up inside, many of the Afro-Caribbean elements of the market have diluted.

On the other hand, for some public sectors, these changes in the customer base and the rise of property prices have also provided an opportunity to increase profits through asset management.

The old arches of Atlantic Road and Station Road, which were never originally designed for commercial use, have been leased to small local businesses for decades at low rent, and most of these businesses were given a long lease of 20 years. Despite the lack of support from Network Rail, the businesses kept the arches well and operated with local residents (Contributor, 2018). However, Brixton's demographic change and rising rent were recognised as good opportunities for profit generation for Network Rail, which was struggling with debt (Contributor, 2017).

In 2015, Network Rail notified the businesses in the railway arches on Atlantic Road of plans to close them for a year for refurbishment. This meant that the businesses would lose their rights to the rents they currently paid, and after the refurbishment, the rent would also increase by over 300%. Despite resistance and campaigns such as Save Brixton Arches, Lambeth council approved the development in 2016 and many businesses left the arches (Contributor, 2017). It is very likely that the companies that moved in after the arches' renovation would be based on different customer bases and types of business that can afford the much higher rent.

Figure 3. Closed Rail Arches on Atlantic Rd (Google, 2020)

On the other hand, in 2017, London City Hall designated Brixton as a Creative Opportunity Area. But it also pointed out that despite its vibrant creative economy with potential for growth, Brixton faces an undersupply of workspace, and rising property prices put some artists and creative businesses at risk (GLA, 2017a).

Nevertheless, in 2018, Brixton Village and Market Row were bought by Hondo Enterprises, backed by a US-based global investment company. Despite pledging to retain the character of the markets, they evicted some shops and studio artists. In 2020, Hondo Enterprises unveiled plans for a huge development of a 21-storey building located near the markets, in the centre of Brixton (Urban, 2020b). Network Rail also sold the freehold of the arches to The Arch Company, one of the largest 'small business landlords' in the UK, in 2019. Their rich financial source and operating experience will make the markets and shops more prosperous. But at the same time, the markets and shops are more likely to change to become suitable to the taste of the creative and middle-classes, and the gentrification will also accelerate accordingly.

5. Data analysis

This chapter conducts comparative analyses of the collected data to draw the conclusion of the study, based on the background information gained in Chapter 4. It begins by introducing the background information, activities and main issues of the projects, to investigate the supporting mechanisms of projects that support local businesses in the area (R.O.2), and then analyses and evaluates the contribution of the projects to local businesses (R.O.3) and the impact of the projects on the local community according to the supporting mechanism (R.O.4).

### 5.1 Background Information and supporting mechanism

The Brixton Pound is a local currency established by activists of Transition Town Brixton to support independent local shops and traders in 2009. The Transition Town movement seeks to create greater local resilience and well-being against threats such as climate change and peak oil and reimagines how local economies are able to adapt to the inevitable shocks. Local currency, one of these Transition Town initiatives, can have environmental benefits by reducing transport distances to deal with local suppliers and is recognised as encouraging spending in local areas (Ryan-Collins, 2011, p.61,62).

After the 2008 financial crisis, banks reduced lending to small and mid-size enterprises, so they needed complementary financial sources (Bindewald and Steed, 2015, p.33). In this circumstance, the Brixton Pound was created to support independent local businesses by circulating within the local economy and being used only between local businesses (Taylor, 2010, p.3078). Ryan-Collins et al. (2010) argued that local businesses can contribute more to creating jobs and economic resilience within the local economy as a key driver of employment, and that their diversity and grounding in a community can make areas more resilient to crisis, while chain stores are often more likely to leave the area when the economy is in trouble.

The Brixton Pound was able to secure an initial grant from the National Lottery in 2009, and this helped to deliver the business model and print the notes. Moreover, a micro-grant provided funds and the Brixton Pound Cafe to cover the cost of activities by themselves. There is no specific limit to accepting Brixton Pounds for local businesses and now, a total of 270 local businesses, from food and

drinks establishments to the retail and service industries for local residents have been listed as available for Brixton Pounds, and £500,000 of notes have been issued (Brixton Pound, ND).

Figure 4. The location of Brixton Pound usable traders (Author, 2020)
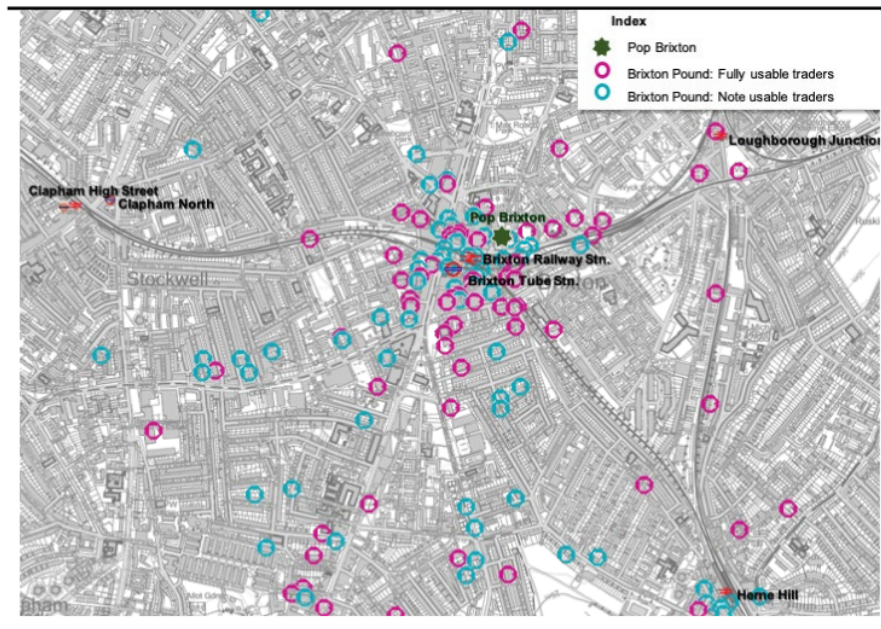
Nonetheless, the Brixton Pound has some limitations as a local currency. The use of Brixton Pound has no actual financial benefit. Therefore, to encourage use, it is necessary to appeal to their explicit ethical motivations for the local economy or local business (Ryan-Collins, 2011, p.65). However, Sheffield (2017) noted that it is particularly difficult to appeal to low-income residents to use local independent stores instead of chains that offer a cheaper price. Because local businesses also have a lack of actual financial benefits, it is difficult to charge a fee for using the local currency. Accordingly, the lack of sustainable revenue and funds means that local currency projects are highly dependent on volunteer labour (Ryan-Collins, 2011, p.61,62). Field studies have observed that this limitation is more serious due to the shortage of manpower in a crisis situation such as the current Covid-19. Besides, notes are inefficient to use compared to modern financial infrastructure. Therefore, despite a successful and high-profile launch with the involvement of a large number of businesses initially, a significant decrease in its trade was reported over time. It was also observed that participating

businesses were not re-spending the local currency they received through their suppliers but exchanging it for Pounds Sterling (Taylor, 2010, p.307).

