

DEMOCRATISING THE HIGH STREET: LONDON'S NEW COMMONS FOR FAIRER LOCAL ECONOMIES

A STUDY ASKING WHY AND HOW SHOULD A FRAMEWORK OF ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY BE USED TO RE-SHAPE LONDON'S HIGH STREETS, FOR THE REDISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC POWER AND THE PROMOTION OF THE COMMON GOOD. // A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MSC URBAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.



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ABSTRACT

"London's high streets and town centres have shaped the fabric of our great city. They are a focal point for our culture, communities and everyday economies. They support the most sustainable models of living and working, including active travel and shorter commutes. And they are where new ideas, new ways of living, new businesses and new experiences are made." — Sadiq Khan in Mayor of London (2020, p.7)

Exploring a potential vision of the common good for London's economic centres, this dissertation asks *why* and *how* *economic democracy* should be enacted at the scale of the high street. While COVID-19 has exacerbated inequalities along many lines, evolving values around community, wellbeing and public space also pose an opportunity for re-imagining fairer economic trajectories through a focus on place.

Often magnifying wider economic issues, the long-run decline of British high streets has been well documented. While commonly focusing on curation and design as a way to 'activate' these once public spaces, their complexity has given way to an equally diverse discourse lacking a consistent framework for guiding planning, interventions and policy. While current high street rhetoric offers a growing focus on social value and 'community-led development', economic power and equity implications are frequently overlooked. This thesis suggests, given the accessible and inclusive nature of high streets, the potential for situating a framework of economic development that considers a more radical restructuring of social and economic power. Placing the principles of *economic democracy* within an everyday site helps to foreground people and place. Through repurposing urban space for inclusive, collective and participatory workspaces, services or social centres, high streets can play a role in reformulating value concepts. Developing an analytical framework that considers rights, ownership and deliberation, through iterative empirical analysis, this thesis will address practices that could re-frame high streets to better serve their communities.

CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	3
2.1 Democratisation: Principles, Practices & Places for Action	
Economy, Democracy and Inequality	3
Economic Democracy	3
Choosing the City	4
The Municipal Movement	4
Re-defining Commons	5
Revitalising Urban Commons	5
The High Street Narrative	6
The Social Value of Londons High Streets	6
Re-imagining the High Street	6
2.2 <i>Why Democratisate the High Street?</i>	7
Chapter 3: Methodology	10
Chapter 4: Analytical Framework: <i>How to democratisate the high street?</i>	12
4.1 Discussions	13
4.2 Evaluative Tool	15
Chapter 5: Applying the Framework: Reflections from London	16
5.1 London's High Street Context	16
5.2 High Street Practices Analysed Through an Economic Democracy Framework	17
5.3 Key Findings & Issues	22
5.4 Summary	24
Chapter 6: Recommendations & Further Research	25
6.1 Policy Recommendations	25
6.2 Further Research	26
Chapter 7: Conclusion	27
References	28

APPENDICIES

Appendix A: New Municipalism in Practice	44
Appendix B: The High Street Narrative, Policy Timeline & Key Reports	46
Appendix C: High Streets For All Challenge Initiatives	48
Appendix D: High Street Initiatives, Funding and Regulatory Frameworks	51
Appendix E: High Street Vacancy by Ownership	56
Appendix F: Case Studies: Place Based Practices (CS1-34)	58
Appendix G: Survey Analysis Talk London	62
Appendix H: Discourse Analysis Direct Quotes	64
Appendix I: Mapping London's Collective Spaces	66
Appendix J: High Street Data Profile	68
Appendix K: High Street Interventions Analytical Framework Expanded	69

FIGURES & TABLES

F1. London's High Streets: Well Street & East Street Library	2
F2. Principles and Practices for Democratising High Streets	10
F3. High Street Tools for Economic Democracy	12
F4. Developing an Evaluative Framework for High Street Initiatives	13
F5. London's High Streets Trends Infographic	17
F6. Camden Collective at Temperance Hospital: Front & Hot-desking Space	18
F7. Practice Evaluation: Camden Collective	18
F8. Every One Every Day Shops Interior and Exterior	19
F9. Practice Evaluation: Every One Every Day Neighbourhood Shops	19
F10. Seven Sister's Indoor Market Entrance & Internal Meeting	20
F11. Practice Evaluation: Latin Village & Ward's Corner Community Plan	20
F12. Museum of Futures	21
F13. Practice Evaluation: Museum of Futures	21
T1. London's High Street Practices: Function x Space	12
T2. Evaluative Tool: Criteria for Enacting Economic Democracy on the High Street	15
T3. London's High Streets SWOT Analysis	16

ACRONYMS

BID - Business Improvement District

CLES - Centre for Local Economic Strategy

CTU - Camden Town Unlimited

ED - Economic Democracy

GLA - Greater London Authority

HCLGC - Housing, Communities and Local Government Committee

HS - High Street

LGA - Local Government Association

MHCLG - Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government

ONS - Office for National Statistics

WCCP - Ward's Corner Community Plan

WGRSSDT - West Green Road/ Seven Sisters Development Trust

Chapter 1: Introduction

Despite being the 5th wealthiest city globally, 1/5 of London's residents earn under the London Living Wage (Trust for London, 2018). As the country's most unequal urban centre, increasing income and wealth inequalities, rising housing costs and public service disparities are corroding wellbeing and sustainability (Greater London Authority [GLA], 2018a; 2019; Trust for London, 2019). At the centre of this economic development is the high street (HS). The city has over 600 HSs — home to 1.5 million jobs and 41% of London's businesses (ONS, 2020a).

HSs can be defined as "complex and dynamic mixed-use urban corridors that ensure easy pedestrian access to everyday goods and services, places of work and leisure" (Local Government Association [LGA], 2020a). Acknowledging the HS's networked nature, London authorities include front-facing premises, blocks behind, floors above and land use within 200m (Mayor of London, 2020). Power to Change¹ conceptualises HSs in terms of their purpose, "acting as a physical centre of a local community" (Brett & Alakeson, 2019, p.9). Beyond business exchanges, HSs offer spaces to form relationships, build exchange networks and set up associations — often proving integral to a place's identity (Ibid.).

While emerging as civic spaces, the rise of mass production, out-of-town shopping and chain stores slowly untethered HSs from local communities (Simms, Kjell & Potts, 2007). The visible impacts of economic decline play out through HS vacancy, exacerbated by rising online retail, real estate costs, weakening social connections and municipal funding shortages (Wrigley & Labriri, 2015). With vacancy rising again, further decline of these physical centres is anticipated in the wake of the pandemic (LGA, 2020b).²

While COVID-19 has exacerbated inequalities, uncovering disparities in work, mobility and health, evolving values around community, wellbeing³ and public space may also pose an opportunity to reframe urban economic development (Sissons & Sanders, 2020). With HS trends already shifting focus from mass retail to more local and sustainable models, this thesis considers these urban centres an accessible and inclusive vehicle for democratising the economy. Given the diversity of stakeholders, spaces and economic characteristics involved, the myriad of HS studies published around retail, placemaking and local economic development have produced incongruent policy guidance. With much broader challenges around inequality and financialisation playing out acutely at this locality, a framework for place-based economic development which considers a more radical restructuring of social and economic power is missing.

Shifting economic discourse away from growth and redistribution, the democratisation of the economy ushers in new value creation mechanisms. Economic rights, diverse forms of collective ownership and deliberative and knowledgeable publics are seen as essential countervailing forces to rising inequality (Cumbers, 2020). While documenting cases of common production and ownership, the literature around *economic democracy* (ED) often lacks operational guidance. *Municipalism*, an interrelated social movement, helps place ED within the city, providing practical urban precedents around deliberation, collaboration and restoration of the *commons*; but, its broad transnational character limits a sense of place. Therefore, the language of *urban commons* is then used to develop ideas around equitable governance forms applicable to the built environment. Finally, the discourse around HSs, as a diverse and social space, suggests a potentially significant scale for enacting welfare provisions, collective ownership and deliberative governance, helping to facilitate a more democratic economy.

¹ A National Lottery funded charity promoting community businesses.

² British Retail Consortium (2021) estimates that 1/7 of UK shops currently lie vacant, with 5000 fewer units than pre-pandemic.

³ The 'Reset' survey (57,000 people) found that 2/3 want UK government to prioritise health and wellbeing over GDP (APPG, 2021).

The methodology takes a two-step approach in response to the research question: *how can a framework of economic democracy reshape London's high streets for post-pandemic opportunities, promoting more equitable local economies?* Firstly, considering the importance of setting, the literature is used to derive a theoretical basis for democratising the HS (*why*) before empirical examples are discussed which develop application of ED principles (*how*). Chapter 2 argues that democratisation can help protect against current challenges, increase social value and localise economies, reducing inequality. Chapter 4 uses precedents to develop a place-based framework for evaluating interventions, centring the pillars of ED and egalitarian values of inclusivity, collectivism and participation. From community plans to collaborative workspaces and social centres, HS interventions connect theory and practice, discussing how democratisation can promote fairer economies. Chapter 5 then applies the framework within London's context, researching economic trends, ownership structures, planning constraints, policy tools and local powers, before looking at place and scale through the evaluation of four HS practices. Key findings highlight the importance of HSs as a location for accessing resources that serve individual rights; new sites of work embodying collectivism, distributed social surplus and collaborative production, and open social spaces that promote networks for localism, participatory planning and autonomous collective action (F1). The resulting discussion considers the possibilities and challenges for democratising HSs, critiquing the framework before drawing out recommendations directed at municipal authorities. As well as a timely study of pertinent issues, this research will contribute to the field by creating and applying a practical framework for analysing policies and practices which shifts the discourse from 'community-led development' to the democratisation of community wealth.

Nevertheless, with a great deal of uncertainty still surrounding the fate of HSs, including the persistence of conducive societal shifts around consumption and participation, this study may be limited by its prematurity.⁴ Developing a broad framework, as opposed to analysing a single site, acknowledges the diversity and complexity of contexts, focusing instead on the value of a novel theoretical framing of this everyday setting. While there has not been the space to explore fully tactical concerns over design, regulation or taxation, this thesis aims to spark the cultivation of fairer economic development pathways.

F1. London's High Streets : Well Street & East Street Library (GLA, 2021a)



⁴ London surveying (02/21) implies some decline in community sentiment since the start of the pandemic (Belcher, Bosetti & Quarshie, 2021).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This section will consider several distinct bodies of literature drawn together through this thesis. Firstly, shifting economic narratives are explored. Ideas around ED and municipalism suggest the root of current societal issues, from climate change to falling welfare, lie in contemporary capitalism. New development pathways imply a need to address power inequalities. By moving through the scales of radical decentralisation from the guiding pillars of ED to the pragmatic urban principles of municipalism, and the organising values of the commons, discussions envision HSs through a lens of collectivity - using theory and empiricism to justify *why democratise the HS?*

2.1 Democratisation: Principles, Practices & Places for Action

Economy, Democracy & Inequality

The association between democracies — primarily negotiated through labour rights and state intervention — and greater equality is eroding (Göran, 2020; Piketty, 2014).⁵ As economic value theory devolved from its genesis in social welfare towards individual utility, ideologies connoting deregulation and privatisation came to span the political spectrum, strengthening current patterns of accumulation and the accompanying social costs (Gray, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Mazzucato, 2019). The loci of power, previously situated in the state, local communities and municipalities, has gradually shifted to corporations through liberalisation and technology, welcoming a 'post-democratic' condition where public concern for welfare is sidelined and political decisions driven by profit (Hamm, 2010; Crouch, 2004). Disenfranchisement has risen under increasing income polarisation, precarity and real wage stagnation, contributing to inequality's pernicious impacts on wellbeing (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Linking the current democratic crisis⁶ to economic restructuring, Stiglitz (2012) suggests that addressing inequality is the answer to broadening economic opportunity. Lapavitsas (2011) implies that the retreat of public provisions in housing, health and education has facilitated financialisation. With hyper-mobile capital disconnecting commerce from place and people, a countervailing force with the potential to reassert community is needed (Harvey, 2012). Reversal is suggested to hinge on greater public sector participation and the reestablishment of the social and collective, over private and individual, economic forms (Lapavitsas, 2013; Mazzucato, 2019).

Economic Democracy

While advocating for social justice and greater equality, dominant economic discourse around *inclusive growth* remains conceptually vague, often overlooking systematic change (Casper-Futterman & DeFillipis, 2017; Burch & McInroy, 2018; Lee, 2018; Thompson et al., 2020). ED seeks to reconfigure this implied disposition towards power, tackling wealth accumulation and the associated concentration of economic decision-making (Rahman, 2017; Smith, 2000). Schweickhart (1992) proposed a model instigating ED through worker self-management and social control over investment, evading the 'growth mania' of contemporary capitalism to provide greater stability. While Wolff's (2012) critique of capitalism places the onus on structural management flaws, Ellerman (1992) suggested employment contracts, as opposed to property frameworks, need to be reshaped. Often focused on failed state-socialist projects, critiques of ED suggest that exercising consumer choice disperses power more efficiently, neglecting controls over escalating profits (Blackburn, 2007; Mises, 1951). However, Dahl's (1985) formative ideas take a systems approach, addressing deeper questions of value theory by reinstating the importance of social interaction and cooperation in economic activities. Incorporating those outside of labour contracts and relaying the role of

⁵ Piketty (2014) finds that the post-war decline in wealth and income inequality (US and Europe) has eroded over the last 40 years.

⁶ Economist Intelligence Unit's (2020) Democracy Index plots a general decline in most developed countries.

ownership for urban application, Cumbers (2020) provides the most comprehensive definition. ED as “the collective visions of the common good that are given space for debate and contestation” among individuals “with the rights to flourish and participate in this space”, assiduously justifies the pillars of individual economic rights, diverse forms of collective ownership and knowledgeable deliberative publics (Cumbers, 2020, p.77).

ED demands equality through full individual rights, incorporating resources, opportunities for participation and skills for ‘choiceworthy’ lives (Dahl, 1985; Smith, 2006). Questions of ownership explore collective appropriation over social surplus,⁷ construction of the common good and the need for new forms of community ownership (Cumbers, 2020). A mix of public and cooperative forms, and diverse production scales and modes enhances economic pluralism (Johanisova & Wolf, 2012). By decommodifying land and labour and re-embedding resources within society, collective ownership, whether through community land trusts or worker cooperatives, is expected to produce more equitable and sustainable economies (Peredo & McLean, 2019). With policymakers commonly drawn from unrepresentative classes, deliberative and knowledgeable publics, through contestation and rights for collective action, provide the conditions of pluralism that orient development towards the common good - benefiting all or most of a community (Cohen, 1997; Cumbers, 2020; Rosenberg, 2007). Johanisova and Wolf (2012) specify further demands for anti-trust regulation, social enterprise support, democratic money creation and redistribution, defining *ED* more centrally within traditional state control as “a system of checks and balances on economic power” (p.564). While more prescriptive, this interpretation implies the need for a greater balance of ‘proactive’ and ‘reactive’ measures to tackle entrenched economic powers. Nevertheless, ED agendas, while critiquing current systems and offering alternative visions, rarely provide guidance for constructing facilitating institutions.

Choosing the City

A focus on the city, however, provides a wealth of precedents for economic restructuring. Space, place and the city lie central to Lees’ (2004) ‘emancipatory city’ concept. The local scale, returning power to ‘ordinary people’, is seen as a productive terrain for collective civic provision, political solidarity and social justice (Cumbers & Paul, 2020; Engelen et al. 2017; Roth, 2019). Founding ideas of the *municipalism* movement — later developed into a framework for democratic participation — came from Murray Bookchin’s (1995) egalitarian *social ecology*, which conceptualises the innate intertwinement of social and environmental issues. While acknowledging the negative impacts of urbanisation on some freedoms and social relations, Bookchin (1995, p.23) suggests “due to its immediacy, the city remains the most direct arena in which the individual...can attain...social solutions to broader problems of the privatised self”. A reformulation of urban institutions that can foster community empowerment counter the processes that have “dispossessed the citizen of [their] place in the city’s decision-making process” (Ibid., p.24).