Meanwhile, Pop Brixton is a temporary project providing business spaces for small businesses, start-ups and various community activities on a vacant site owned by Lambeth Council.

Coldharbour Ward, where Pop Brixton is located, has witnessed the changes and diversity of Brixton. There is a diverse population with locally severe socio-economic challenges leading to severe relative multiple deprivations, continuing unemployment and social challenges (Regeneris, 2018, p.19). As Okada (2014) observed, the gentrification of this area took place in the process of regenerating the emptiness that the local community had left. Through this process, the nearby indoor markets, Market Row and Brixton Village are thriving, loved by middle-class customers in recent years, and the shops of Network Rail's Brixton Arches are also experiencing major changes through refurbishment.

The Future Brixton Masterplan 2009 designated the site as a "major development opportunity area" and aimed to support wider regeneration and economic development (Para3.4.3, P.43). In 2014, Lambeth Council launched a competition for ideas for the 'Popes Road Meanwhile project', a temporary development until the start of permanent development. The winner of the bid was able to lease the land for almost free.

Figure 5. Pop Brixton project site (Future Brixton Masterplan, 2009; Brixton Buzz, 2016)

As a result of the competition, "Grow: Brixton", proposed by a team consisting of Lambeth-based Carl Turner Architects (CTA) and The Edible Bus Stop (EBS), was elected as a winner. It was designed to build a self-sufficient community, organised and run by the local residents and small businesses, and used container boxes to save time and cost. However, the project also had to consider the commercial aspect. Although the land was almost free, overheads and running costs still had to be

met and the winner had to develop the site with their own budget. Besides, 50% of the profit had to be shared with the council. To this end, part of the community space has been transformed into a rental space and the self-sufficient community management plan was changed to a management company operation. In this process, EBS left the project following disagreement about the way of operation and management, and CTA received further investment from The Collective, a global property development company. They registered Pop Brixton as a Private limited Company in 2014 and their investment was on a loan basis which has 10% interest a year had to be repaid from the profit (Lott-Lavigna, 2019a). In 2017, after Turner resigned, POP Brixton became owned by The Collective and managed by its subsidiary company, Makeshift.

Figure 6. Pop Brixton Change process (Brixton Buzz, 2014; Planning Application, 2014,2015)

Competition proposal (March 2014)   Planning Application (June 2014)   Application Document Revision (July 2015)
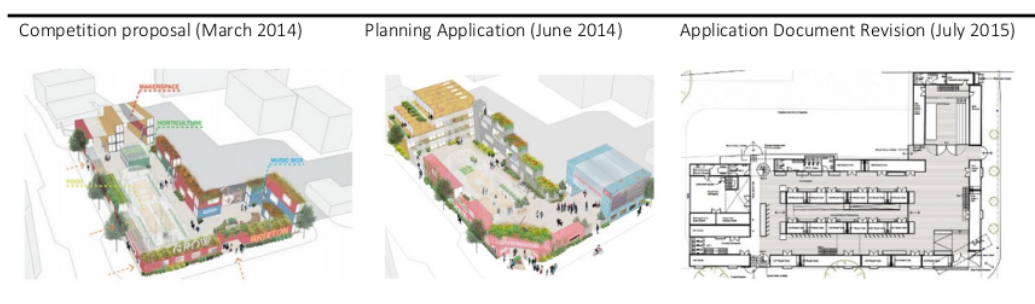
Pop Brixton offers 1,283m² of business space, comprising 55 units and 334m² of event and community space. Around 20% of the total units are available as affordable rent. Then, Pop Brixton provides a supportive environment including various promotions and a network of businesses such as various events in order to increase footfall and exposure of the businesses, based on the advantage of the location and atmosphere. Looking at the specific economic performance, as of 2018, Pop Brixton created 197 jobs in 47 businesses. In addition, the businesses hired 10 apprentices who gained skills and experience in beauty, food and beverages, and business support.

However, Pop Brixton has never made a profit since its opening, so it could not share any revenue with Lambeth Council. This is presumed to be due to higher-than-expected initial construction and maintenance costs. It was reported that £1,867,415 of the construction cost was increased over four times from the original estimate of £423,720, and £3,214,148 of overhead was also soared from the initial estimated cost of £214,000. In 2018, it had a net liability of £747,000 (Cobb, 2018). Although it was hard to understand the huge debt considering the high occupancy and popularity, nonetheless,

in July 2020, Lambeth Council approved the third extension of the project period to give Pop Brixton time to pay off the debt.

In conclusion, the two projects showed contrasts in their support mechanisms and governances. The Brixton Pound, started as a bottom-up community project, supported local businesses in indirect ways such as being circulated and used only between local businesses. However, it has the limitation that having a lack of actual financial benefits for the use. By contrast, Pop Brixton supported a limited number of local businesses directly by providing business spaces and affordable rent. It started as a council-led top-down project, and Lambeth Council played a crucial role in determining the direction of the project under the local plans and policies. But they have not made a profit from the operation.

5.2 Evaluation of the projects' support of local businesses

To analyse and evaluate the contribution of the projects to local businesses, the interviews started with listening to the local businesses' opinions on the changes caused by gentrification. Based on this, this chapter compares and analyses how each project helps businesses in this regard.

First, when asked about the opinion of changes brought about by gentrification, Business#A1 of the Brixton Pound, working for a second-hand bookstore on Coldharbour Lane, answered that:

> "It becomes a double-edged sword. And so, on the one hand, you have the advantages of gentrification, so we see many more people through the door [...] but the sort of advantages that one at the same time the disadvantage because with the popularity comes the increase in rents and people wanting to buy into the area, big businesses wanting to come."

> "Main customer base actually, that has shifted. Because it has to be with local people yesterday, now, we see a lot more tourists and international tourists and also people travelling from other parts of London, which is a nice thing."

His words depict both advantages and disadvantages that arise as the number of tourists in the region increases through gentrification. Considering that Coldharbour Ward, where the bookstore is

located, is a relatively multiple deprived area (Regeneris, 2018, p.19), an increase in the number of external tourist customers with relatively high purchasing power can contribute to the increase in local businesses' income. However, these changes can cause rises in rents and the inflow of large corporations which can be a threat to local businesses (Clay, 1979). In fact, as can be seen in Figure 7, Brixton property prices have risen by about 79% from £316,362 in 2010 to £566,930 in 2020.

Figure 7. Average property price in Brixton (Foxtons, 2020)
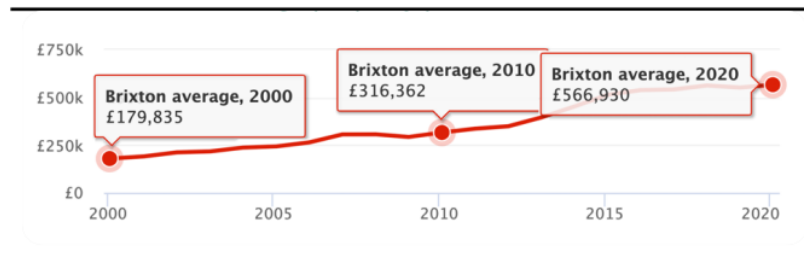
However, when the respondent was asked how helpful Brixton Pound was for his business, his answer was negative.

"One time, they would use it occasionally, but no, not at all. It has no impact on our business of any kind."

By contrast, the respondent from Business#A2 of the Brixton Pound, operating a restaurant in Brixton Village, answered that he was using Brixton Pounds not only for business but also for individual purpose.

"Yes, I use it to pay other shops, you know, especially got the fruit and vegetable shop installed which is here on the corner. They accept Brixton Pound that part of it. [...] Oh, what I'm gonna, I want to have something to eat that's not from my shop, I go to other places where they accept it in pay with the Brixton Pounds."

The notable point is that while Business#A1's bookstore is a difficult business sector in which to re-spend Brixton Pound in the local supply chain, Business#A2's restaurants can use Brixton Pound to source ingredients from the local supply chain. That is consistent with Taylor's (2014, p.308,309) observation that re-spending was difficult for non-food businesses which have supply chains outside the area. Also, the fact that Brixton Pound has not actually increased in use despite the increase in the number of external tourists shows the limitation of the ability to encourage personal customers to use local businesses through the Brixton Pound. That means, as in the case of Business#A2, Brixton Pound

27

can be seen as having the greatest advantage in revitalising local supply chains and keeping and circulating money within the local area as much as possible by being used in transactions between local businesses.

Actually, the Brixton Pound has made various efforts to promote local businesses to use the currency and cover the limitations. First, it became possible to pay Lambeth Council business rates by Brixton Pound with the support of the local government. Besides, Lambeth was the first local authority in the UK to have a payroll scheme for staff in the local currency. Being able to pay taxes using Brixton Pound is a significant advantage to encourage local businesses to use and circulate it. Because Brixton has very little primary production, for some business sectors, it is difficult to find a place to spend Brixton Pounds that they have received. However, since taxes are a common source of spending, this can compensate for this issue. Furthermore, paying staff in the Brixton Pound means that a certain amount of Brixton Pounds flows into the area regularly. According to Bindewald and Steed (2015, p43), nearly 70% of staff at Lambeth Council who take some Brixton Pounds in their salaries reported that they visit businesses that take Brixton Pound more often and spend more at these businesses.

In 2011, the Brixton Pound introduced a pay-by-text payment system, a method of paying through a text message on a mobile phone, because today's people do not use cash more than before, so they found text payment easy to use. The system was simple and had lower fees than a credit card because it does not go through a global bank chain. In addition, this system allowed the Brixton Pound not only to reduce the cost of issuing notes but also to charge a 1.5% fee for use, enabling them to reinvest in community activities such as the Brixton Fund (Woof, 2012). Pay-by-text contributed significantly to the circulation of Brixton Pound, including being used for about 49,000 transactions. However, with the emergence of new digital currencies such as blockchain, it was quickly outdated, and was discontinued in 2018 (B£-Manager#A1).

Nevertheless, in the email interview, B£-Manager#A1 emphasised the importance of the business-to-business transactions and the new platform of the local currency:

"We are developing a new currency to meet the economic situation [...] how the business-to-business element can benefit traders – this is something we are working on for the new digital currency."

On the other hand, Business#B1, who operates a record shop in Pop Brixton, also mentioned the increase in rent as the significant impact of Gentrification.

"The advantage of being in Brixton is it's very central to London and it's well connected with the underground stop. […] Yes, it's being gentrified. So, the prices are going up. […] Very much so, especially in the last 10 years. Yeah."

So, he said, the biggest support he gets from Pop Brixton is the affordable rent.

"It's a cheaper rent than the market average. Yeah, it's a bit cheaper and we work with Lambeth Council to do community projects, so I get a discount on the rent and then I do DJ workshops for work experience, so it's a trade with skills for discount. […] (If there was no Pop Brixton's rent support), maybe somewhere like that Peckham, which would be a bit cheaper, is only because of these community places I can afford."

As can be seen in the interview, Pop Brixton offers a range of commercial space at subsidised rents as 'supported space'. Around 20% of the total of 55 units are available as affordable rent, comprising six units at 20% and four units at 50% of market rent (Regeneris, 2018m p.36). As shown in Table 3, there is rental subsidy support in 35% of the non-food and beverage sectors, such as offices, studios, and retail.

Table 3. Rent subsidised units (Data source: Regeneris, 2018)

Category	Office	Studio	Retail	Radio

However, as the interview with Business#B1 shows, the service-level agreement about social objectives, including providing local training and apprenticeship opportunities in return for the subsidy, was significantly helpful to encourage new start-up businesses. It was particularly effective for social enterprises. They can promote their activities through increased exposure from Pop Brixton's marketing, social media and events, substantially raising interest from volunteers (Regeneris, 2018).

Nevertheless, there still has been stronger demand from F&B uses at Pop Brixton and this sector has been more commercially successful. Pop Brixton operated a revenue-sharing rental model that pays 10-15% of its net revenue as rent and mainly F&Bs have entered the agreement. It was also reported that the high return of F&B uses has supported the rental models (Regeneris, 2018). However, as shown in Figure 7, the rent in Pop Brixton without subsidies is never cheaper than the rent in the surrounding area, even before the revenue share.

Figure 8. Pop Brixton Rent Comparison (Author, 2020; Data source: Zoopla)
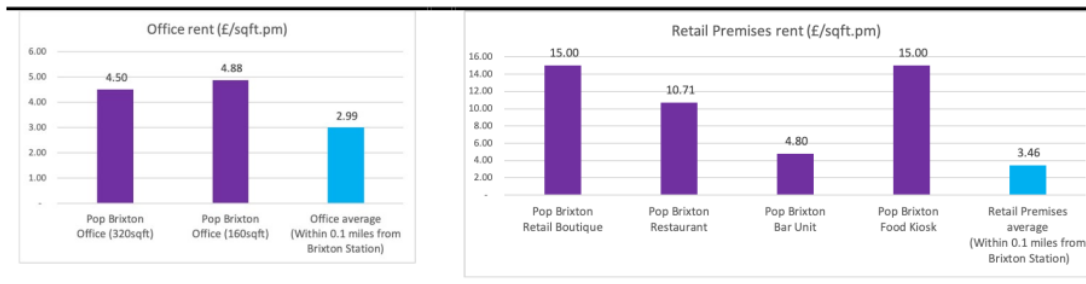
* The details of this comparison are in Appendix B

Meanwhile, the respondent from Business#B2, who runs an Asian restaurant in Pop Brixton, has a slightly different opinion on Gentrification and the advantage of Pop Brixton. He had a positive perception of the changes caused by gentrification.