Nevertheless, Purcell (2006) warns against conflating the local scale with an assured democratic arena. Akuno and Nangwaya (2017), part of Jackson’s *municipalism* movement, highlight societal ideas venerating an ‘illusion’ of democratic governance over social power. Although Oosterlynck and Gonzalez (2013) question whether municipalities, as a strategic site for neoliberal extension, can avoid capture, Russel (2019, p.1006) documents the early successes of strategic *municipal* movements, acting inside-and-out of local government to provide a “hopeful politics of scale”.

The Municipal Movement

New municipalism is “a nascent transnational social movement which aims to democratically transform the local state and economy”, arising in the last decade to contest neoliberal austerity and platform capitalism (Thompson,

⁷ Includes consumer and producer surplus not captured at equilibrium by market prices.

2020a, p.317). Reorganising social power through the local scale is done by decentralising governments, implementing ED models and reasserting the commons (Russel, 2020). While previous socialist movements have focused on labour agreements, redistribution and social infrastructure, *new municipalism* foregrounds participatory democracy, and grassroots challenges to contemporary capitalism (Angel, 2020; Russel, 2017). Broadly plotting onto Cumbers' (2020) pillars of ED, the movement embodies a commitment to societal shifts in power, ownership and decision-making (Ball, 2019; Blanco, Salazar & Bianchi, 2019; Centre for Local Economic Strategies [CLES], 2019). While originating from citizen movements, local governments can facilitate the shift, with co-production experiments encouraging authorities to take an enabling over regulatory role (Bauwens & Onzia, 2017). *New municipalism* also provides a platform for sharing precedents, as seen through the publication of *Fearless Cities*, a promulgation of practices resisting growing inequalities, democratic deficits and social injustices collected from a global summit (Barcelona en Comú, 2019; Appendix A). Nevertheless, Tomaney (2013), despite supporting the virtues of the local scale, warns against the isolating dialogue and detachment from place that can accompany transnational movements.

Failures of *local economic development* to address austerity urbanism have prompted a growing movement of municipal politics in the UK, shifting focus from comparative advantage to satisfying local needs through preexisting assets (CLES, 2019; Thompson et al., 2020). Although dominated by state actors, the UK movement's aims remain centred on improving public goods, distributing control and creating more pluralistic and participatory economic development through the cultivation of commons, re-municipalisation and redesigning democracy (Russel, 2017). While Christophers (2018; 2019) identifies local authority-led urban developments implicit in financialisation, Thompson et al. (2020) explores the potential within the UK of *municipal* experiments to decommodify land by linking place-based assets to community organisations. Given the importance of reshaping built environment powers, a framework for urban ED that can incorporate communities, place, and space, is required.

Re-Defining Commons

Given the centrality of reconceptualising HSs as a site for collectivism — a microcosm of a democratised economy — within a largely privatised built environment, the *commons* literature is used to draw out organising values for governing urban space. The *commons*, meaning 'what we share', refers to a local resource held in communal ownership or stewardship (Bollier, 2010). Since Hardin's (1968) influential research on non-excludable property regimes, Ostrom et al. (1999) have mapped the potential of bottom-up processes within private property commons regimes, from Land Trusts to markets. However, ownership discussions often discount the term's roots within the production and management of common work (Pannekoek, 1947). Dimitrou (2020), studying the recent reclamation of public spaces in Athens, also centres critical organising values. Hence, Stavrides and De Angelis' (2016) expansion of *commons* to include a common pool of resources, a community to sustain them and 'commoning' (a collective social process that recreates the commons) provides a germane conceptualisation for the HS's complex dynamics.

Revitalising Urban Commons

Urban commons, civic institutions for encounter, dialogue and collaboration such as public spaces, cultural centres and food markets, face eroding democratic control and protections under commodification's prioritisation of exchange value (Manfredi, 2019). With privatisation seizing common social resources under new technological and market threats, and 'commoning' helping to make work visible, the idea has seen a contemporary revival inciting demands for new territorial governance structures (Hardt & Negri, 2009; Hardt, 2010; Lee & Webster, 2006). As a radically decentralised way of managing resources, *commons* can provide an equitable and sustainable municipal form for addressing collective interests (Calafati & McInroy, 2017; Russel, 2020). Cumbers' (2012) exploration of Latin America's growing movement of state and civil society groups reclaiming economies from private profit interests suggests a

pluralistic approach of in-and-against state politics. Similarly, Roth and Baird (2021) suggest *commons* debates should move beyond the public versus private, to construct a new set of principles around access, ownership and management. Forné, Micciarelo, and Fresnillo (2019) imply an opportunity to experiment with systems able to balance communal values (autonomy, economic rights and democratic management) and public service principles (accessibility, universality, transparency and accountability). Implying that *commons* already constitute fundamental urban infrastructure, Benkler (2017) demands a framework that values these collective spaces. Cumbers (2012), describing the 'fuzziness' of the *commons* literature in relation to the tactical construction of transformative economic institutions, also points to the need for a practical framework centring the commons' egalitarian principles. Given their universality, central economic and social functions and attachment to communities, HSs could provide a focal urban site for enacting collective economic forms — explored below through HS discourse.

The High Street Narrative

Despite emerging as civic centres, the growth of mass consumption and the intensifying retail focus that developed in the nineties produced an unsustainable HS model, threatening these common spaces (Scott, 1997; Simms, Kjell & Potts, 2007). Following the 2008 financial crisis, vacancy on the British HS rose from 7% to 16.3% by 2012, creating visible decline and threatening social cohesion (Wrigley & Lambri, 2015). A torrent of reports from the broad stakeholder pool ensued, debating the value and survival of HSs (Appendix B). Portas (2011) government-commissioned independent review uncovered considerable public concern for these social spaces of community belonging. The extensive qualitative research produced recommendations stretching from increased community use of vacant spaces to town managers, which Wrigley and Lambri (2015) suggest, once implemented, worked to raise footfall. The detailed and data-driven Grimsey Report (2013) demanded a more radical restructuring that prioritised local authority partnerships and community hubs over a reliance on retail. A reflective second edition of the report suggested practice sharing and a focus on distinct heritage (Grimsey, 2018). However, these national-level debates, centring retailers and landlords, often provided a top-down focus on curation and management, overlooking wider economic implications and the diversity of place.

The Social Value of London's High Streets

In a 2015 report, Carmona depicted the complexity of London's HSs, discussing built environments to exchange relations, while recognising their strategic importance in supporting sustainable development. Just Space (2016) suggested HSs can form a buffer against inequality, while supporting local economies and wellbeing. Beyond the transaction economy, they host social structures, informal acts of care and international networks (Hall, 2011). Putting greater emphasis on social value,⁸ recent reports published by the GLA suggest HSs are diverse and accessible, forming a key public space for jobseekers, the young and the elderly (We Made That & LSE Cities, 2017). In the preface to the Mayor of London's (2020) 'Adaptive Strategies' report, Mariana Mazzucato defines 'public value' as that created collectively for the common good; engaging the need for a shared vision and collective production, she calls for strategies promoting participatory structures and more equitable social value distribution. Furthermore, the recent High Streets For All Challenge posed by the GLA (2021a) aims to promote HSs as a tool for economic recovery, funding proposals for coalitions in every borough carrying out 'community-led' development (Appendix C).

Re-imagining The High Street

Urban Pollinators (2011) envisage HSs as the 21st Century Agora, a marketplace for voluntary activity, learning, social interaction and creativity, as well as goods and services. The government's 'High Street Report' proposes greater

⁸ Considered to include non-monetary social, economic and environmental benefits (HM Treasury, 2011).

community involvement, and the committees subsequent debate called for HSs to become activity-based community spaces, focusing on public services and the growing experience economy (MHCLG 2018; 2019a). In London, policies from the Community Spaces at Risk Fund to TFL's Healthy Streets Plan are already shifting HS rhetoric (Appendix D). Grimsey (2020), prioritising wellbeing over consumerism, has also proposed transferring greater power to communities who proved more responsive to local needs throughout the pandemic. At the 2021 Venice Architecture Biennial UK Pavilion which explored the privatisation of public spaces, Studio Pulpo (2021) tackled the topic of HSs. Considering the gaps in community provisions uncovered by the pandemic, their research also suggested a wealth of self-organisation and mutual aid has emerged, often staged on the HS (Ibid.). With the domination of retail by multinationals contributing minimally to local economies, Studio Pulpo's (2021) installation explored the role of HSs beyond retail; incorporating community projects and public services, they depict an evolving discourse and opportunity for reframing HSs around the common good.

2.2 Why Democratise the High Street?

James Dean (2021) of the GLA argues that HSs are genuinely inclusive and, given the presence of marginalised groups, could provide a pivotal space to pilot democratic local economic practices. This thesis argues for ED, enacted at a local HS scale through the collective governance of urban space, discussed here through the pillars of rights, ownership and deliberation.

Individual Economic Rights

Economic rights prioritise labour over property, while also promoting equal opportunity (Cumbers, 2020). Linking power and equality, Dahl (1985) highlights the importance of basic welfare for legitimate participation. Local HSs are often home to supportive social infrastructure like public services, as well as high employment densities, key sites for mutual aid, social spaces and business networks (We Made That & LSE Cities, 2017). However, public services and the informal offerings of independent businesses are under threat. Democratisations would promote a local focus, encouraging communities to work together on issues rooted in social justice and sustainability (Zhang, Warner & Homsy, 2017). Since 2013, improved access to vacant spaces through temporary leasing has seen the proliferation of social enterprises on the HS, encouraging accessible community resources and a greater focus on inclusive capacity building (GLA & Arup 2020). Networks and high footfall also make HSs a prime location to incubate start-ups and community projects, providing spaces for experimentation and access to economic opportunities for incoming communities (Hall, 2011).

Diverse Forms of Collective Ownership

OWNERSHIP

Half of the UK's public lands and assets have been sold to private hands since 1979 (Thompson, 2020b). Lawrence and Mason (2017) suggest unequal ownership of capital is a powerful driver of the UK's inequality. Given the growing power embodied in markets, traditional regulatory ED strategies have proven insufficient, demanding a greater focus on ownership and democratic control over social surplus (Evans & Shmalensee, 2013). Guinan et al., (2020) have suggested a pandemic recovery plan in which socially productive land uses replace extractive characteristics through greater community ownership. Small independent HS businesses, while often privately owned, also encourage economic pluralism and the pursuit of the common good through fairer labour practices, greater informal support and community initiatives (We Made That & LSE Cities). Meanwhile, Brett and Alakeson (2019) suggest that community

businesses⁹ show productivity gains, greater local spending, higher employment and resilience. Democratic forms like cooperatives, while not necessarily rooted to place, also demonstrated resilience throughout the pandemic with liquidation rates at 1/4 of business averages (Co-operatives UK, 2021a). Collective ownership promotes responsiveness to local issues while protecting rents, and hence diversity, in commercially attractive areas (Archer et al., 2019; Lee and Swann, 2019). Furthermore, Brett and Alakeson (2019) found lower vacancy rates on the HS under community ownership and private individuals compared to institutional or developer landlords (Appendix E).

COMMUNAL PRODUCTION

Angel (2020) suggests collective processes of 'commoning' play an integral role in ED through the likes of community organisations and cooperatives. Economic policies encouraging locally rooted production generally produce cities with "less inequality, healthier citizens, more social capital and diversity" (Corrons, Álvarez, & Fernández, 2019, p.131). Social production is crucial for the political mobilisation of urban space and helps to replace extractive systems (Butler, 2012; Bhattacharya, 2017). With public spaces losing value when broken up, Benkler (2017) supports the value of collective spaces for encouraging innovation and creativity, arguing for greater access to such sites. Enacted on the HS, distributed social surplus can be seen through spaces of collaborative production, including non-hierarchic new workspaces which promote up-skilling for marginalised groups and ideas sharing (Van Holm, 2017).

RE-MUNICIPALISATION

Cumbers (2012; 2020) encourages collective attempts within and through the state to reclaim space from capitalist social relations, proposing that democratic management, even under state ownership, facilitates more broadly dispersed benefits than under corporate control. Despite municipal funding cuts, targeted procurement towards smaller local actors or community organisations has also been shown to improve services and provides fairer outcomes, while distributing economic power (Locality, 2018a; Casper-Futterman & DeFillipis, 2017). The CLES(2020) suggest municipalisation generally increases access, reduces costs and improves service. Barcelona has municipalised utilities and housing developments in order to reduce living costs for the most vulnerable (Morozov & Bria, 2018). Whereas in London, local authorities such as Camden have in-sourced key services commonly situated on the HS like employment support, improving standards and reducing the extraction of footloose private corporations (CLES, 2019).

Creating Deliberative and Knowledgeable Publics

More distributed power, and hence resources, hinges on broad engagement and deliberative governance, incorporating diverse and competing perspectives (Cumbers, 2020). The redesigning of democracy, whether through solidarity economies or the establishment of citizen assemblies, shifts processes outside of formal political structures (CLES, 2019). Bentley et al. (2020) suggest economic justice demands an accessible public arena, with inclusive social infrastructure providing fertile ground for citizen-driven movements. Neighbourhoods often provide the most accessible scale for citizen participation, despite barriers which limit existing community planning in London (Wills, 2019). As diverse and accessible spaces, HSs can provide the essential conditions of pluralism (We Made That & LSE Cities, 2017). The chance for non-commodified experiences, found in spaces like community centres, can also encourage wider participation in social, cultural and material production (Williams, 2018). With space and social capital integral to deliberative democracy, the maintenance of such on the HS could support fairer urban development (Putnam, 1993). While Russel (2017) implies that often participatory processes within urban planning are largely aimed at legitimising existing governance structures, Patemen (2012) suggests meaningfully collective processes

⁹ A business that is locally rooted, trades for the benefit of a community and is locally accountable (Diamond et al., 2018).

incorporate greater diversity into the ecosystem. Greater tacit knowledge within public policy design also helps define problems and solutions, while strengthening communities through more equal and cooperative social relations (Fung, 2004).

Summary

The pandemic has drawn attention to the locality of HSs, uncovering disparities in access to space and social infrastructure. While ED and municipalism discourses suggest principles and mechanisms for redistributing economic power, overlap with built environment and place-based study is minimal. The *commons* literature uncovered increasing threats to urban spaces like HSs, which, if governed collectively, could promote creativity, encourage community ties and create more equitable places. With the role of HSs already evolving away from consumption, democratising the HS would involve developing a site for socially productive land use and collective ownership; ensuring accessible public services and inclusive economic opportunity, and bringing deliberation and participatory planning to open social spaces. Theory suggests that democratisation can reduce inequalities, broaden economic opportunities and support a more sustainable economy. Demands for a socially just recovery imply the need to experiment, for which the local domain is suggested to be the most productive level. This thesis acknowledges the formative role that HSs could play as accessible, place-based, economic and social spaces.