> *"People complain about gentrification, but change is good. It's unfair to say there's been too much gentrification because a lot of people who say that were part of the first wave of gentrification in the area. […] Some people don't feel they are welcome in Pop Brixton. I get it, because Pop Brixton is young, but they are more than welcome. I think it was the same when the Village opened, but now it's really a part of Brixton. I hope Pop is the same."*

He said Pop Brixton's advantage is its diverse and unique atmosphere.

"It's a fun place to be, so I think it's had a really good, positive impact on the area. Over the last five years it's just started to change. […] It's more culturally diverse as well, so it's all positive."

The 'Cultural diversity' which is mentioned by Business#B2 is a characteristic and competitiveness of Brixton, as mentioned in the London Plan 2016 and Brixton SPD 2013. At the same time, it is also the cultural taste of the middle-

The respondent from Business#A1 thought that the role of the Brixton Pound, remaining in circulation locally, did not work well.

"I think it was meant to be kept within the community, but I don't think that really happened visually. [...] Maybe that was the intention, but I don't think it works."

He added.

"People used to like notes because they had maybe David Bowie on the note or something. [...] It's like a souvenir of Brixton. [...] We ought to open it occasionally: tourists would come in and ask to buy, swap them the Brixton Pound."

The perception of the Brixton Pound as a souvenir shows the limits of its ability to encourage personal customers to use local businesses, and tallies with the words of Marta Owczarek, a community manager of Brixton Pound, that

"Brixton Pound notes have become a collector's item, which is good PR but doesn't actually help the local economy. [...] Nobody is going to be using Brixton Pounds for profit. [However] it really does start conversations. It means people are connected to each other, to their local community, and to their local business community" (cited in Furseth, 2016).

That means that the Brixton Pound has a stronger role as 'a cultural tool which can stimulate social interaction' (Bindewald and Steed, 2015, p.17) and emphasises the contribution of the social perspective. From this perspective, the fact that many businesses in Brixton, including the various categories and wide regions, have joined the Brixton Pound is seen as a great advantage for strengthening social functions, including such community activation.

Resident#A1, who volunteered at Brixton Pound, also said that one the most important achievements was the increase of the opportunity for communication through the Brixton Pound in the local community:

"We were doing community engagement, so just trying to get people talking about the Brixton Pound. [...] Yeah, I think one of the most valuable things we've been doing since they forged is just going around and talking to people about it."

Also, the positive evaluation of the Brixton Pound also led to the positive evaluation on Lambeth Council which supports the scheme.

"Yes, I think it's a very good idea because I think it brings a vibe, and it's very good that you know the council has come up with this initiative." (Resident#A2)

When asked about the best achievement of the Brixton Pound, B£-Manager#A1 answered:

"We have a mix of local users who understand that by using the Brixton Pound it helps create deeper community pride. […] Most successful achievement is lasting for 10 years and introducing new initiatives into the community."

That suggests that social action to raise community awareness is the Brixton Pound's biggest goal. Lambeth Council also has estimated the value of positive media coverage for the Brixton Pound at about £100,000 (Ryan-Collins, 2011, p.65).

On the other hand, Pop Brixton appears to have a positive impact on the local economic in terms of creating local jobs and generating high levels of footfall. Business#B2's answer illustrates it well.

"I feel Pop's done an amazing thing. It's given business operators like myself to employ people, employ local people, you know."

Resident#B1, running a food stall in Brixton Market, is also positive about the increase of footfall thanks to Pop Brixton.

"I think it helps the local area having a lot of restaurants. I think it's brought a bit of a different crowd to the market, to be fair, but I've been getting a bit of business off some of them [Pop Brixton traders] as well because they come here and buy the berries and whatnot for their juices."

Meanwhile, Resident#B2, who runs a flower shop, spoke of the positive impact of Pop Brixton's new customers, but at the same time expressed concerns about the gentrification it caused.

"It is a double-edged sword. I don't think they mean to exclude people. But I'm a Lambeth resident and I've lived here all my life and there are a lot of customers I have, especially the more elderly West Indian community, that don't feel that's for them. […] But then, on the flip side of that, I run a flower business and flowers are a luxury item. So, it's that more affluent customer who's going to spend their money with me."

Pop Brixton was designed with principles of social inclusion in mind, and to find businesses that can participate in these plans, it had a highly structured tenant selection process, which aimed to focus on supporting local employment and enterprise. As a result, 73% of business owners and three-quarters

of employees in Pop Brixton are local residents (Regeneris, 2018, p.68). Nevertheless, Pop Brixton is being criticized for not representing Brixton's entire community (Lott-Lavigna, 2019; Regeneris, 2018). Because, although there are diverse communities in Brixton, it has become a project tailored only to the income level and tastes of a particular group in Brixton, the young and white middle-class.

Finally, Pop Brixton became the 'new type of retail' that can instigate significant exclusionary pressures to the local people who can't afford the new shops in the neighbourhood (Hubbard, 2018, p.296) of Coldharbour ward, where half of the area's residents live the top 10% most deprived nationally (Contributor, 2020). Although Pop Brixton is made up of only local independent businesses, as Hubbard (2018) reported, not only global companies or chains but also a new type of local businesses run by wealthier independent operators can create exclusionary pressures for local people.

In addition, as suggested by Sullivan and Shaw (2011), race could also be a crucial factor to understand the issues around Pop Brixton. Ken Floyd, chair of the Brixton Neighbourhood Forum, argued that Pop Brixton had become a white-middle-class taste, saying

"Don't forget the gentrification of Brixton has changed the demographic of Brixton. So, when you think local people might be Black, that's not necessarily so anymore" (cited in Lott-Lavigna, 2019).

However, while Coldharbour ward has only 38% of the population recorded as coming from white ethnic groups (Contributor, 2020), according to an internal survey conducted by Makeshift in 2019, 55.6% of business owners in Pop Brixton are white (Lott-Lavigna, 2019). Besides, photos of Pop Brixton on its evaluation report of Regeneris (2018), portrayed the majority of customers as white, clearly show which group this space is intended for.

Figure 9. Pop Brixton customers portrayed in the report (Regeneris, 2018)

Finally, there were also complaints about the council's role in Pop Brixton. A comment on an article in the Brixton Buzz (Contributor, 2019b), which reported on Pop Brixton's four-year extension request submission, expressed that:

"This place is a disgrace. It's never made any of the money for Lambeth as was promised, it only serves the well-off incomers and trendy white people rather than people who live here, and now it's getting another extension? Shame on you, Lambeth."

This comment demonstrates the local community's resentment towards the fact that this project has transformed from a self-sufficient space for the local community into a commercial space for the middle-class run by a global property company. There is also anger against local governments that continue to extend free land use to compensate for the loss of a global property company that makes no profit despite such commercial operations. Nevertheless, Pop Brixton now becomes a good 'quality retail and leisure floorspace' to accommodate the growing demand which suggested in the Brixton Economic Action Plan 2017. Its appearance matches the tastes of the creative and young middle-class, the protagonists of the creative and cultural industries emphasised in the Future Brixton Masterplan 2009 and the Brixton SPD 2013. In this context, it doesn't seem awkward for a global company The Collective to run Pop Brixton like Hondo Enterprise of Brixton Village and The Arch Company of Arches.

In conclusion, the evaluation of the economic impact on the local community was similar to the local businesses' evaluation of the support of each project. Pop Brixton showed a more visible impact than Brixton Pound by creating local jobs and generating footfall with higher purchasing power that could help nearby commercial areas. However, the evaluation of the project's impact on the local community from the social perspective differed from this. Brixton Pound was positively evaluated for delivering community initiatives and facilitating social interactions within the community based on the merits of being linked to local businesses in broad categories and across a wide region. By contrast, the community expressed antipathy towards the fact that Pop Brixton had become a commercial project for a specific class among the community, not encompassing the diverse communities in the region. The evaluations were also reflected in the evaluation of Lambeth Council in relation to each project. While the local community had positive perceptions of the council's support for the Brixton Pound, they recognised that the council's initiatives on Pop Brixton were out of sync with their sentiment and expressed discontent.

6. Conclusion

This research has been conducted to find answers to the questions of how projects that support local businesses work in areas experience gentrification and what are the achievements and limitations of these projects, based on the case study of two projects of Brixton in the London borough of Lambeth.

To this end, this study collected data through interviews with local businesses belonging to each project and analysed it based on prior research on the projects, evaluation reports, and articles in the media. It began by investigating the supporting mechanisms of projects that support local businesses in the area, and then analysed and evaluated the projects' contribution to local businesses and the impact of these projects on the local community according to the supporting mechanism.

The findings of this study, which were obtained through this process, are as follows.

The two projects in the case study showed contrasts in their support mechanisms, governance, and the role of Lambeth Council. The Brixton Pound supported a wide range of local businesses in indirect ways such as being circulated and used only between local businesses. It started as a bottom-up community project by local activists, and Lambeth council served as a catalyst to help the project proceed successfully. By contrast, Pop Brixton supported a limited number of local businesses in direct ways by providing business space and rent subsidy. It started as a council-led top-down project, and Lambeth Council played a more crucial role in determining the direction of the project under the local plans and policies as well as the landlord.

The local businesses' evaluations of the projects' support differed depending on not only the support mechanism of each project but also the business type and their perception of the impact of gentrification. The local businesses' overall evaluation of the project's support was higher for Pop Brixton, which provided more direct support than the Brixton Pound. Local businesses' evaluation of the support from the Brixton Pound differed greatly depending on whether their business is capable of re-spending and circulating the Brixton Pound in the local supply chain, which is Brixton Pound's support mechanism. To compensate for this, Brixton Pound has worked to increase business-to-business transactions through partnerships with the council and the development of new payment methods. Pop Brixton's businesses gave a better evaluation of the project, when their perception of the impact of gentrification and the content of the project's support matched. In addition, the category of each local business also had an impact on the evaluation.

The evaluation of each project's impact on the local community differed greatly from the economic and social perspectives. First, the evaluation of the economic impact on the local community was similar to the local businesses' evaluation of the support of each project. While the Brixton Pound had almost no visible impact on the local economy, Pop Brixton showed a more direct impact, such as creating local jobs and generating considerable footfall with higher purchasing power that could help nearby commercial areas. However, the evaluation from the social perspective differed from this. Brixton Pound was positively evaluated for delivering community initiatives and facilitating social interactions within the community based on the merits of being linked to local businesses in broad categories and across a wide region. In contrast, the community expressed antipathy towards the fact that Pop Brixton had become a commercial project for a specific class among the community, not encompassing the diverse communities in the region. In this process, the local residents' sense of relative deprivation, exclusive pressure, and racial issues was observed. The evaluations were also reflected in the evaluation of Lambeth Council in relation to each project. While the local residents had positive perceptions of the council's support for the Brixton Pound, they recognised that the council's initiatives on Pop Brixton were out of sync with their sentiment and expressed discontent.

Bibliography

Arnstein, S.R. (1969) A ladder of citizen participation. Journal of the American Institute of planners, 35(4), pp.216-224.

Bertholet, A. (2012) Gentrification as a driver of social and racial tensions: the case of Brixton, Metropolitics, 16 October 2013

Bindewald, L. And Steed, L. (2015) Money with A Purpose: Community Currencies Achieving Social, environmental and economic impact, New Economic Foundation

Bowen, G.A.(2009) Document analysis as a qualitative research method. Qualitative research journal, 9(2), p.27.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qualitative research in psychology, 3(2), pp.77-101. Bua, A., Taylor, M. and Gonzalez, S. (2018) Measuring the value of traditional retail markets: Toward a holistic approach, New Economic Foundation

Bridge, G., Butler, T. and Lees, L. (2011) Mixed communities: Gentrification by stealth?, Bristol: Policy Press.

Brixton Pound (2020) Brixton Pound [online] Available at: http://brixtonpound.org/blog/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Butler, T. and Robson, G. (2003) "The Middle-Classes and the Remaking of Inner London": London Calling, London: Berg.

Campkin, B. (2013) Remaking London: Decline and Regeneration in Urban Culture, London: IB Tauris.

Clay, P. (1979) Neighborhood Renewal: Middle-Class Resettlement and Incumbent Upgrading in American Neighborhoods , Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.