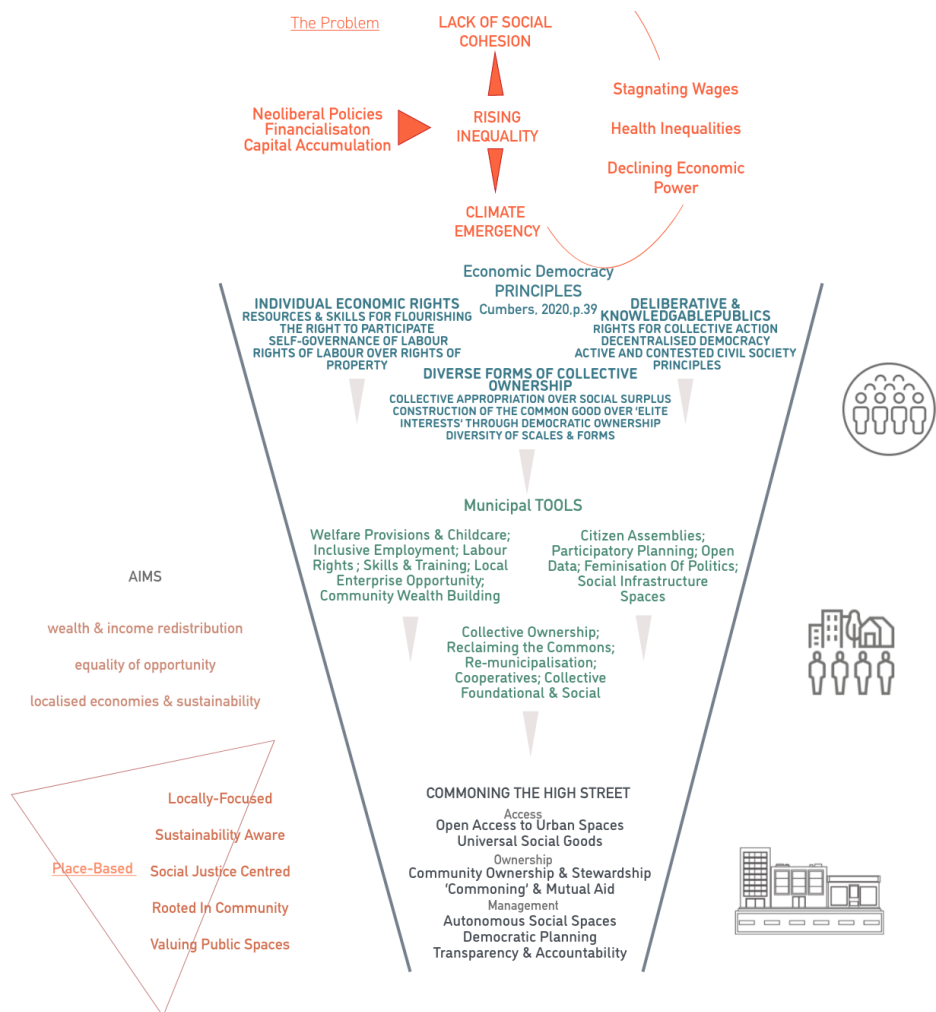
Chapter 3: Methodology

How can a framework of economic democracy reshape London's high streets for post-pandemic opportunities, promoting more equitable local economies?

First developing a grounding of current economic issues, this thesis then uses an iterative analytical process to interpret secondary data. A focus on qualitative data supports an understanding of emerging phenomena, the exploratory research question and a study of divergent settings (Becker, 1996).

With theoretical frameworks addressing the site of study currently limited, the literature review in Chapter 2 connects the body of theory with the value and characteristics of place, linking the political, social and economic realms in a discussion of *why democratise the HS?* Interpretive theory building incorporates the need to reshape economic systems, the tools for municipal application and the organising values of urban commons. With a focus on scale centring "the problem of where and how to facilitate the building of collective agency", HSs, given their trajectory, are justified as a suitable scope for action, fomenting the analytical framework addressed next (Russel, 2020, p.109) (F2).

F2. Principles and Practices for Democratising High Streets (Author's own, based on literature)



In Chapter 4, empiricism places the subject into context, using diverse practices to increase *construct* and *external validity* (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Analysed and codified into an evaluative tool that builds on the theory, applications of principles are drawn out to support the practical question of *how to democratise the HS?* With Dodd (2020) suggesting the need, within spatial practices, to actively reimagine alternatives as a form of multi-scalar design, this chapter creates an empirical arena for developing "abstractions about alternative social and territorial structures"(Jonas, 2013, p.826). Applying democratic principles to this common urban space explores how broad demands for structural economic change can be enacted at this scale across varying contexts.

Chapter 5 situates the study within London, employed due to the heightened nature of HS challenges and opportunities. A comprehensive mixed paradigm methodology combines quantitative economic data and qualitative precedent analysis (Creswell, 1995). While primary data was not collected, several rigorous reports set the scene, providing in-depth HS studies supported by interviews, surveys, observational analysis and collaborative case studies with local authorities (e.g. Mayor of London, 2020). A SWOT analysis helps to contextualise London's HSs, whilst mapping existing policies, structures, ownership and spaces constructs a landscape of opportunities and constraints (Appendix D; E; F, I; J). Discourse analysis through policy reports, polling, media and forums also proves vital to research outcomes, drawing out the role of HSs and the potential for ED within public and policy realms (Appendix B; G; H). As Barnett (2014) highlights, processes of claim-making require analysis of the situated contexts in which solidarity and capacities for action can be developed. Therefore, utilising the evaluative tool, analysis of four specific interventions experiment with place-based application (Appendix K). Given the diversity of HSs, sites of differing operations, spaces and actors are chosen for their relevance to broader trends, useful precedents and available data. Application of the framework draws out key trends, barriers to application and limitations. The suitability of ED principles for framing HS interventions and building more equitable economies is then built into Chapter 6's recommendations for policy and future research. Recommendations focus on local authorities, given their significant political, legal and financial powers for harnessing endogenous assets, and the argued importance of this scale for democratisation.

Limitations

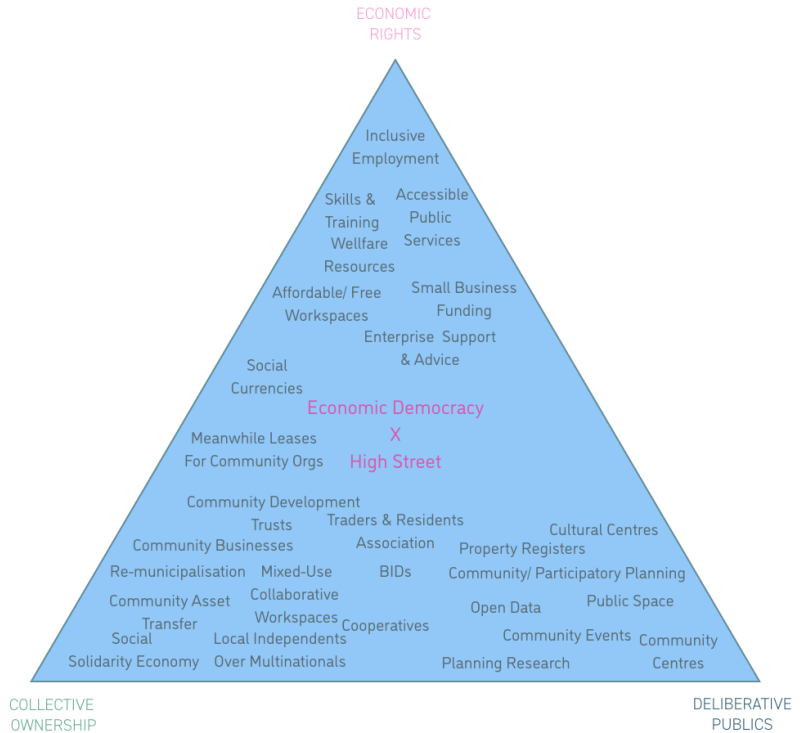
The diversity and complexity of HS sites poses the greatest research challenge. Considering HSs as a potential archetype for broader economic restructuring, a careful trade-off was made between the breadth and depth of the study, foregoing a single site analysis. Without the collection of primary data, it is expected that an ethnographic approach, incorporating perspectives of key actors, could have supported a more detailed study of specific collective governance forms. While a schematic approach could also have been achieved by choosing a particular HS form or function to focus on, the literature calls for systematic change, inspiring the examination of wide-ranging economic activities.

While not politically neutral, the speed of contextual change encouraged the use of contemporary sources, including numerous reports from think tanks, local authorities and social movements — often ideological and lacking critique. While risking bias, such dialogue and debates are expected to enhance the public sphere given accompanying critical evaluation and broad environmental analysis (Brucker, 2017). With a lack of data on failed municipal projects, the difficulties of implementation and the challenges of market forces will also need to be thoroughly considered.

Chapter 4: Analytical Framework: How to democratise the high street?

This chapter develops a place-based analytical framework, using empiricism to connect HS initiatives with ED principles (F3). Initially, a wide range of economic issues, practices and outcomes were studied from London, the UK and further afield, considering their potential for promoting fairer local economies through the distribution of economic power via rights, ownership and deliberation (see Appendix F:T1 for Cases (CS1-34)). Mapping London practices (T1) helped to identify key themes and spaces to explore further (see Chapter 5), while informing the following discussions and development of framework F4.

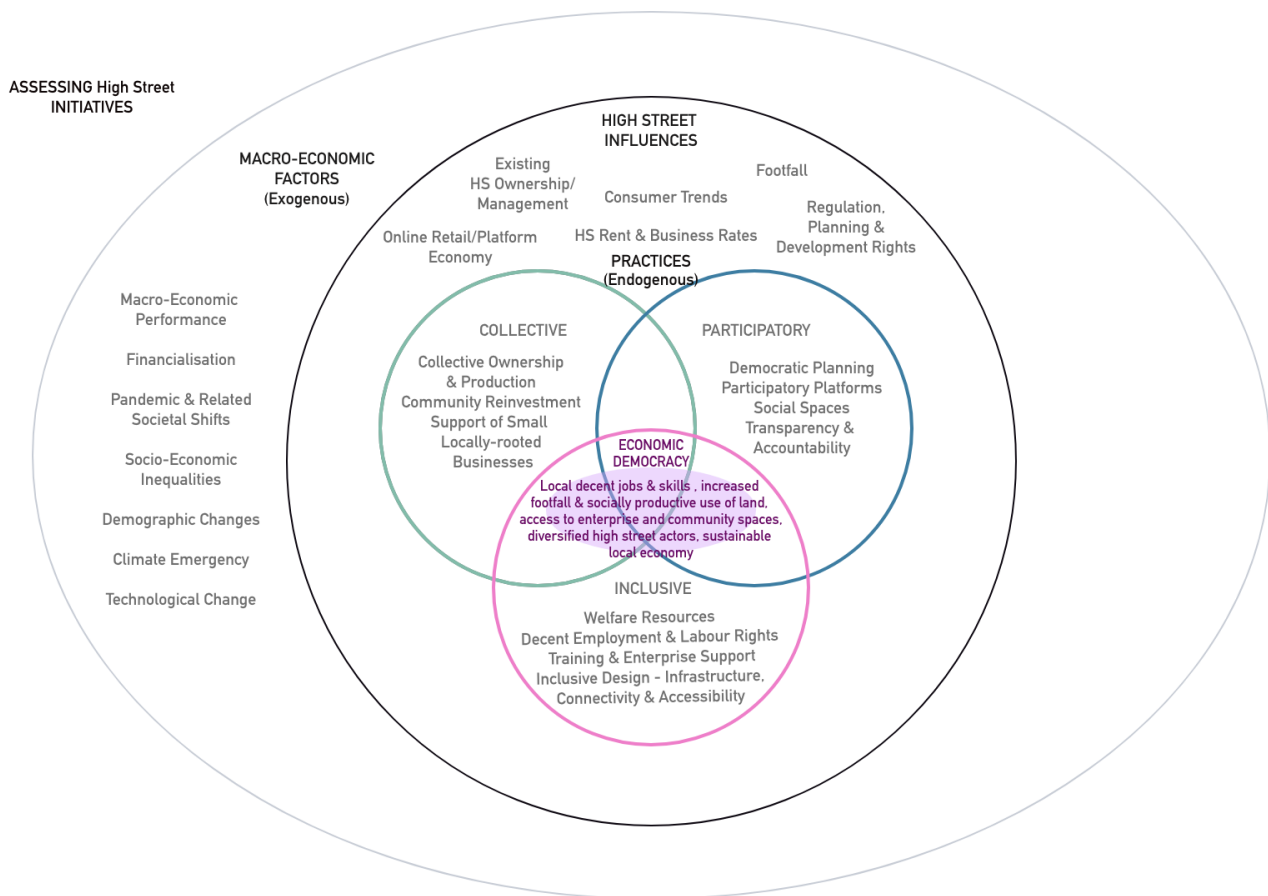
F3. High Street Tools for Economic Democracy (Author's own)



T1. London High Street Practices: Function X Space (for detail see Appendix F:T2) (Sources: GLA, 2021a; GLA & Arup, 2020; Mayor of London, 2020)

SPACE X THEMES	MARKETS & RETAIL SPACE	SERVICES & SUPPORT	PUBLIC SPACE & COMMUNITY CENTRES	FLEXIBLE WORKSPACES
ARTS & CULTURE	Stanley Arts Centre (South Norwood) - an inclusive community owned theatre focused on underrepresented voices (CS10).	Arcola Theatre (Dalston) - a charity run zero-carbon theatre supporting community events and established artists.	Old Manor Park Library (Newham) - a council building converted to artist studios and a community space.	Catford DEK Studios - town hall converted to affordable and creative workspaces. International House (Brixton) - council building mixed-use creative workspace (CS3).
	Really Local Group (Catford Mews) - a community-led food and leisure development.		Croyden Arts Store - an arts exhibition and events space aimed at incorporating young people into wider development (CS6).	
FOOD, CARE & WELLBEING	Spacemakers at Brixton Village (Brixton) - 3m free leases for empty market spaces (CS13).	Friendly Families Nursery (Deptford) - a parent-led, cooperative childcare model.	St Luke's Community Centre (Islington) - a HS community centre for socialising, art studios and employment support.	LJ Works (Lambeth) - low-cost art, textile and catering flexible workspaces, based within an urban community farm.
	AlexandraRose Fruit & Veg Project (Lambeth)- voucher scheme supporting low income families and markets traders. LATIN VILLAGE & WARDS CORNER COMMUNITY PLAN		MUSEUM OF FUTURES COMMUNITY CENTRE	
EMPLOYMENT TRAINING & UPSKILLING	Dalston Kingsland Digital Connectivity (Hackney) - free internet for tenants and residents, digital training and support for market traders to connect to contactless payments (CS9).	Opportunity Support Team (Burnt Oak) - cross function employment support team.	Tower Hamlets Civic Centre - a new civic centre bringing together council services & public space for easy access.	East Street Exchange (Walworth) - a library extension, opening to the HS, including affordable meeting and work spaces (CS16).
BUSINESS SUPPORT	Queen's Park Community Council - funding retail association public realm improvements.	Redbridge Council Community Hubs Programme - public services and spaces for residents to run their own activities.		
	CIRCULAR ECONOMY / CLIMATE JUSTICE	Chatsworth Road Traders & Residents Association (Hackney) - collective organisation supporting HS development (CS12).	Tottenham Opportunity Investment Fund - funding for small businesses to carry out renovations and build workspaces with rate discounts and support.	CAMDEN COLLECTIVE WORKSPACES The Startup Mall (Hammersmith) - offers vacant units within the mall to entrepreneurs and makers.
Growing Communities Market, Stoke Newington (Hackney) - a weekly HS market supporting small sustainable farmers within 60miles of London and traders sourcing locally.		Foodsave, Plan Zeroes and Borough Market (London Bridge) - a group who collect surplus food from markets and redistribute it to local charities.	Climate Emergency Centre (Hackney) - a locally run communal hub for activities focused on issues of people and the planet (Nazir, 2021a).	

F4. Developing an Analytical Framework for High Street Initiatives (Author's Own)



4.1 Discussions

Inclusive (Rights)

ED recognises the rights of individuals in all their diversity to participate in collective processes, necessitating accessible, open and inclusive spaces (Dahl, 1985). With rights a basis to participation, decent employment and welfare, HSs pose an accessible site for meeting local needs — whether this be through public or community services. In Islington, the HS provides welfare resources through St Luke's Community Centre. In Dalston, rights are supported through internet access with free wifi for all and digital support for traders.

Accessibility, as well as incorporating connectivity, hinges on a built environment inclusive of diversity. In Walworth, this meant opening up the library to the HS, and incorporating community meeting spaces. Meanwhile, Tower Hamlets Civic Centre is improving access by bringing council services together in one HS site.

An important source of employment, HSs can also support training opportunities through community centres or social enterprises. As seen through Islington and Camden councils, responsible public procurement places social inclusion and gender equality central to contracts, creating more stable jobs and fairer salaries within local public services (CLES, 2019).

Economic opportunity can also be sustained through advice services, start-up funding, free spaces to experiment — like Spacemakers' Brixton market initiative (CS13) — or rates exemptions, supporting local businesses to level HS power.

Collective (Ownership)

Diverse forms of collective ownership, influenced significantly by local planning and regulatory frameworks, are vital for redistributing economic power. While facing considerable barriers, Community Asset Transfer provides a legal tool for transferring socially valuable properties from public to community ownership, as used by Stanley Arts Centre (CS10). Democratic HS stewardship could also be supported through greater public over corporate ownership, community businesses or governance forms, such as traders associations.

Alternatively, planning policy can distribute power by promoting more socially productive uses of land.¹⁰ Focused on HSs, Meanwhile Use reduces barriers to vacant spaces, increasing opportunities for start-ups to experiment and for charities to access prime sites given the rate reductions available for community benefit leasing (GLA & Arup, 2020). While temporary, policies discouraging vacant space often create social value, instead of accruing market value to landlords — contributing to the common good. International House, a local authority-owned office block, offers free workspace to local social enterprises and community groups for every lease purchased (CS3). By buying ground floor units to offer Social Value Leases and affordable workspaces, Hackney council is also helping diversify the HS offering (Mayor of London, 2020).

Collectivism can also be encouraged through common production, promoted through mixed-use workspaces (CS5;7). Think & Do in Camden promotes sustainability through circular economy projects, and The Remakery in Brixton provides a collaborative space for recycling surplus materials.

Participatory (Deliberative Publics)

Corrons, Álvarez and Fernández (2019) argue that including local people in economic governance design provides better solutions to social justice issues, encouraging the use of participatory platforms such as [commonplace.is](https://www.commonplace.is) which helped to integrate public perspectives into Dalston Kingsland's HS plans (CS11). However, physical assemblies, as used in Newham, or public planning spaces like CoLab, Dudley, (CS22) are also vital for broad engagement. Croydon Arts Store (CS6), through hosting events and research in a shopping centre, helped incorporate young people into urban planning.

Associations, such as Business Improvement Districts (BID), encourage democratic economic planning by promoting local business collaboration, incorporating wider community groups and campaigning for area improvements. Turner and Diaz-Palomares (2014) suggest that management structures should suit the place and its objectives, with HSs also served well by traders associations or Town Teams that centre local input and consultation.

Given the importance of space for civil society movements to flourish, cultural assets such as Arcola Theatre provide an accessible HS location for established artists to collaborate and community workshops to reach broader groups. Open public centres like Redbridge Community Hub provide space for residents to host the events they want — providing autonomy, a chance to connect and the opportunity for social capital to form.

For knowledgeable and deliberative publics, accessible and transparent information is integral. Increased transparency over HS ownership could allow for easier lease negotiations and improved utilisation of publicly valuable assets, whereas open data for small retailers could support local trade and planning (see CS29; CS31).

¹⁰ See Appendix D for details of Community Asset Transfer, BIDs, Meanwhile Use, Town Teams and Social Value Leases.

4.2 Evaluative Tool

Practices discussed can ensure more equitable local economies by empowering more diverse economic actors into the ecosystem; repurposing the social value of vacant properties for marginalised groups; reducing uneven power between capital and labour through capacity building, employment and enterprise support; designing standards for the common good through deliberative governance; encouraging greater accountability and transparency in planning and valuing social over consumption spaces. Inclusive, collective and participatory governance of urban economic spaces can ensure that value is retained, recirculated and more equitably shared within the communities where it is created, helping to replace extractive models set to worsen inequality. Combining theory and precedents analysis, F4 outlines key environmental influences and the suggested principles for promoting democratic HSs — forming the evaluative tool T2 (detailed in Appendix K:T1). While evaluation is qualitative, mapping principles (1-5) is designed to encourage analysis, discerning relationships and comparisons between values, governance structures and differing practices which develop frameworks further. The following chapter addresses a case study of London, compiling contextual data and then utilising the tool across specific sites — advancing understanding of the possibilities for application.

T2. Evaluative Tool: Criteria for Enacting Economic Democracy on the High Street (Appendix K)

	Individual Economic Rights (Inclusivity)				Diverse Forms of Collective Ownership (Collectivism)			Deliberative & Knowledgeable Publics (Participation)		
Radar CHART (1-5) Market Provision — Benchmark ED	Welfare Resources	Labour Rights	Economic Opportunity	Inclusive Design	Collective Ownership	Distributed Social Surplus	Common Production	Democratic Planning	Social Infrastructure	Transparency & Accountability

Chapter 5: Applying the Framework: Reflections From London

Having explored practices in isolation, the objective of this case study is to understand: (1) how a framework of ED can be applied to HS practices in London and (2) what factors, actors and policy conditions are required to support such practices. This chapter will first map HS conditions before evaluating specific sites and, finally, drawing out key trends and issues guiding application.

5.1 London's High Street Context

T3. London High Streets SWOT Analysis

<p style="text-align: center;">Strengths</p> <p>Adds to a places identity & trust (Warbis & Parsloe, 2017) // Can support quality of life through food, cultural & religious footholds (Scott, 2015) // Public space for social, information & care networks // High employment densities // Opportunities for local suppliers & businesses to mix // Accessible & connected // The majority are walkable, promoting active travel // Inclusive for marginalised groups & safe due to activity (We Made That & LSE Cities, 2017) // High footfall, strong social networks & relatively flexible leases (especially small units in mixed-use sites) provide opportunity for experimentation // Entry point for more resilient independent stores (Deloitte, 2021) // Responsive and flexible to local needs, as well as incoming communities (Hall, 2011) // With predominantly small businesses on leaseholds, fragmented ownerships protects from blanket redevelopment (Carmona, 2015)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Weaknesses</p> <p>Weakening social bonds under urban living's transience // High degree of failure & turnover (Wrigley & Lambriiri, 2015) // Minimal community run facilities (ONS, 2020a) // Oversupply of retail units (Landsec & JLL, 2019) // Complex regulation, planning policy & stakeholders // High business rates & rents rising faster than income (Carmona, 2015) // Lack of affordable workspaces under the doubling of business rates (2016-2018) (GLA, 2018b) // Fragmented & opaque ownership, plus absent landlords, contributing to vacancy (Brett & Alakeson, 2019) // High costs of vacancy causing further decline (loss of business rates, employment & earnings) (London Assembly, 2013; Kim, 2016) // Lack of night-time activity (GLA, 2021a) // High online spending by UK households (Peachy, 2017; ONS 2018) // Declining statutory public services on HSs and low public ownership under austerity (Just Space, 2016, Locality, 2018b) // Vehicle use deters dwell times (Cooke, Streb & Burns, 2020)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Opportunities</p> <p>Office space cutbacks & remote technology encouraging close-to-home working post-pandemic, reducing travel & increasing time spent in local communities (MacLellan, 2021) // Consumer trends supporting provenance & small local stores (We Made That & LSE Cities, 2017) // Demand for services over products aiding sustainability through shorter supply chains (Deloitte, 2021) // Growing retail unit vacancy could provide opportunities for local businesses (Nazir, 2021b) // Repurposing over building reducing environmental impacts (JLL, 2020) // Shifting values towards community, public space & proximity (GLA, 2020a) // Changes in planning policy could mean easier reuse of buildings for public spaces (e.g. galleries, libraries, education) (Clifford, 2021) // Chance to redesign for people over cars could increase equitable access (Cooke, Streb & Burns, 2020) // Growing number of jobs on & around the HS supporting start-up incubation (ONS, 2020a)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Threats</p> <p>Further infiltration of the platform economy through online retail & catch-all convenience shops challenging independents (GENECON, 2011) // Escalating digitisation could cause HS firms & SMEs to fall behind (GLA, 2020a) // Further rises in real estate prices // Housing pressures potentially reducing shop floor activity // Changes to Permitted Development Rights (PDR) could undermine the councils ability to shape town centres (LGA, 2020b) // Risks of losing the mix of civic & local service integral to social interaction & integration (GLA, 2021a) // Damage done to central London retail means that low footfall could prevail post-pandemic (GLA & Google, 2021) // Unequal distribution of social capital inhibiting community action where most needed (Demos, 2021) // Deep economic recession</p>

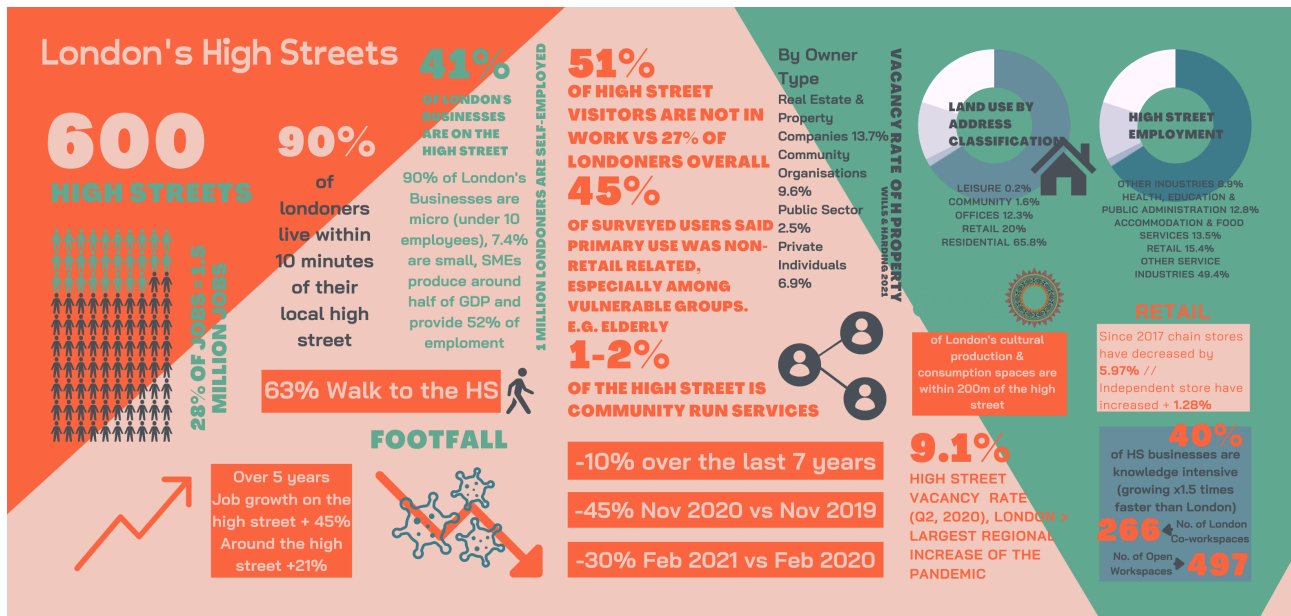
The SWOT analysis lays out the current strengths, weaknesses, potential opportunities and threats embodied in London's HSs (T3). The number, connectivity and social function of London's HSs make them highly accessible, encouraging diversity and promoting responsiveness to local needs and wants. While they provide high employment densities, support networks and access to culture, they contain minimal community-run spaces and a declining number of council-owned assets and statutory services (T3).¹¹ With rents, business rates, material and wage costs rising compared to online operations, retail's increasing precarity is leaving an oversupply of empty units (T3). Vacancy on the HS escalates a feeling of decline, and the public have expressed demands for support of small businesses,¹² co-working and community centres to fill spaces (Appendix: G; H; Mayor of London, 2020). London's HSs also contain

¹¹ In London, 203 (annual average) council fixed assets were sold-off between 2012-2017 (Locality, 2018b). Revenue spending power also fell >30% between 2011- 2018 for most London boroughs (National Audit Office, 2021).

¹² 10-20 employees (ONS, 2020b)

a high, and growing, proportion of residential buildings and a significant proportion of the expanding knowledge industries (F5).

F5. London's High Streets Trends Infographic (Author's own, data sources: Appendix J)



COVID-19 & The High Street

The recent pandemic has accelerated changes to why people visit HSs (PWC & LDC, 2021). While retail activity fell significantly, footfall was already in decline, and is recovering slower in London than other urban centres (F5; Cooper, 2021). Withdrawing HS visitors, internet sales, which rose from 7-21% in the pre-pandemic decade, reached 33.3% at the height of national lockdowns, since returning to pre-pandemic trend lines (LGA, 2020b; ONS, 2021). Small enterprises saw the largest halt in trading during subsequent lockdowns (ONS, 2020b). However, many councils have actively supported local businesses through numerous grant schemes, while repurposing town centres for services (LGA, 2020b).

Responsiveness was also witnessed across London's HSs, with restaurants switching to meal delivery or selling fresh produce during restrictions (Nott, 2020). Growing demand saw greengrocers, independent convenience and bike repair shops pop up wherever possible, while public spaces became hubs for soup kitchens and food banks as civic engagement expanded (Bosetti & Belcher, 2020; Nolsoe, 2020; Wood, 2020). Although not always affordable, a shift to local fruit and vegetable collections and deliveries encouraged shorter supply chains, supporting community-driven operations, fair wages and greater transparency (Shveda, 2021).

Recognising post-pandemic challenges and opportunities, the GLA (2021a) have recommended greater use of citizen-led development, the diversification of ownership and use, and the protection of cultural assets, creative, community and independent enterprises on the HS (Appendix C).

5.2 High Street Practices Analysed Through An Economic Democracy Framework

Following the environmental analysis, this section will address four sites based on the criteria for collective, inclusive and participatory practices negotiated earlier, incorporating place through discussions of situated spaces, actors and governance. These cases were chosen for their alignment with broader trends — around work, demography, real estate and civic participation — the availability of data, and their suggested sustainability of practices, providing key

learnings for future transformation across a range of actors, settings and functions (see Appendix K for detailed analysis).

Camden Collective Workspaces: BID (Camden)

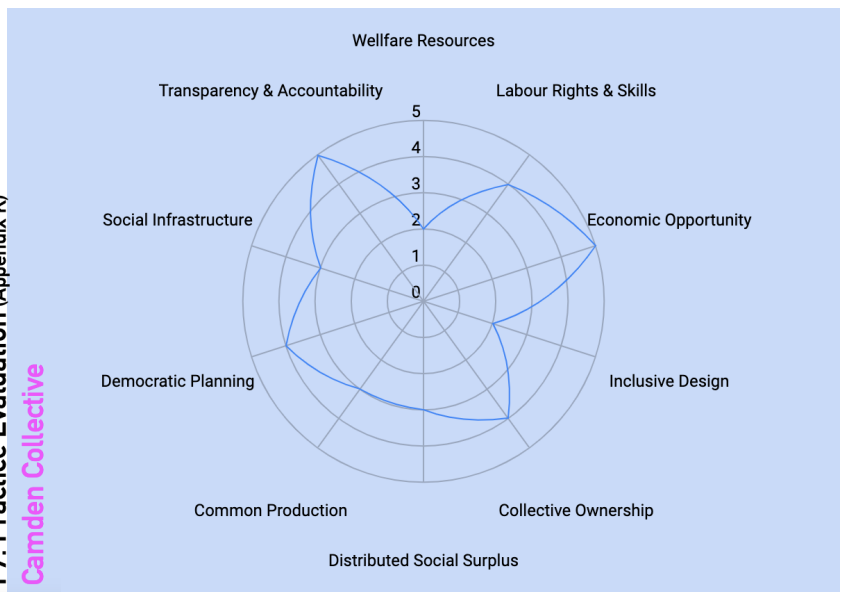
F6. Camden Collective at Temperance Hospital: Front & Hot-desking Space (Camden Collective, 2021)



Mixed-use workspaces and start-up incubators have seen significant growth due to evolving ways of working (Madaleno et al., 2021). Camden Collective combines free hot-desking, subsidised start-up offices and incubator support with Meanwhile leases, taking on under-used HS spaces. While demand is expected to rise, flexible workspaces remain undersupplied due to development pressures, rising land values and planning regulation, inhibiting the accompanying opportunities to increase HS activity, employment and local enterprise (Architecture 00, 2021; GLA, 2018b). Formed in 2009, Camden Collective, a charity started by Camden Town Unlimited (CTU) BID, has hosted pop-up shops, free courses and public realm projects across 18 diverse sites (Camden Collective, 2021). The BID was formed in 2006 to tackle local crime, later focusing on training and business support to improve local employment opportunities.

F7. Practice Evaluation (Appendix K)

Camden Collective



Benefits: Camden Collective has increased employment and opportunities for local start-ups, promoted local sourcing, encouraged business networks and facilitated collaborative projects (GLA & Arup, 2020). The free spaces, events and HS locations promote access, while democratic BID governance encourages wider participation in local economic development. BIDs encourage independence, transparency and a geographical focus, while creating a collective governance structure that can negotiate for local organisations more responsive to changing economic conditions and invested in the common good (GLA, 2014) (F7).