Cobb, J. (2018) "Lambeth Council extends Pop Brixton lease for two years as business park fails to deliver any profit" brixtonbuzz.com/ [online] Available at: http://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2018/01/lambeth-council-extends-pop-brixton-lease-for-two-years-as-business-park-fails-to-deliver-any-profit/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Cobb, J. (2015) "Pop: Brixton applies to add extra space to Pope's Road site as shift to commercial enterprise continues" Brixton Buzz.com [online] Available at: http://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2015/03/popbrixton-applies-to-add-extra-space-to-popes-road-site-as-shift-to-commercial-enterprise-continues/[Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Cobb, J. (2014) "Exclusive: All change at Pope's Road as Grow Brixton pulls out of project leading to questions about validity of planning" Brixton Buzz.com [online] Available at: h http://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2014/12/exclusive-all-change-at-popes-road-as-grow-brixton-pulls-out-of-project-leading-to-questions-about-validity-of-planning/[Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Colantonio, A. and Dixon, T. (2011) Urban Regeneration & Social Sustainability: Best practice from European cities, Wiley-Blackwell

Connington, J. (2016) 'David Bowie 'Brixton bank notes': face value £10, eBay price up to £45' The telegraph [online] Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/money/consumer-affairs/david-bowie-10-brixton-pounds-sell-on-ebay-for-up-to-45/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Contributor (2020) "Gentrification, Pop Brixton, the Battle of Brixton and 'The London Dream'" brixtonbuzz.com/ [online] Available at: https://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2020/08/gentrification-pop-brixton-the-battle-of-brixton-and-the-london-dream/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Contributor (2019a) "Disastrous Pop Brixton makes a loss for the fourth year in a row as the debts continue" brixtonbuzz.com/ [online] Available at: http://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2019/09/disastrous-pop-brixton-makes-a-loss-for-the-fourth-year-in-a-row-as-the-debts-continue/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Contributor (2019b) "Pop Brixton set to extend its stay until 2024" brixtonbuzz.com/ [online] Available at: http://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2019/06/pop-brixton-set-to-extend-its-stay-until-2024/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Contributor (2018) "Opinion: Network Rail's redevelopment of the Brixton Arches could inflict environmental misery on the area" brixtonbuzz.com/ [online] Available at: https://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2018/02/opinion-network-rails-redevelopment-of-the-brixton-arches-could-inflict-environmental-misery-on-the-area/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Contributor (2017) "Brixton Arches – Network Rail prolong the agony for residents with application to start disruptive works" brixtonbuzz.com/ [online] Available at: https://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2017/08/brixton-arches-network-rail-prolong-the-agony-for-residents-with-application-to-start-disruptive-works/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Davison, G., Dovey, K. and Woodcock, I. (2012) "Keeping Dalston Different": Defending Place-Identity in East London. Planning Theory & Practice, 13(1), pp.47-69.

Dayle, P. (2010) "Brixton: regeneration or gentrification?" The Guardian [online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2010/oct/24/london-race [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Denzin, N. K. (1970). The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods. New York: Aldine.

Dreyfus, H., & Dreyfus, S. (with Athanasiou, T.). (1986). Mind over machine: The power of human intuition and expertise in the era of the computer. New York: Free Press.

Duggan, J. and Lindley, J. (2015) Sans duty: making tax visible: Seed fund project report. Communities & Culture Network (EPSRC)

Du Toit, J.L. and Mouton, J., 2013. A typology of designs for social research in the built environment. International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 16(2), pp.125-139.

Florida, R. (2004), Cities and the Creative Class, Routledge, New York, NY

Flyvbjerg, B., 2006. Five misunderstandings about case-study research. Qualitative inquiry, 12(2), pp.219-245.

Foreman, E. (2017) "An Interview with Brixton Pound" The social change agency [online] Available at: https://thesocialchangeagency.org/an-interview-with-brixton-pound/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Foxtons (2020) "How is the Brixton property market performing?": Foxtons.co.kr [online] Available at: https://www.foxtons.co.uk/living-in/brixton/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Furseth, J. (2016) "Brixton Pound: How fintech boosts the local currency agenda" https://jessicafurseth.com [online] Available at: https://jessicafurseth.com/2016/12/08/brixton-pound/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Gallent, N. and Ciaffi, D. (2014) Community Action and Planning, Bristol: Policy Press

Glass, R. (1964) 'Introduction: Aspects of change', in Centre for Urban Studies (ed.) London: Aspects of Change, London: MacKibbon and Kee.

González, S. and Waley, P. (2013) Traditional retail markets: the new gentrification frontier?. Antipode, 45(4), pp.965-983.

Graneheim, U.H. and Lundman, B., 2004. Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness. Nurse education today, 24(2), pp.105-112.

Greater London Authority (GLA) (2017a) Creative Enterprise Zones [online] Available at: https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/arts-and-culture/culture-and-good-growth/creative-enterprise-zones [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Greater London Authority (GLA) (2017b) Creative Enterprise Zones Prospectus 2017 [online] Available at: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/creative-enterprise-zones_prospectus-2017.pdf [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Greater London Authority (GLA) (2016) The London Plan [online] Available at: https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/planning/london-plan/current-london-plan/london-plan-2016-pdf [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Guest (2016) "Network Rail are not interested in the future of Brixton" Brixtonblog.com/ [online] Available at: https://brixtonblog.com/2016/02/network-rail-are-not-interested-in-the-future-of-brixton/35971/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Hubbard, P. (2018) Retail gentrification. In Handbook of Gentrification Studies. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Jager, M. (1986) "Class definition and the aesthetics of gentrification: Victoriana in Melbourne": Gentrification of the City, London: Unwin Hyman, pp. 78–91.

Jeong, Y., Heo, J. and Jung, C. (2015) Behind the bustling street: Commercial gentrification of Gyeongridan, Seoul. Procedia-social and behavioral sciences, 170, pp.146-154.

Joseph, M.L. (2006) "Is mixed-income development an antidote to urban poverty?": Housing Policy Debate, vol 17, no 2, pp 209-34.

Kennedy M (1996) Interest and Inflation Free Money. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers

Leay, J. (2019) "Pop Brixton's Fourth Birthday Annual Accounts" PopBrixton.org/ [online] Available at: https://www.popbrixton.org/blog/2019/09/24/pop-brixton-fourth-birthday-annual-accounts/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]c

Lees, L., Shin, H. and Lopez-Morales, E. (2016) Planetary Gentrification, Urban Futures, Cambridge, UK: Polity

Lees, L., Slater, T. and Wyly, E. (2008) Gentrification, New York; London: Routledge.

Ley, D. (2011) "Social mixing and the historical geography of gentrification": Mixed communities: Gentrification by stealth, Bristol: Policy Press, pp. 53–68.

Ley, D. (1996) The new middle class and the remaking of the central city. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Liebow, E. (1967) Talley's Corner. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

London Borough of Lambeth (LBL) (2017) Brixton Economic Action Plan [online] Available at: https://www.lambeth.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Brixton-Economic-Action-Plan-2017-v1.pdf [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

London Borough of Lambeth (LBL) (2015) Lambeth Local Plan [online] Available at: https://www.lambeth.gov.uk/planning-and-building-control/planning-policy/lambeths-local-plan-guide [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

London Borough of Lambeth (LBL) (2013a) Brixton SPD [online] Available at: https://www.lambeth.gov.uk/planning-and-building-control/planning-policy/brixton-spd-0 [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

London Borough of Lambeth (LBL) (2013b) A short history of Brixton [online] Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20131230051452/http://www.lambeth.gov.uk/Services/LeisureCulture/LocalHistory/Local/AShortHistoryOfBrixton.htm [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

London Borough of Lambeth (LBL) (2009) Future Brixton Masterplan [online] Available at: https://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/documents/s57901/01%20Future%20Brixton%20Masterplan%201.pdf [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Lott-Lavigna, R. (2019a) "Cash-Strapped Councils and Gentrification: The Problem with POP Brixton" vice.com [online] Available at: https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/mbmp5v/pop-brixton-market-gentrification-london [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Lott-Lavigna ,R. (2019b) "POP Brixton Is Yet to Make a Profit" vice.com [online] Available at: https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/zmjwjy/pop-brixton-is-yet-to-make-a-profit [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Mavrommatis, G. (2010) A racial archaeology of space: a journey through the political imaginings of Brixton and Brick Lane, London. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 36(4), pp.561-579.