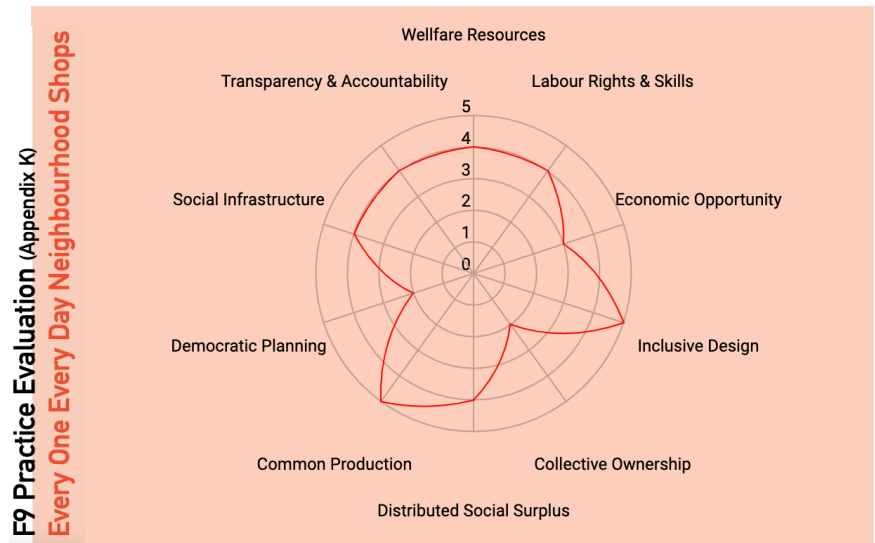
Issues: A reliance on temporary leases over ownership maintains unbalanced power dynamics, but plans exist to build C3, a long-term site incorporating housing needs. // Limited obligations to include non-business communities. // While a focus on knowledge industries could be exclusionary to broader groups, this could be countered by increasing public access and retail space, as tested in previous sites (CTU, 2020c).

Every One Every Day Neighbourhood Shops: Social Solidarity Economy (Barking & Dagenham)

F8. Every One Every Day Shops Interior & Exterior (Participatory City, 2019, p.277)



Neighbourhood Shops, managed by Participatory City Foundation, take on ideas of the social solidarity economy already broadly practised in cities with strong civil participation traditions, like Barcelona (See CS27;30). Responding to high deprivation levels and rapid migration in the area, the initiative aims to make community participation more inclusive as part of the council's broader plans to build a collaborative economy (Participatory City, 2019). Five HS shops and a central warehouse host neighbourhood designers who support community projects through skills training, connections and resources (Ibid.). 1000 residents currently participate in collective projects to improving local living, ranging from batch cooking and re-wilding, to a teen trade school and child care clubs (Ibid.)



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Benefits: Municipal tools for building more self-sufficient communities tackle welfare needs directly through projects around food, care and the circular economy. Sharing knowledge, spaces and resources develops a sense of community and a culture of distributed decision making. Founded on inclusive design principles, individuals are empowered, and barriers minimised to increase participation (Ibid.) A strong focus on collaborative research, drawing on diverse institutions separate from the state, increases pluralism (Forné, Micciarelli & Fresnillo, 2019)(F9).

Issues: Sustainable funding. // A lack of community ownership over local assets. // Clearly defined project categories focus on need and efficiency, but deliberative governance could be expanded to the overarching planning. // With little evidence of economic impacts collected, extending development support to existing SMEs could promote business diversity and employment opportunities.

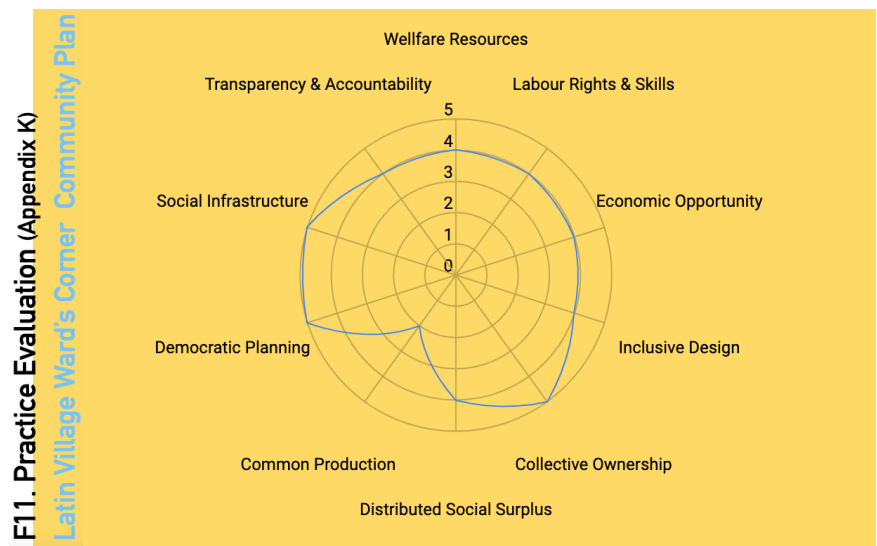
Latin Village Market & Ward's Corner Community Plan (WCCP): Business & Resident Collective (Tottenham)

F10. Seven Sister's Indoor Market Entrance & Internal Meeting (CLACS, 2018)



Seven Sister's Indoor Market,¹³ owned by state enterprise TFL, has been under managed decline and threatened by demolition and redevelopment since 2004, with plans for chain store retail and unaffordable housing approved (Allin, 2019; Save Latin Village, 2021a). The market is home to over 43 businesses, 150 jobs and 15 nationalities, containing mainly restaurants, salons and other services (WCCP, 2021). Designated as an Asset of Community Value in

2014 by Haringey Council, the site's value as a cultural resource and civic centre has been recognised by Trust for London (2011) and United Nations (UNHR, 2017). Put forward by the West Green Road/Seven Sisters Development Trust¹⁴ (WGRSSDT), the 4th iteration of a 'community plan', which incorporates the market, two vacant upper floors and connected Wards Corner building, received planning permissions in 2019 (WCCP, 2021). Built on 15 years of consultation, the plan aims to support surrounding small businesses that serve predominantly low income and diverse ethnic and migrant communities (Ibid.). Crowdfunded and designed by an architecture cooperative, the plan proposes improved spaces, a self-managed governance structure, the development of new office, retail and community spaces and the reinvestment of profits into maintenance and community initiatives (Unit 38, 2019). Ideas of *community wealth building* guide plans to localise spending by utilising the council's institutional powers and democratically principled community organisations (WCCP, 2021).



¹³ Known locally as Latin Village or Pueblita Paisa.

¹⁴ Outlined in Appendix D.

Benefits: Through collective activism and planning, the civil society group has protected the value of the market since 2004, culminating in withdrawal from plans by developers on August 6th 2021 (WGRSSDT, 2021a). The recorded value of the market, demonstrated through consultation and related studies, includes informal support and advice, cultural offerings and economic opportunities for underemployed groups (WCCP, 2021; King et al., 2018). Incorporating small community-focused local businesses facilitates a more sustainable and equitable model, helping to build community wealth (Diamond et al. 2018; McInroy, 2018). Plans could further redistribute economic power by protecting diversity with affordable rent, collective appropriation over social surplus and incorporating new uses to build resilience in an evolving market. Financial modelling suggests significant employment growth and sustainability under a range of renovation funding mixes, expected to include grants, ethical finance and the creation of a democratic Community Benefit Society¹⁵ (WGRSSDT, 2021b) (F11).

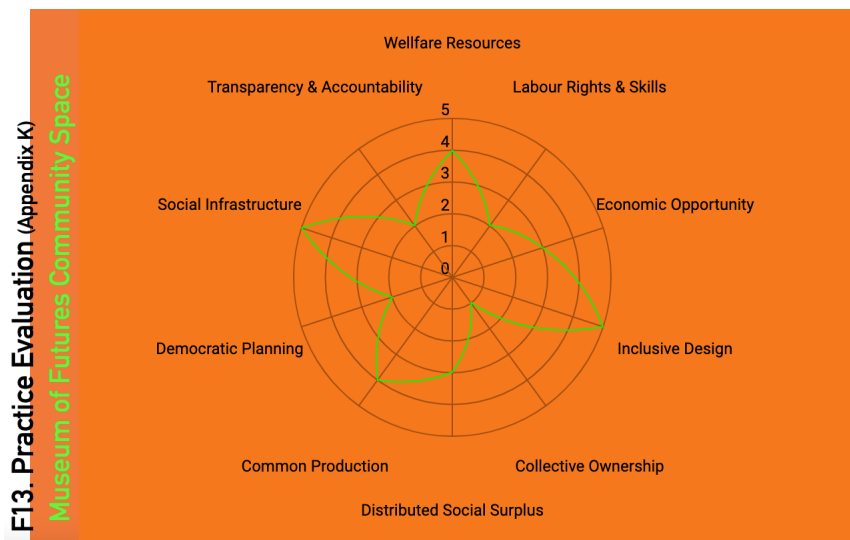
Issues: Fundraising renovation costs. // With building improvements yet to be enacted, planning and real estate market risks remain. // Negotiating a fair rental agreement, which could utilise the Social Value Leases under development by local authorities (Mayor of London, 2020).

Museum of Futures Community Space: Community Interest Company¹⁵ (Surbiton)

While the pandemic caused a significant fall in central London activity, suburban areas like Surbiton have seen increased civic action as residents spend more time near home (GLA, 2021a). Museum of Futures community space was launched in 2015 with Mayoral funding by a social enterprise focused on community-led regeneration, The Community Brain (Ibid). Responding to demands for an accessible, democratic and collaborative permanent venue, trends around food and provenance were incorporated into a previously vacant shop space (Museum of Futures, 2021). A community kitchen provides use for local start-ups to test out ideas, groups tackling food poverty, community workshops, skills exchanges and advice sessions (Ibid.) The site has also hosted wellbeing events, exhibitions and research groups from Kingston University (Ibid.).

Benefits: With 40 organisations using the facilities, it has encouraged new businesses to grow and networks to

F12. Museum of Futures (Museum of Futures, 2021)



¹⁵ Defined in Appendix D.

form, causing a spillover of nearby projects, including Farm of Futures, an allotment hosting four start-ups (Community Brain, 2021). Creating a supportive space has enticed new residents to participate and empowering individuals to carry out their own projects helps develop shared community visions. As key social infrastructure, it promotes flourishing through skills and training, economic opportunity through shared facilities, stronger social networks through events and opportunities for collective governance through the seeding of collaborative projects (F13).

Issues: No community ownership or stewardship of assets. // Lack of participatory management processes. // Little collaboration with broader HS actors. // Focus is on leisure over economic value creation, meaning minimal local employment support.

Summary: Methodological Reflections

Analysis of rights, ownership and deliberation is challenging to negotiate; the innate intertwinement of the pillars, their compensatory nature, and complex funding, stakeholder and governance structures make prescriptive guidance unfeasible. With power dynamics difficult to decipher through secondary data alone, interviews with stakeholders and surveys designed to capture perceived initiative values could build on the place-based study of economic opportunity. More traditional economic analysis is also required to assess the value creation potential of initiatives able to support sustainable HS employment amongst falling retail. Regardless, this study has highlighted the HSs importance as a site for social production, collective action and local economic development, constructed by a diversity of actors. Although charts are not analogous, this method has helped to decipher the importance of inclusive access, collective ownership and participatory management, analysing the application of principles that guide key findings discussed below. While civil society groups may govern more democratically, they often face greater precarity, suggesting local authorities play an essential enabling role, especially through providing space, funding or galvanising social infrastructure. In a recent report, Wills and Harding (2021) suggested that the principles and values guiding community HS governance are more important than its legal forms, supporting the focus on a values-based framework. By paying attention to economic opportunity, powers and decision-making, policy development can support HS democratisation capable of precipitating broader economic restructuring.

5.3 Key Findings & Issues

Key Themes: High Streets

- A central role of HSs in ED is that of an accessible and inclusive **social space**. Physical communal space is vital for developing networks, collaborative projects and mutual aid, providing the **infrastructure** necessary to foster autonomous civil action. With non-commodified experiences integral for participation, maintaining open spaces, like Museum of Futures or Neighbourhood Shops, is essential for encouraging 'commoning' on the HS.
- Studies of temporary HS use, from Camden Collective's support of startups to community organisations hosted in Brixton market (CS13), highlight how **access to free or affordable space** can facilitate economic opportunity by supporting local organisations more focused on place, reclaiming power from the real estate market.
- **Collective stewardship** or management is suggested to be key for vibrant HSs. Taking a range of forms, from development trusts to trade associations, these mechanisms often evolve out of adversity, as with Latin Village or CTU BID, sometimes filling the gaps of abdicated state responsibility (Bailey, 2012).

- The HS's social value has been accentuated by vacancy, but also wider concerns around economic restructuring impacting local economies and community ties. London's diversity emphasises the HS's importance as an **inclusive space** for new residents and immigrant communities, which Neighbourhood shops aim to achieve. An essential bridge for **economic power**, informal support and connections made through HSs help individuals find employment, obtain skills or access resources, especially under stretched municipal provisions.
- HSs provide vital employment opportunities for young people and volunteer activities for the elderly. Whether through community spaces, in-lieu agreements in temporary leases or the assembling of services, there is also often a focus on **inclusive training and skills** — a vital component of economic rights beyond employment and income.
- The HS's focus on place also promotes **localised economies**, protecting community wealth and building social networks. Discourse suggests common HS visions include greater variety, demanding more local services and independent businesses (Appendix G). While generally less affordable under burdensome London costs, suggestions that **small local businesses** are more responsive to community needs than corporate-office-run operations, **dispersing social value** through better service and community reinvestment is supported throughout, especially by the Latin Village case (Appendix G; Mayor of London, 2020). The pandemic has also uncovered greater resilience in areas with more community-led businesses (Appendix H:13).
- Flexible **co-workspaces** are likely to be a growing component of the HS but do not currently align with demand, with creative spaces, in particular, concentrated in central London (Appendix I). Past research has supported the benefits these spaces can provide for disadvantaged groups through hosting community organisations and addressing access to employment (IPPR, 2016). Camden Collective workspaces also provide evidence for the potential to localise economies and build social capital, while **prioritising labour** over property rights by supporting self-determination. Deciphering a need for greater state responsibility, municipal provision has also been shown to boost local economies through Living Wage and affordability commitments, and diverse tenant mixes (see CS3).

Key Issues: Barriers to Action & Limitations of Application

- Fragmented property ownership, landlord absenteeism and control by large corporations disconnected from place inhibit the potential for collectivism to reconnect HSs to local economic concerns.¹⁶ The Latin Village case highlights existing **power imbalances** between **developers** and local actors, and many have expressed concerns over reduced planning permission requirements, which could shift power from communities and local authorities to developers, further concentrating real estate value (Clifford, 2021).
- Even collective efforts can have unintended consequences when set within a **financialised** city. Warnings come from Chatsworth Road Traders and Residents Association's (CS12) in Hackney, whose successful HS revitalisation contributed to gentrification in the area, raising **rental prices** that impact local livelihoods. The critical role, beyond participation, of collective appropriation over social surplus is highlighted. While council ownership could improve curation and affordability, especially under participatory democracy, increased community ownership is critical for redistributing economic power.
- Nevertheless, despite existing frameworks and rising popularity, **collective legal ownership** of land and property, especially in London, faces significant barriers around costs and asymmetric information (Dobson, 2011; Locality,

¹⁶ More than 45.4% of vacant properties are believed to be owned by developers or investors (Appendix E: E3)

2021). From stewardship to mutual aid, **civil society action** is also inhibited by a capacity gap in areas that lack local organising traditions, civic infrastructure or strong supportive organisations (Archer et al., 2019). Driven by **inequality**, a lack of time and resources limits collective initiatives between civil society members and small businesses (We Made That and LSE Cities, 2017). Municipalism risks entrenching spatial power inequalities, especially where limited government support concentrates activities in often more affluent areas with greater organising capacity (Clifford, 2012).

- Given the increasing power of the **platform economy**, models of ED need to consider the online sphere, especially given the potential impacts of an accelerated digital on HS firms and SMEs (Appendix H:4). While the **place-based framework** used here fails to address these entrenched corporate powers directly, a focus on the local scale could have dramatic non-monetary benefits, with greater equality encouraging experiments capable of precipitating broader economic restructuring (Angel, 2020).
- Falling public service provisions on the HS further highlights the **wider regulatory framework** needed to support ED, incorporating taxes that balance HS and online costs, funding, labour contracts, welfare provisions and improved frameworks for utilising assets for the common good. Angel (2020) suggests ED demands radical democracy at levels beyond the urban, looking to examples where rights of access to public goods have been enshrined into national constitutions.

5.4 Summary

Discourse analysis has shown a shift towards ideas of ED in response to London's inequality. Change is seen through a focus on inclusive civic spaces, collective production and participatory governance beyond formal democratic processes; through local authorities taking on the experimental ideas of new municipalism; the language used around the GLA's HS policies, or the growing popularity of civil society initiatives, such as community development trusts, taking space from private corporations (CLES, 2019; GLA, 2021a). However, key application issues remain in the viability of collective governance under existing legal frameworks, the accessibility of collective projects under urban market dynamics and the broader deficits around living wages, public services and welfare that inhibit economic rights for participation.

Chapter 6: Recommendations & Further Research

With elements of the framework implied through emerging planning and policy tools, this section builds on the potential for ED through principles surrounding HS access, ownership and management, acknowledging challenges drawn out through case analysis. While the research was set within London's economic, social and policy context, and the recommendations focused on local authorities, **principles** could hold relevance for other global cities.

6.1 Policy Recommendations:

1. Currently distributed unequally, community spaces are essential for reviving social HSs (Appendix I). Further development and use of Social Value Leases could shift credence from market values. Encouraging rent discounts to those maintaining community spaces could help **broaden access**, allowing local organisations to reclaim social surplus and promote equality. With certain benefits assumed to come of democratic governance, technocracy should be limited through deduction indicators focused on principles of inclusive access or participatory management.
2. As well as digital tools¹⁷ for **participatory planning**, physical platforms like Neighbourhood Shops are beneficial for inclusive economic development. Utilising vacant spaces to consult communities on urban issues can encourage interaction with the diversity of HS users, empowering residents to cooperate over wider economic issues.
3. With plans for a public beneficial ownership register already proposed, a degree of **transparency** over HS ownership remains integral to ED (HCLGC, 2019, Q.628). Recommended by Grimsey (2018) and Portas (2011), a register would allow councils to identify underused and socially valuable sites, better employing resources and locating public services.¹⁸ **Democratic processes** could also be facilitated by stakeholder mapping, in which the capacity, resources and willingness of actors are recorded (Mayor of London, 2020). If maintained by local authorities, alongside land, property and lease length records, this could support coalitions within HS development.
4. Further support for trade associations, BIDs and community organisations could be encouraged through capacity building, with crowdfunding encouraged to support these collective governance structures (Patti and Polyak, 2017). Architecture 00 (2021) propose creating High Street Trusts for overcoming fragmentation issues; facilitating greater **participation** in HS **management** by residents, actors and local authorities could create a common vision where shared ownership may be infeasible.
5. While Community Asset Transfer provides an opportunity for **collective ownership** on the HS, market forces make use rare. More feasible alternatives could encourage collective appropriation over social surplus through flexible leases of public assets, greater financial support and improved planning protections for community assets.
6. With flexible workspaces addressing economic rights through opportunities for self-determination, they also often value **common production** and support diverse scales and forms, including locally-focused projects vital to ED. As a new commons for knowledge and technology-based economies, direct municipal workspace provision could build on the learnings of Camden Collective and International House (CS3), with cross-subsidisation between established paying tenants and community organisations helping to redistribute the power embodied in real estate. Increased **access** to low-cost sites could also be facilitated by matching spaces to third sector

¹⁷ Like commonplace.is used in Dalston or assembly platform decidim.org.

¹⁸ CS31 evidences the benefits of a public assets register.

providers or building a vacant space platform inspired by the pop-up listings site Appear Here, or Open Poplar's public and private property site.

7. With local businesses most likely to provide social value and HSs posing a key site for experimentation, authorities could provide greater support for small and micro-businesses through space matching, subsidised costs, empty property rate relief or the encouragement of occupancy through temporary leases, increasing **economic opportunity**. Building on Barcelona's pilot (CS29), useful public data could also be made available — and accessible through training — to independent retailers, developing the GLA's recently released High Street Data Service to address inequalities imbued in data and technology.
8. Fundamental to ED are **rights of access and participation**, which depend on essential welfare resources. Greater public ownership and community management of HS property should be used to increase accessible public services and support mutual aid initiatives. Furthermore, ED requires national policy support around taxes, regulation and funding, allocating greater resources based on this grounded understanding of the HSs potential, and more equitably targeting support, as opposed to relying on competitions.¹⁹

6.2 Further Research

- While many reports have addressed the importance of HSs to communities, municipal contributions to urban democracy and the need for more equitable models for governing urban space, rarely have these subjects been linked. The framework given here could provide a succinct lens through which to theorise around future development pathways, with further research building on the codification of practices for imaging urban ED (notably those in Appendix C). By recording initiatives contributing to economic and social restructuring, benchmark examples could be replicated elsewhere, encouraging more equitable place-based economies.
- Primary research could address modes of participation, the sense of inclusion and civic pride of actors involved in HS practices. Mayor of London (2020) suggests HS interventions should also develop an in-depth understanding of particular areas through mapping networks — essential for site-specific studies. Longitudinal ethnographic research comparing practices within the same timeframe would support a better understanding of competing priorities and support needs, aiding the development of conducive policy. Whilst monitoring employment, spending and leakages would add to the knowledge of community wealth building potential.
- Furthermore, given the role of the built environment, collective legal asset ownership and stewardships models are integral for democratisation. Separate research is demanded to identify the role of national policies and frameworks. While mention has been made to organisational forms such as Community Development Trusts and Community Benefit Societies (Appendix D), whole studies could be dedicated to each. Therefore, future research could map the alternative forms of governance, their benefits, weaknesses and possible applications in more detail.

¹⁹ See Alakeson in Appendix H:13 for competition critique.

Chapter 7: CONCLUSION

Post-pandemic HSs provide a pivotal space for restructuring social and economic relations. Growing vacancy, left behind primarily by chain stores, provides opportunities for independent retailers more connected to place through local spending and sustainable practices. Nevertheless, discourse analysis has identified a broad acceptance of retail's shrinking role in the HS, as well as a growing focus on community and locality accelerated by the recent pandemic and emergence of an experimental municipalism — symbolised through the conversion of empty consumption spaces to climate emergency centres.

The initial literature review considered the distribution of economic decision making powers in perpetuating inequalities, while suggesting democratisation could be the answer to a fairer economic system. Discussions of municipalism, in theory and action, suggest that a radical urban politics is fundamental to reclaiming economic power, providing tools for local ED. The language of the commons looked at how equitable modes of governance could reclaim urban space, while HS studies captured their potential value for supporting these collective practices.

The evaluative framework connects empiricism with theory, drawing out practical applications of principles, while the case study demonstrated, in situ, how collective HS practices can reclaim space from capitalist social relations. Analysing the distribution of economic power through rights, ownership and deliberation guides recommendations by drawing out the key trends and barriers for democratising HSs. The benefit of the study comes from a novel reframing, with assessment of interventions highlighting principles and power relations, commonly overlooked by positivist economic discourse.

With this theoretical application in its infancy, there has not been chance through this research to address economic powers disconnected from place or the broader national frameworks required to set up the economic system. Methodological limitations were also encountered in analysing dynamics through secondary data, suggesting that ethnographic research and the acquisition of related micro-economic data could enhance analysis. Nevertheless, the placing of HSs within an ED framework foregrounds people and place, promoting local economic experiments which reduce extraction, encourage collective action and promote social production. While the difficulty of quantifying such non-monetary benefits is likely to have inhabited similar previous research, prevailing shifts in public values and evolving urban discourse could support the precipitation of structural change.

Due to the complexity and diversity of HS settings, a more systematic approach to policy development was demanded. With nebulous discussions of 'community-led development' often overlooking economic power inequalities, the framework provided within for HS renewal looks to promote policy cohesion through broad and flexible guiding principles. Addressing the redistribution of economic opportunity on the HS, ED aims to disperse decision making powers for fairer urban development, more aligned with the common good.

The analysis shows the active role that individual citizens, civil society groups, businesses and city governments can play in reshaping the economic system. Fairer local HSs can be achieved through working, planning, campaigning or socialising together. Widespread change demands a reframing of economic rights that centre inclusivity, collectivism and participation, seeding a shift in value concepts through the democratisation of this everyday site — the high street.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix A: New Municipalism in Practice

Debbie Bookchin (2014), a formative figure in the movement, developed her father's *social ecology* ideas into an expansive framework of democratic participation. As a broad and evolving social movement, *new municipalism*²⁰ has grown significantly out of the post-2008 financial crisis discontent (Ball, 2019). 2017 saw Barcelona en Comú host a summit which gathered 700 participants from 100 municipalist platforms globally which saw the publication of practices in the subsequent *Fearless Cities* (2019). Still at a formative stage, Russell (2019) suggests that practice is running ahead of theory, which is why discussion sources extend beyond academia to incorporate conference reports, media and lectures which discuss municipalism's focus, aims and tactics. Distinguishing it from earlier waves of municipalism through its re-politicising of transnationalism, Thompson (2020a) devises a typology that includes: *Platform Municipalism* (e.g. Barcelona en Comú, Spain), *Autonomist Municipalism* (e.g. Rojava, Jackson, USA) and *Managed Municipalism* (e.g. Cleveland, US and Preston, UK). With the latter most commonly represented in the context of the UK, it maintains characteristics of technocracy, rooted around the think-tank project of *community wealth building*.²¹ However, the Cleveland model, centred around democratic worker-controlled cooperatives, has been highly studied for its success in creating wealth without gentrification while localising consumption and production processes (Alperovitz, 2016; Rowe et al., 2017).

CLES (2019), highlighting the work of London's local authorities of Camden, Islington and Hackney boroughs, suggest the core principles include: the redistribution of power; the use of local state power to ensure fairly priced and accessible public goods and services through insourcing; democratic municipal or citizen ownership and the rethinking of local economic development to focus more on pluralism and democratisation, encouraging cooperative ownership models, unionisation and greater worker control. Russel (2017) implies the four main pillars of the movement, which aim to increase participation and involve people within democratic processes beyond electoral cycles, are the four overlapping themes of feminising politics, reclaiming the commons, re-municipalisation and re-designing democracy.

New Municipalism's Principles

THE FEMINISATION OF POLITICS

Demanding a new system *new municipalism* is concerned as much with how systems function as it is with the power embodied in them (Burch & McInroy, 2018). The feminisation of politics goes beyond gender equality to question the political issues addressed and in which spaces people can participate; it focuses on the practical over ideological, collaborative over-competitive, dialogical over hierarchical structures and experimentation over fixed systems (Russel, 2017).

E.g. Barcelona en Comú share practices for questioning technocracy, redesigning meeting processes by distributing speaking slots and addressing timings to ensure more inclusive debates (Perez, 2019).

RECLAIMING THE COMMONS

New municipalism suggests the exploration of commons that move beyond the public and the private, exploring the potential for a new set of principles for governing social goods (Roth & Baird, 2021). The common's radically decentralised way of managing resources embodies the feminisation of politics, explaining the centrality of such ideas to *new municipalism* (Calafati & McInroy, 2017).

E.g. This has been experimented with extensively through collective legal ownership of Community Land Trusts in the US (Howard, 2017). In Naples, a department of the commons was created alongside new legal frameworks which recognised civil society groups rights to reclaim established social centres as commons (Barcelona en Comú, 2019).

²⁰ The Fearless Cities platform plots movements from around the world, see <https://fearlesscities.com/en/map>.

²¹ Community Wealth Building is an economic idea pioneered in Cleveland, US, that focuses on local economic development. It aims to prevent leaking resources from the community through living wage employment, a focus on progressive procurement and leveraging the economic power of locally rooted anchor institutions, such as hospitals and universities, for social value (Preston City Council, 2021).

REMUNICIPALISATION

Re-municipalisation also aims to restructure the economy, dispersing power away from the ballots box, and spreading it through institutions more aligned with the common good (Russel, 2017). This allows for social surplus to be redistributed through the democratic management and access of goods such as water, waste and social care. With many assets previously privatised due to neoliberalism's austerity, this countervailing initiative could involve local state, collective or collaborative ownership (i.e. Public Commons Partnerships), ensuring fairer access and prices for public goods (CLES, 2019).

E.g. Ball (2019) highlights the work of Preston Council on procurement and the creation of a credit unions, as well as Islington's Inclusive Economy team, which focuses on bringing services back in-house, ensuring London Living Wage contractors and more genuinely affordable social housing through planning policy.

RE-DESIGNING DEMOCRACY

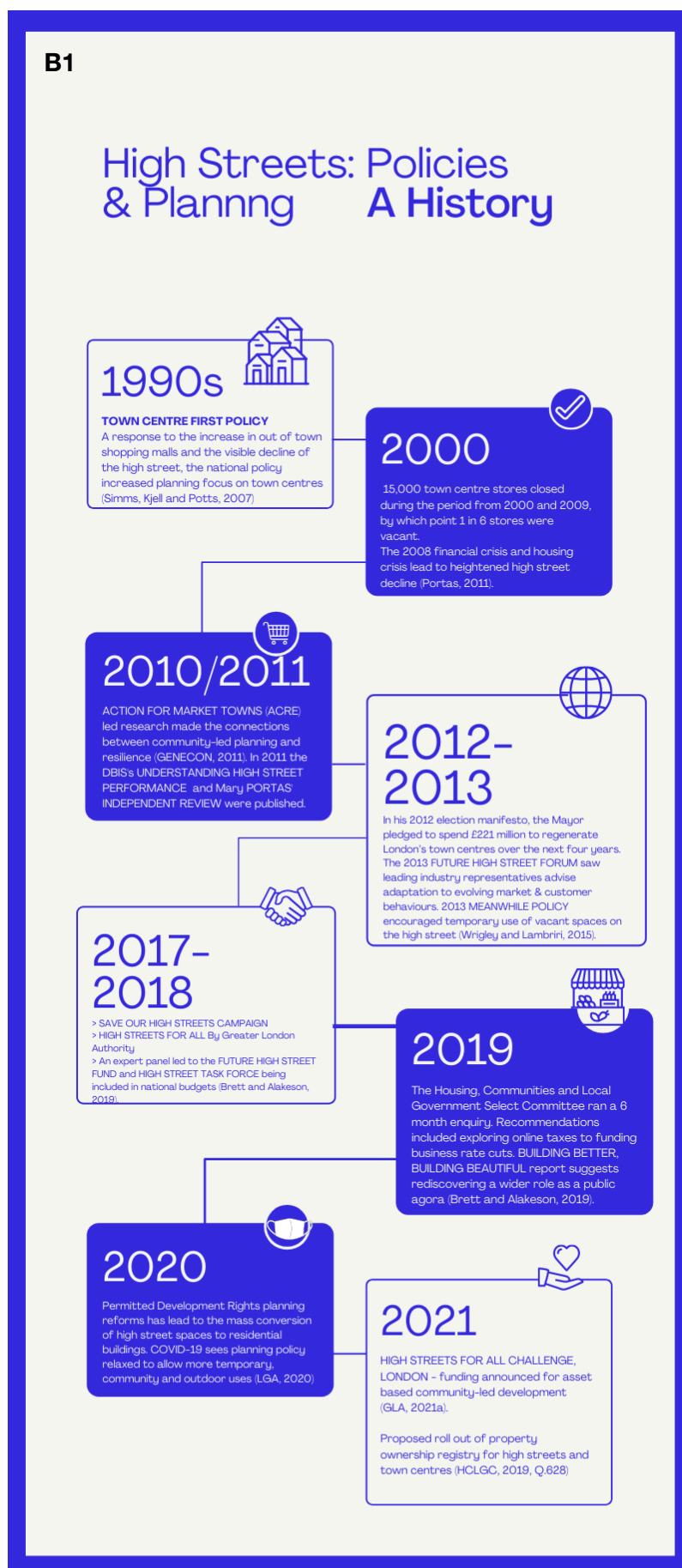
Redesigning democracy, whether through reshaping economic power; through solidarity economies, rooted in fair wages, worker ownership and social production; or, the establishment of direct arenas of deliberation, such as assemblies, shifts processes outside of formal political structures (CLES, 2019).