Marcuse, P. (1985) 'Gentrification, abandonment and displacement: connections, causes and policy responses in New York City', Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law, 28(1), 195–240.

Marsh, S. (2016) "How has Brixton really changed? The data behind the story" The Guardian [online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/cities/datablog/2016/jan/14/how-has-brixton-really-changed-the-data-behind-the-story [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Meltzer, R. (2016) Gentrification and small business: Threat or opportunity?. Cityscape, 18(3), pp.57-86.

Moore, S. and Rodgers, S. (2020) Researching urban life through social media. In: Ward, Kevin (ed.) Researching the City: A Guide for Students (Second Edition). London, UK: Sage. ISBN 9781529700954. (In Press)

Mulgan, G. (2016) "How community currencies could help rebalance our economy" The Guardian [online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jun/28/community-currencies-local-economy-volunteering [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

NMTF and NABMA. (2018) Mission for Markets: Survey Results [online] Available at: https://www.mission4markets.uk/survey/17-18.html [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

http://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2020/01/owners-of-pop-brixton-make-another-massive-loss-in-company-accounts-filed-three-months-late/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Urban, M. (2020b) "Brixton for sale: who are Hondo Enterprises, owners of Brixton Village, Market Row, Club 414 and more?" brixtonbuzz.com/ [online] Available at: https://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2020/02/brixton-for-sale-who-are-hondo-enterprises-owners-of-brixton-village-market-row-club-414-and-more/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Urban, M. (2017) "Brixton for sale: Brixton Village and Market Row are on the market for £30m" brixtonbuzz.com/ [online] Available at: https://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2017/10/brixton-for-sale-brixton-village-and-market-row-are-on-the-market-for-30m/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Urban, M. (2014) "Grow: Brixton team to transform empty space at Pope's Road in Brixton" brixtonbuzz.com/ [online] Available at: http://www.brixtonbuzz.com/2014/04/growbrixton-team-to-transform-empty-space-at-popes-road-in-brixton/ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Wates, N (2014) The community planning handbook, New York; London: Routledge.

Wheatle, A. (2015) "The gentrification of Brixton: How did the area's character change so utterly?": independent.co.uk [online] Available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-gentrification-of-brixton-how-did-the-areas-character-change-so-utterly-a6749276.html [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Whitehead, F. (2010) "Will the Brixton pound stick around?" The Guardian[online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/society/2010/sep/21/brixton-pound-local-currency [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Williams, C. (1996) Local purchasing schemes and rural development: An evaluation of local exchange and trading systems (LETS). Journal of Rural Studies 12(3): 231–244.

Williams, C. C. (1996) Local Exchange Trading Systems: A new source of work and employment? Environment and Planning A 28:1395–1415

Woof, S. (2012) "Community Currencies and the Brixton Pound": TEDxLeeds [online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dUjpv5nrw14 [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Yin, R. K. (1994) Case study research: Design and methods (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zukin, S. (2010) Naked city: The death and life of authentic urban places. Oxford University Press, New York; Oxford.

Zoopla (2020) "Retail premises to let in Brixton": Zoopla.co.uk [online] Available at: https://www.zoopla.co.uk/to-rent/commercial/retail-premises/london/brixton/?floor_area_units=sq_feet&price_frequency=per_year&q=Brixton&results_sort=lowest_price&search_source=to-rent [Accessed: August 15, 2020]

Appendix A. The sources of the secondary data used in this research (Table 2)

Secondary Data	Source
Video-1	Living in Minca (2016) "Alternative currencies to support the local community": Brixton Pound [online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r4JJ41Rczes [Accessed: August 15, 2020]
Video-2	Duursma, E. (2015) "Brixton Pound" [online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9sIAlVlH0F0 [Accessed: August 15, 2020]
Video-3	LC news (2010) "The Brixton Pound LC news 2 Feb 2010" [online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCNLOpy7-n1J8Ei4cMCXesSQ [Accessed: August 15, 2020]
Report-1	Regeneris (2018) Pop Brixton Evaluation A Final Report, Lambeth Council

Appendix B. The details of the rent comparison of Pop Brixton (Figure 8)

Category			Rent.pa	Rent.pm	£/sq.ft.pa	£/sqft.pm	Area (sqft)	Condition
Brixton Town Centre	Office	Case 1	19,152	1,596	26.88	2.24	713	Within 0.1mile from Brixton Station
		Case 2	32,500	2,708	36.68	3.06	886	
		Case 3	56,520	4,710	35.00	2.92	1,615	
		Case 4	65,385	5,449	45.00	3.75	1,453	
		Average				2.99		
	Retail Premises	Case 1	15,000	1,250	22.46	1.87	668	
		Case 2	35,000	2,917	43.75	3.65	800	
		Case 3	40,000	3,333	44.15	3.68	906	
		Case 4	74,500	6,208	52.06	4.34	1,431	
		Case 5	99,000	8,250	44.90	3.74	2,205	
		Average				3.46		
Pop Brixton	Office			1,440		4.50	320	Before 15% revenue share and 20% of VAT Included
				780		4.88	160	
	Retail			1,800		15.00	120	
	F&B	Restaurant		3,000		10.71	280	
		Bar Unit		1,800		4.80	375	
		Food Kiosk		1,800		15.00	120	

Data source: Zoopla (Zooplar.co.uk)

Appendix C. The number of businesses in each category of Brixton Pound and Pop Brixton

Brixton Pound (July 2020)

Category	Number of business	Category	Number of business
Alternative and gifts	5	Health, Fitness & Sport	12
Arts and Craft	13	Home, Hardware and DIY	7
Bakery	6	Misc	5
Beauty	4	Music	3
Butchers	5	Newsagents	1
Cafes & Delis	10	Off-licenses	3
Clothes and Fashion	13	Other	6
Community & charity organisations	15	Photography	5
Complementary therapies	16	Producer & Makers	7
Consultancy and Advice	2	Pubs, Clubs and Bars	13
Design and Printing	10	Repairs	4
Dry cleaners	1	Restaurants, Cafes and Take-aways	52
Florists	6	Retail	5
General and Convenience	4	Schools	1
Grocers and Delis	9	Second hand	2
Hairdressing & barbers	5	Services and legal	20
Total			270