E.g. Barcelona Digital City strategy has utilised platforms such as Decidim (decidim.org) for facilitating citizen proposals, assemblies and the incorporation of shared, open data in decision making.

Appendix B: The High Street Narrative, Policy Timeline & Key Reports

High streets were once a place for traders, civic spaces and a higher proportion of housing; the 19th century saw a shift in focus towards consumption, dominated by micro-businesses and more informal offerings (Scott, 1997). By the early 20th century, mass production and retail had taken hold, detaching high streets from their local communities (Ibid.). 1976 saw Britain's first out of town shopping centre, a model that proliferated under growing car ownership and the convenience minded society of the 90s (Wrigley & Lambriiri, 2015). While responsive planning, including the retail-focused Town Centres First Policy, restored health to high streets, the growth of chain stores led to increasing homogenisation (Simms, Kjell & Potts, 2007).

The timeline (B1) gives a broad overview of key events in the policy environment responding to high street decline, while the following table lays out several key reports which plot the evolution of discourse (T1). The proliferation of such reports is often spurred on by economic downturn and its visible impact on high streets and town centres, with London's regional government showing increased focus in recent years.



T1. REPORTS (Chronological)	Publisher
<i>Reimagining the High Street</i> , New Economics Foundation (Cox, Ryan-Collins, Squires & Potts, 2010)	Third Sector, Think-Tank
<i>Portas Review</i> (Portas, 2011)	National Government
<i>Understanding High Street Performance</i> (GENECON, 2011)	National Government
<i>The Grimsey Review</i> (Grimsey, 2013)	Private Sector Actor
<i>British High Streets: from Crisis to Recovery?</i> (Wrigley & Lambiriri, 2015)	Government, Economic and Social Research Council
<i>London's local high streets: The problems, potential and complexities of mixed street corridors</i> (Carmona, 2015)	Academic
<i>London for All! A Handbook for Community and Small Business Groups Fighting to Retain Workspace for London's Diverse Economies.</i> (Just Space & NEF, 2015)	Third Sector, Grass Roots Activist Group & Think Tank
<i>Understanding high streets from the user perspective</i> (Warbis & Parsloe, 2017)	Regional Government
<i>High Streets For All</i> (We Made That & LSE CITIES, 2017)	Regional Government
<i>The Grimsey Review 2</i> (Grimsey, 2018)	Private Sector Actor
<i>Owning the Future: After Covid-19, a new era of community wealth building, Democracy Collaborative</i> (Guinan et al., 2020)	Think Tank
<i>Grimsey Report: Build Back Better</i> (Grimsey, 2020)	Private Sector Actor
<i>Meanwhile Use for London</i> (GLA & Arup), 2020)	Regional Government
<i>London Recovery Program</i> (GLA, 2020b)	Regional Government
<i>Dealing with empty shops – a good practice guide for councils</i> (LGA, 2020a)	Third Sector, Association Political Organisation
<i>The future of the high street, House of Commons briefing</i> (LGA, 2020b)	Third Sector, Association Political Organisation
<i>What next for the high street?</i> (Deloitte, 2021)	Private Sector
<i>Flexible Workspaces on the High Street</i> (Architecture 00, 2021)	Regional Government
<i>Anchor, Belong, Connect: The Future of Town Centres</i> , IPPR North (Longlands, Johns & Round, 2021)	Think Tank
<i>High hopes: Supporting London's high streets in the economic recovery from COVID19 - London Assembly Economy Committee</i> (Cooper, 2021)	Regional Gover
<i>Community Town Centres</i> , Centre for London (Wills & Harding, 2021)	Think Tank

Appendix C: High Streets For All Challenge Initiatives

The GLA, faced with the challenge of promoting local employment for near home working, protecting existing community and cultural spaces and facilitating new types of business and civic organisations, aims by 2025 to enhance public spaces in every borough, creating a more participatory, inclusive and community focused economy (GLA, 2021b). In total, £4 million pounds of funding will be provided to councils, businesses and third-sector organisations to respond to high street challenges such as using vacant buildings, protecting cultural spaces and supporting employment on the high street.

21/07/21 - 35 projects have been selected to receive £20,000 in seed funding. The autumn will see 10-12 of the projects supported by a further £100,000-£200,000 additional development funding, with two more cohorts planned for 2022 and 2023. The chosen projects and lead partners in brackets are shown below, demonstrating a wide mix of actors from local councils to traders associations, local authority town teams, CICs, BIDs, trusts and community organisations, focused predominantly on opening up underused space for inclusive community spaces and affordable workspaces for local businesses, encouraging greater participation in high street planning and promoting collective projects and collaborations through building connections between actors.

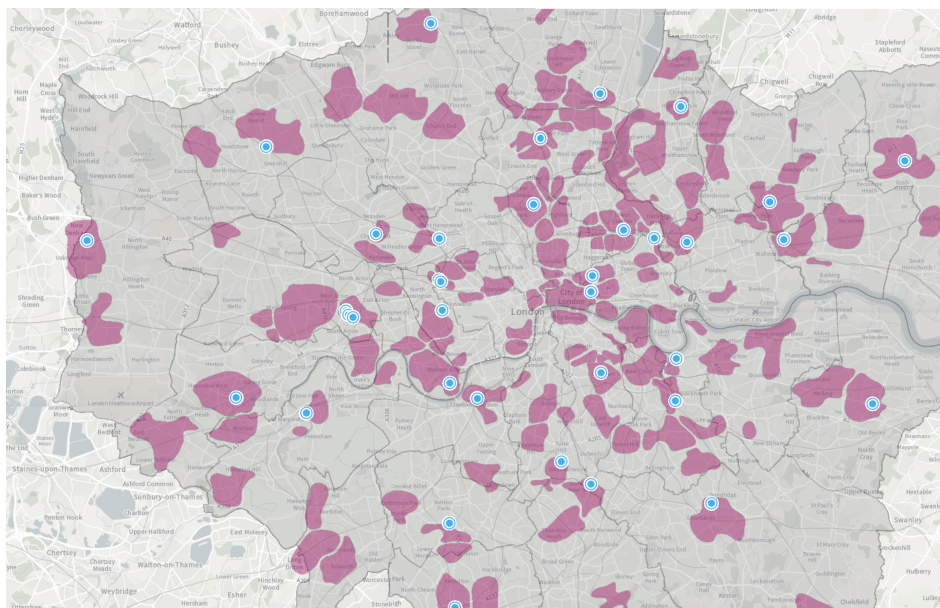
1. [Uxbridge High Street \(Hillingdon Chamber of Commerce\)](#) Supporting adaptation and building on heritage to attract new visitors.
2. [Wealdstone \(Wealdstone Traders Association\)](#) Hosting events and markets in the newly opened Wealdstone Square to make it more attractive to local populations, old and new communities.
3. [High Street Barnet \(Chipping Barnet Town Team\)](#) Utilising vacant high street units through the creation of incubator spaces aimed at empowering new local entrepreneurs.
4. [Fore Street, Upper Edmonton \(Residents of Edmonton Angel Community Together \(REACT\) LTD\)](#) Increasing the use of the Fore Street Living Room Library for capacity building, local enterprise support and a cultural programmes focused on the nighttime economy.
5. [Wood Green High Road \(Future Wood Green Business Improvement District\)](#) Testing out the potential for neighbourhood kitchens to support local food-based start ups, as well as promote high street revival.
6. [Hinghams Park District Centre \(Hinghams Park Community CIC\)](#) Redesigning the centre to better serve the needs of the young, diverse and growing population through the creation of a community space for basing craft activities and food markets for local makers.
7. [Ilford High Road \(Ilford Business Improvement District\)](#) Bringing together businesses, residential community, social and cultural partners together to improve the town centre through temporary interventions.
8. [Romford High Street \(Havering Changing\)](#) Supporting a multicultural community centre to experiment with ideas and building connections, reflecting the history of the market town.
9. [Barking Town Centre \(Barking Town Centre Stakeholder Group\)](#) Using a vacant council office building to create a mixed-use workspace for businesses, freelancers and events, promoting the evening economy and community use.
10. [Stratford High Street \(Creative Land Trust\)](#) Turning a disused listed building into a creative hub for the high street, protecting heritage, promoting economic activity and encouraging social capital.
11. [Hackney and Tower Hamlets \(Hackney Wick and Fish Island Community Development Trust\)](#) Supporting pilot projects that promote agency for underserved and vulnerable community in new development projects, while focusing on the creative economy and local precedents to promote circular economy principles.
12. [Redchurch Street \(onRedchurch CIC\)](#) Creating a Place of Engagement to utilise empty space, knowledge, skills and creativity for local benefit, bringing together diverse groups, uses and social entrepreneurship to occupancies.

13. Harrow Road (The Screen Film Community) Creation of a multi-generational cafe and cultural hub, incorporating collaborative workspaces in the Windsor Arms.
14. Harrow Road (Westminster City Council) Reuse of vacant and underused assets with a focus on creative activities, affordable, flexible and meanwhile use.
15. Middlesex Street (Aldgate Connect) Supporting existing public realm modernisation programmes and community engagement strategy to develop a more inclusive high street.
16. 143 Morning Lane (Pack London) Developing a new cultural hub that offers affordable business units for local food and creative traders, a community vegetable garden, children's play area and public seating.
17. Holloway Road (Manor Gardens Welfare Trust) Creating a new community space with a cafe, a shop and a focus on training programmes.
18. Kilburn High Road (Transport for London) Supporting the development of a high street strategy through funding bids from community groups and land owners.
19. Church Road (Somali Advice and Forum of Information (SAAFI)) Developing a high street strategy which promotes a circular ecosystem where people can create, develop and return items to community use, while also supporting initiatives that address local poverty and community social capital.
20. Acton High Street (Acton Arts Project (CIC), Resolve Collective & Acton High Street) 3 community groups are coming together to create a comprehensive strategy for the High Street.
21. Notting Hill Gate (RBKC Youth Council & Youth and Community Participation) Creating a permanent space on the high street to display work, create ideas and deliver wider community projects through the 'Urban Youth Room'.
22. Hounslow High Street (All That is Good: Hounslow) Bringing together two bids to develop a comprehensive strategy for the high street.
23. Richmond (Richmond Business Improvement District) Reviving an underused side of the street which contains heritage architecture into a town square, helping to bring communities together, support local businesses, encourage walking and cycling and increase creative and cultural uses.
24. Wandsworth Bridge Road (Wandsworth Bridge Road Association) Using the 15-minute city approach, the high street will create a focal space for bringing together local business and community groups.
25. Clapham Junction (The Clapham Junction Business Improvement District LTD) Bringing together many community groups and organisations, the project will aim to create better physical and social integration, while utilising new digital approaches to enhance town centre identity.
26. Morden Town Centre (London Borough of Merton) A series of *meanwhile* public realm initiatives (5+ yrs), including parklets, planting, patterned crossings, wider pavements and cycle lanes - building on learnings from TFL's Healthy Streets project.
27. Norwood Road and Norwood High Street (Station to Station Business Improvement District) Supporting high street change through the conversion of underused and vacant spaces for creative, meanwhile and workspace usage.
28. Sutton High Street (London Borough of Sutton) Forming a Climate Emergency Response partnership to pilot circular economy projects, demonstrating the role that the high street can play.
29. Upper Norwood, Crystal Palace (Upper Norwood Library Trust) Transforming a dilapidated and underused car park to provide flexible and affordable working space which will serve as an incubator for new ideas and creative uses which can help diversify the high street.

30. Bromley High Street (London Borough of Bromley) Supporting the existing cultural and leisure town centre offering through cultural programming that is free to access for residents and visitors.
31. Bexleyheath (Bexleyheath Business Partnership Ltd) Developing a strategy to promote the 24hour economy through the high street with the animation of outdoor spaces through events.
32. Rye Lane, Peckham (Mountainview Academy Theatre Arts) Focusing on inclusive and engaging activities to revive the post-pandemic town centre that will engage with stakeholders to create a diverse and representative network.
33. Lewisham High Street (London Borough of Lewisham) Building a partnership between the council, public services, landowners, businesses, education providers and cultural organisation to create a shared vision for the future high street.
34. Greenwich Town Centre (Royal Borough of Greenwich) Intensify the use of Greenwich Town Centre Market to develop the night time economy with food stalls run by the Good Food in Greenwich Network, showcasing the concentration of artists and makers.
35. Purley Town Centre (Purley Business Improvement District) The creation of a more attractive intergenerational destination to support the diverse and changing community, providing spaces to connect and celebrate; aid mental health through the environment and activities; physical health through walking and cycling and address environmental issues through increased greening, as well as increasing social and retail collaborations.

Source: London Assembly and Mayor of London (2021e)

C.1 High Streets For All Challenge Chosen Projects Map



Source: GLA (2021c)

Appendix D: High Street Initiatives, Funding and Regulatory Frameworks

The policy mapping table covers key initiatives and funding opportunities, as well as regulatory frameworks that could impact high street development. Forming a key component of environmental analysis, the intention of policy mapping is to understand the opportunities and constraints that will impact the ability to enact economic democracy on the high street. Given the diversity of high street actors, the complexity of the environment and range of typographies, the relevance of policy and planning tools will vary by context. Some initiatives will be allocated by government or third sector bodies, while others will require application and bidding processes. Regulatory tools will also vary in challenges not fully addressed here, with different requirements across resources, organisational capacity and local government support.

Nevertheless, this appendix provides a foundational overview; fundamental for forming recommendations geared at the policy and planning arena, and for further study and experimentation around policy change. The search process included recording policies suggested throughout the reports and utilised in previous practices (directed at high streets and wider issues) then investigating further.

T1. High Street Policy and Planning Environment : Initiatives, Tools and Regulatory Frameworks

INITIATIVES & FUNDING		REGULATORY FRAMEWORKS & TOOLS	
<p><u>Architectural Heritage Fund</u> Support, loans & grants (NATIONAL)</p> <p>(Architectural Heritage Fund, 2021)</p>	<p>AHF is a registered charity that helps communities to find new ways of using historical buildings, particularly in economically disadvantaged areas. AIMS: to <u>conserve cultural assets</u> and encourage <u>sustainable reuse</u> for <u>community benefit</u>.</p>	<p><u>Business Improvement District</u> > Collective vision & collaboration promoted by non-hierarchical management. > Democratic economic planning, outside of elections > Supports local economic development and a focus on place.</p> <p>(Turner, 2020)</p>	<p>An association, BIDs provide additional or improved services, as identified by local businesses and funded by a mandatory levy on all eligible businesses. Established through a ballot of all properties under a defined geographic footprint held every five years. They commonly work with broader community organisations and local authorities on local economic development. There are now 69 in London, growing in popularity they are often focused on town centres but can also be sector specific. HS (high street application): promote collective HS governance, form networks that encourage local sourcing, reinvest in community projects and encourage more participatory planning.</p>
<p><u>Boosting Community Business programme</u> Grants of up to £10K and mentoring. (LONDON)</p> <p>(Co-operatives UK, 2021b)</p>	<p>A programme run by the Mayor of London in partnership with Co-operatives UK and Power to Change. Grants to support community share offerings, as well as mentoring and development grants for existing and new community businesses. AIM: to encourage more collective forms of ownership, stewardship and management, encouraging projects which will reinvest back into the community, tackle local issues and more widely distribute social surplus.</p>	<p>Compulsory Purchase Order > Promote public ownership of community assets. > Socially productive land use > Disperse power from developers and landlords. (Torrige District Council, 2021)</p>	<p>A legal function that allows local authorities to acquire land for a specific purpose if the landowner is not willing to sell. The council will only utilise if the development is aimed at improving the economic, social or environmental wellbeing of the area under the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004. HS: can help bring underused high street buildings back into use for the public good while promoting more socially just forms of urban development.</p>
<p>Building Back Better High Streets Funding for public realm improvements and supporting planning regulations. (NATIONAL)</p> <p>(MHCLG, 2021c)</p>	<p>The recent report suggests national policy which can support the reuse of vacant spaces, the support of high street businesses, public realm improvements, safer and cleaner spaces and the celebration of local communities. AIMS: revitalise high streets and make them a more welcoming and social <u>community</u> centre.</p>	<p><u>Community Asset Transfer</u> > Returns power to communities > Collective governance > Promotes inclusive community spaces (Locality, 2021)</p>	<p>The transfer of a publicly owned asset (land or buildings) to a community organisation at less than market value or no cost. It is usually a long and complex process demanding large local authority resources, but allows valuable assets to be used to meet local needs. HS: facilitates collective HS ownership. Examples include Stanley Arts Centre (CS10) or Rock House in Hastings (CS20).</p>