*Data source: Brixton Pound (http://brixtonpound.org)

Pop Brixton (July 2020)

Category	Number of Business
Street food	13
Restaurant	4
Drink	5
Makers & Retailers	6
Start-ups & Social Enterprise	15
Total	43

*Data source: Author (Pop Brixton site visit)

RISK ASSESSMENT FORM
FIELD / LOCATION WORK

▲UCL

The Approved Code of Practice - Management of Fieldwork should be referred to when completing this form
http://www.ucl.ac.uk/estates/safetynet/guidance/fieldwork/acop.pdf

DEPARTMENT/SECTION: BARTLETT SCHOOL OF PLANNING
LOCATION(S): BRIXTON THE LONDON BOROUGH OF LAMBETH, UK
PERSONS COVERED BY THE RISK ASSESSMENT: Youngseo Park

Interview, site visit

Consider, in turn, each hazard (white on black). If **NO** hazard exists select **NO** and move to next hazard section.
If a hazard does exist select **YES** and assess the risks that could arise from that hazard in the risk assessment box.
Where risks are identified that are not adequately controlled they must be brought to the attention of your Departmental Management who should put temporary control measures in place or stop the work. Detail such risks in the final section.

ENVIRONMENT	**The environment always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this hazard**
e.g. location, climate, terrain, neighbourhood, in outside organizations, pollution, animals. LOW	Examples of risk: adverse weather, illness, hypothermia, assault, getting lost. Is the risk high / medium / low ?

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

	work abroad incorporates Foreign Office advice
	participants have been trained and given all necessary information
	only accredited centres are used for rural field work
▓	participants will wear appropriate clothing and footwear for the specified environment
	trained leaders accompany the trip
▓	refuge is available
	work in outside organisations is subject to their having satisfactory H&S procedures in place
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

EMERGENCIES	**Where emergencies may arise use space below to identify and assess any risks**

	e.g. fire, accidents NO hazard	Examples of risk: loss of property, loss of life

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**
	participants have registered with LOCATE at http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/
	fire fighting equipment is carried on the trip and participants know how to use it
	contact numbers for emergency services are known to all participants
	participants have means of contacting emergency services
	participants have been trained and given all necessary information
	a plan for rescue has been formulated, all parties understand the procedure
	the plan for rescue /emergency has a reciprocal element
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

FIELDWORK   1   June 2020

EQUIPMENT	Is equipment used?	**NO**	**If 'No' move to next hazard** **If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks**
e.g. clothing, outboard motors.	Examples of risk: inappropriate, failure, insufficient training to use or repair, injury. Is the risk high / medium / low ?		

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**
	the departmental written Arrangement for equipment is followed
	participants have been provided with any necessary equipment appropriate for the work
	all equipment has been inspected, before issue, by a competent person
	all users have been advised of correct use
	special equipment is only issued to persons trained in its use by a competent person
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

LONE WORKING	Is lone working a possibility?	NO	If 'No' move to next hazard
			If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any
			risks
e.g. alone or in isolation lone interviews.	Examples of risk: difficult to summon help. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk
	the departmental written Arrangement for lone/out of hours working for field work is followed
	lone or isolated working is not allowed
	location, route and expected time of return of lone workers is logged daily before work commences
	all workers have the means of raising an alarm in the event of an emergency, e.g. phone, flare, whistle
	all workers are fully familiar with emergency procedures
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

FIELDWORK   2   June 2020

ILL HEALTH	The possibility of ill health always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this Hazard.
e.g. accident, illness, personal attack, special personal considerations or vulnerabilities.	Examples of risk: injury, asthma, allergies. Is the risk high / medium / low? NO hazard
CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

	an appropriate number of trained first-aiders and first aid kits are present on the field trip
	all participants have had the necessary inoculations/ carry appropriate prophylactics
	participants have been advised of the physical demands of the trip and are deemed to be physically suited
	participants have been adequate advice on harmful plants, animals and substances they may encounter
	participants who require medication have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

TRANSPORT	Will transport be	NO	■	Move to next hazard
	required	YES		Use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. hired vehicles	Examples of risk: accidents arising from lack of maintenance, suitability or training Is the risk high / medium / low?			

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

	only public transport will be used
	the vehicle will be hired from a reputable supplier
	transport must be properly maintained in compliance with relevant national regulations
	drivers comply with UCL Policy on Drivers http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hr/docs/college_drivers.php
	drivers have been trained and hold the appropriate licence
	there will be more than one driver to prevent driver/operator fatigue, and there will be adequate rest periods
	sufficient spare parts carried to meet foreseeable emergencies
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC	Will people be dealing with public	YES	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. interviews, observing	Examples of risk: personal attack, causing offence, being misinterpreted. Is the risk high / medium / low? LOW		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

	all participants are trained in interviewing techniques
	interviews are contracted out to a third party
	advice and support from local groups has been sought
	participants do not wear clothes that might cause offence or attract unwanted attention
	interviews are conducted at neutral locations or where neither party could be at risk
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

FIELDWORK   3   June 2020

WORKING ON OR NEAR WATER	Will people work on or near water?	NO	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. rivers, marshland, sea.	Examples of risk: drowning, malaria, hepatitis A, parasites. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

	lone working on or near water will not be allowed
	coastguard information is understood; all work takes place outside those times when tides could prove a threat
	all participants are competent swimmers
	participants always wear adequate protective equipment, e.g. buoyancy aids, wellingtons
	boat is operated by a competent person

	all boats are equipped with an alternative means of propulsion e.g. oars
	participants have received any appropriate inoculations
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

MANUAL HANDLING **(MH)**	**Do MH activities** **take place?**	**NO**	**If 'No' move to next hazard** **If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any** **risks**
e.g. lifting, carrying, moving large or heavy equipment, physical unsuitability for the task.	Examples of risk: strain, cuts, broken bones. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

	the departmental written Arrangement for MH is followed
	the supervisor has attended a MH risk assessment course
	all tasks are within reasonable limits, persons physically unsuited to the MH task are prohibited from such activities
	all persons performing MH tasks are adequately trained
	equipment components will be assembled on site
	any MH task outside the competence of staff will be done by contractors
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

SUBSTANCES	Will participants	NO	If 'No' m

For more information, please refer to: http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/

| DECLARATION | The work will be reassessed whenever there is a significant change and at least annually. Those participating in the work have read the assessment. |

Select the appropriate statement:

■ I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that there is no significant residual

risk

■ I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that the risk will be controlled by

the method(s) listed above

NAME OF SUPERVISOR
Dr Daniel Fitzpatrick

FIELDWORK   5   June 2020