<p><u>Community Spaces at Risk Fund</u> Culture at Risk Office has supported 660 cases since the pandemic started. (LONDON) (London Assembly & Mayor of London, 2020)</p>	<p>A partnership between Locality and the Mayor's Culture at Risk Office which includes funding to protect cultural centres, social clubs, youth, education and other community spaces. AIMS: to protect <u>locally-rooted</u> spaces which provide critical <u>support</u> for vulnerable groups during the pandemic through <u>mutual aid</u> and often essential service provision.</p>	<p><u>Community Benefit Society (CBS)</u> > Democratic management > Funding for community projects (Financial Conduct Authority, 2015)</p>	<p>Overseen by the Cooperatives and Community Benefit Societies Act of 2014, CBDs are registered to the Financial Conduct Authority as an entity that involves industry, trade or businesses who benefit the community. It is run democratically on a one member, one vote system and can be tied to a statutory asset lock which ensures spending is carried out for community benefit. HS: West Green Road/ Seven Sisters Development Trust plan to create a CBS by issuing shares which raise finance for the renovations of Wards Corner.</p>
<p><u>Co-op Local Community Fund</u> 3 projects per community chosen by members. (NATIONAL) (Co-op, 2021)</p>	<p>Reinvesting profits into locally rooted projects chosen through a democratic voting system. AIMS: to encourage not-for-profit activities which reinvest <u>social surplus into the community</u> through capacity building, strengthening connections and support.</p>	<p>Community Development Trusts > Prioritises people over poverty > Participatory planning creates a common vision > Facilitates the collective asset ownership and stewardship (Partnerships, 2021)</p>	<p>While taking various forms, Development Trusts are commonly concerned with regeneration which is more sustainable, community based and accountable, over profit driven. HS: The West Green Road/ Seven Sisters Development Trust facilitated the community plan for Seven Sisters market. In Dumfries, the Development Trust funded and bought several high street properties to create community spaces (CS24).</p>
<p><u>Creative Enterprise Zone</u> 6 designated areas in 2018 (LONDON) (London Assembly & Mayor of London, 2021a)</p>	<p>Local authorities have been chosen for demonstrating plans for affordable workspaces, skills and support, pro-culture policy (incl. supportive business rates) and strong creative networks. AIMS: to support the growing creative economy, increase activity and create socially-inclusive places through consortiums of actors, while protecting arts and cultural industries.</p>	<p><u>Community Land Trusts (CLT)</u> > Locally-rooted common vision > Democratic stewardship > Distributed social surplus (Community Land Trust Network, 2021)</p>	<p>Set up by community groups to develop and manage areas, they facilitate the long-term stewardship of assets to encourage access, inclusivity and socially productive use. HS: Rock House (CS10) is operated by a CLT that helps protect local interests from gentrification while maintaining a community centre and workspaces.</p>
<p><u>Future High Streets Fund</u> £830m worth of funding for 72 areas in England (NATIONAL) (MHCLG, 2019b)</p>	<p>Funding for recovery and regeneration plans, such as the renovation of Scala Theatre and Corn Exchange in Worcester. AIMS: <u>conserve cultural assets</u> and protect high streets from decline, increasing <u>community benefit</u> through public realm improvements.</p>	<p><u>Cooperatives</u> > Democratic member control > Distributed social surplus > A focus on labour rights (Co-Operatives UK, 2021a)</p>	<p>A people-centred enterprise, owned, controlled and run by and for its members, which works to promote common economic, social and environmental goals. HS: with 7237 in the UK (and £39.7bn turnover) this form includes numerous HS businesses like Edinburgh Bicycle Co-op.</p>
<p><u>Good Growth By Design</u> 50 design advocates working in local government (LONDON) (London Assembly & Mayor of London, 2021b)</p>	<p>Standard setting, capacity building, planning to support diversity, commissioning and advocating for best practice. Includes, Public Practice which places urban planning talent in local authorities. AIMS: to help create <u>inclusive, accessible</u> and environmentally <u>sustainable</u> places.</p>	<p>Community Improvement Districts (CID) > Locally rooted, common vision > Democratic planning > A focus on economic and community development</p>	<p>Proposed as a replacement for BIDs by HCLGC (2019), CIDs would incorporate a similar structure to BIDs: created through ballot, operating within a defined geographic area, funded by a levy on council taxpayers and focused on issues agreed at the time of establishment. However, they would incorporate wider groups, focusing on community as well as economic targets. HS: Possilpark in Glasgow is the first UK CID to be established. Driven by a small group of traders, a large social landlord and voluntary sector groups, the CID tackles social and economic challenges, coming to incorporate high street development (Wills and Harding, 2021).</p>

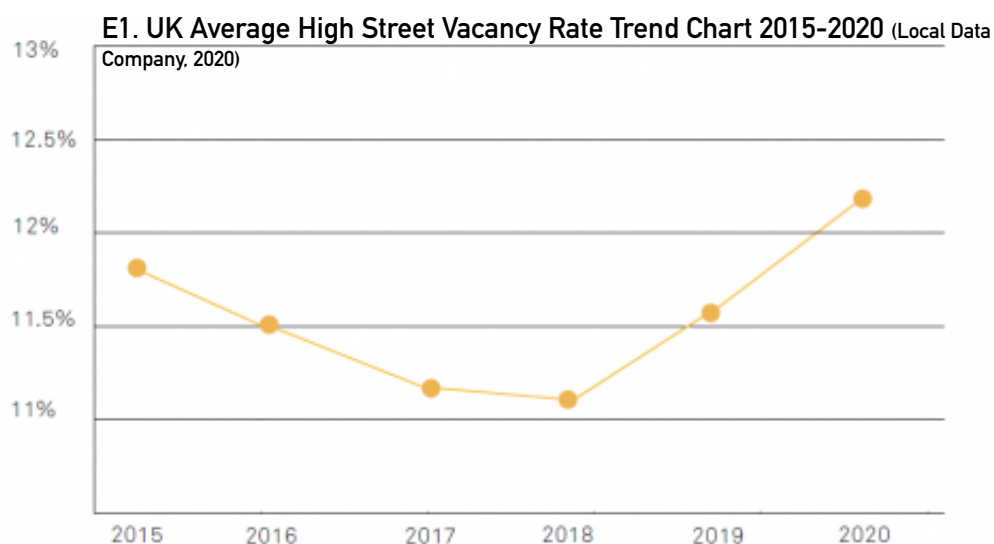
<p><u>Good Growth Fund</u> Supported 138 projects through £75 million. (LONDON)</p> <p>(London Assembly & Mayor of London, 2021c)</p>	<p>A regeneration programme to encourage community development, providing funding to local authorities for projects from training hubs to public realm improvements and large infrastructure projects.</p> <p>AIMS: to promote <u>participatory</u> planning, <u>place-based</u> economic development, <u>diverse and accessible</u> local economies.</p>	<p><u>Community Interest Companies (CIC)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Locally rooted, common vision > Reinvestment of social surplus within community > Increased transparency <p>(Korchak, 2018)</p>	<p>A limited company legal form commonly used for social enterprises, CICS make a commitment through a community interest statement to use assets for its social objectives.</p> <p>HS: Meanwhile Space CIC focuses on using vacant spaces often on the HS, whereas the likes of Latin Village and Chatsworth Road Traders & Residents Association) (CS12) also formed CICs under which to carry out community projects.</p>
<p><u>High Streets For All Challenge</u> Project seed funding x 35, Development funding for 10-12 projects & practice sharing. (LONDON) (See below) (GLA, 2021a)</p>	<p>A competition calling for high street partnerships to develop strategies backed by assets for boosting economic activity, cultural and civic renewal and wider public value. Bid proposals are encouraged to form local coalitions with authorities, other organisations or asset owners.</p> <p>AIMS: to encourage projects which produce more <u>accessible</u> high streets, innovative enterprise, <u>connected communities</u> and responses to climate change.</p>	<p><u>Creative Land Trust</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Promote economic rights through affordable space & economic opportunity <p>(Creative Land Trust, 2021)</p>	<p>Created to establish the security of long term affordable space for artists and creatives, protecting the cities culture. The trust's goal is to build a portfolio of 1000 affordable studios across London.</p> <p>HS: the trust helps to protect and provide flexible and open workspaces on the high street, promoting close to home working.</p>
<p><u>High Street Heritage Action Zones</u> 60 High streets to receive £95m in funding (NATIONAL) (Historic England, 2021)</p>	<p>Funding to support community ownership and use of disused historic buildings to create new homes, shops, work places and community spaces, enhancing the public realm.</p> <p>AIMS: fuel economic, social and cultural recovery through a more <u>socially productive</u> use of space beyond retail.</p>	<p><u>Localism Act 2011</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Maximise social value > Locally focused development. > More democratic planning <p>(Department for Communities and Local Government, 2021)</p>	<p>Aims to return power to municipalities, creating a more democratic planning system and decentralising power. Community Rights increase local input in spatial planning and property markets and social social value is promoted in public procurement of local services. The potential of the act has been limited by a lack of accompanying resources, such as revenue funds (Wills, 2019).</p> <p>HS: greater local authority planning powers encourage high streets that address local needs, allowing influence over ownership and actors.</p>
<p><u>Levelling Up Fund</u> 57 high streets in England have received £4.8 bn investment (NATIONAL) (HM Treasury, 2021)</p>	<p>Funding to support town centre and high street regeneration through everyday infrastructure improvements including local transport, cultural and heritage assets.</p> <p>AIMS: refocusing activity within <u>local communities</u> through the <u>shared economy</u> and culture, in order to <u>reduce spatial inequality</u>.</p>	<p><u>Meanwhile Use Leases</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > More inclusive community use > Socially productive use of land > Promoting local economic development <p>(MHCLG, 2013)</p>	<p>Leases designed to encourage the temporary occupation of empty town centre retail premises for non-commercial occupiers by reducing demands and timespans on planning permissions. Vacant premises owners can also reduce business rates by up to 100 per cent by leasing for community benefit (GLA & Arup 2020).</p> <p>HS: commonly used by charities and community organisations to provide services, education or try out new ideas, the National Open Doors (CS26) scheme experimented with use across five UK high street sites.</p>

<p><u>London Recovery Programme</u> Long term strategy from London's Recovery Board. (LONDON)</p> <p>(GLA, 2020b)</p>	<p>An overarching planning document developed under the Mayor of London. AIMS: to promote a green new deal, robust safety net, <u>high streets for all</u>, a new deal for young people, good work for all, mental health & <u>wellbeing</u>, digital access, healthy food and stronger <u>communities</u>.</p>	<p><u>Permitted Development Rights (PDR)</u> > Allow for the creation of more public spaces and access to housing.</p> <p>(Clifford, 2021, MHCLG, 2021a)</p>	<p>This refers to the physical alterations that can be made to a building without having to apply for planning permission from local authorities. They set out when and the type of authority demanded. Permission free office conversions provide an opportunity to increase housing, and, as of September 2020, more easily convert commercial to public spaces, community centres and art galleries. But PDR could remove local authority power, undermining quality standards and community gain commitments. HS: allow for more social infrastructure over commercial HS use and temporary experiments during the pandemic.</p>
<p><u>The National Lottery Community Fund</u> Ongoing fund for projects lasting 1-5 years. (NATIONAL)</p> <p>((National Lottery Community Fund, 2021)</p>	<p>Funding for community projects which could include building and land improvements, activities or equipment. AIMS: to encourage not-for-profit activities which reinvest <u>social surplus into the community</u> through capacity building, practices for strengthening connections and support.</p>	<p>Public Commons Partnerships Associations > Collective ownership > Reinvestment of social surplus > More democratic municipal ownership</p> <p>(Russel and Milburn, 2019)</p>	<p>An organisational structure allowing for collective control of directors by workers, technical experts, local state representation and a commons association. They are characterised by democratic control of social surplus created through a joint enterprise between government and civil society. HS: ensuring that surplus is reinvested in municipal goals, PCPs can provide essential social services set on the high street, urban development or support public utilities enterprises.</p>
<p><u>Pay It Forward London & Back to Business Fund</u> Platform £1m of small business funds. (LONDON)</p> <p>(Mayor of London, 2021)</p>	<p>Provided by the Mayor of London: a fundraising platform with zero fees. Designed to support the survival of London's businesses, the crowdsourcing platform allowed customers to pay in advance for services and products. The 'Back to Business' fund offers up to £5000 match funding for small and independent businesses. AIMS: to protect <u>small independent businesses</u>, promoting economic recovery and local place-based economies.</p>	<p><u>Community Right to Contest</u> > Socially productive use of land. > Greater economic power to community members</p> <p>(MHCLG, 2021b)</p>	<p>The Community Right to Contest allows members of the public to request action over the disposal of unused or underused land, including vacant homes and garages, owned by public bodies. A little-known and little-used right, there has been only one direction to dispose issued since 2014. HS: this could be used to bring assets back into use, revitalising high streets and serving greater benefits to the community through the built environment.</p>
<p><u>Restart Grant Scheme</u> £5bn fund which offers one-off cash grants of upto £18,000. (NATIONAL)</p> <p>(Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, 2021)</p>	<p>Allocated based on application, the fund offers one-off grants to hospitality, accommodation, leisure, personal care and gym businesses affected especially by the pandemic and England. AIMS: to maintain <u>diversity</u> on the high street by protecting those most at risk and providing funding for more <u>small and independent</u> businesses.</p>	<p>Social Currencies > Locally rooted, promoting local economic development > Reinvested social surplus > Give power back to communities (Morozov & Bria, 2018)</p>	<p>Despite challenges, social currencies, as experimented with in Brixton 2009 (CS:14) and, in digital form in Barcelona, aim to democratise the economy through keeping wealth local, helping to put economic power in the hands of independent sellers over rootless multinationals. HS: could encourage shopping on local high streets, supporting independent businesses and reducing leakages.</p>
<p><u>Small Business Grant Fund</u> One-off £10k grants allocated by local authorities (NATIONAL)</p> <p>(Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, 2020)</p>	<p>Thousands have been allocated by local authorities to businesses impacted by the pandemic to support costs such as rent for those already receiving small business rate relief. AIMS: to maintain <u>diversity and protect small businesses</u> from unexpected shocks.</p>	<p>Social Value Leases > Promote economic rights and the common good > Give power back to communities > Promote more inclusive spaces (Mayor of London, 2020)</p>	<p>Piloted through Good Growth funding, these leases build in discounts for the achievement of quantifiable social value targets, for example the number of jobs for the long-term unemployed or training those from minority backgrounds. HS: use has been tested in Central Parade, Walthamstow (CS5), and Bruce Grove, Haringey, increasing the potential for HS property management by community groups and charities with non-commercial aims.</p>

<p><u>TFL Healthy Streets Plans</u> Cross London officers, a toolkit and funding. (LONDON)</p> <p>(TFL, 2021)</p>	<p>Long term plans for an inclusive city where people walk, cycle and use public transport, encouraging more cultural spaces and pedestrianisation. AIMS: to promote environmental <u>sustainability and local high street use</u>, creating safer and more <u>accessible</u> streets.</p>	<p><u>S106 Agreements & Community Infrastructure Levy</u> > Promote economic rights > Give power back to communities > Promote more inclusive spaces (Planning Advisory Service, 2021)</p>	<p>Under the Town and Country Planning Act 1990, S106 agreements provide planning obligations for developers to secure affordable housing, carry out specific land uses or pay a levy for investment in social infrastructure. HS: can encourage private sector investment in community-valued resources and services.</p>
<p><u>24-hour Economy Plans & Night Time Enterprise Zones</u> (NTEZ) NighNight Czar, Night Tube and funding (LONDON)</p> <p>(London Assembly & Mayor of London, 2021d)</p>	<p>Policies which work with local authorities to Increase opening hours, promote culture and ensure safety, support for high street experiments Boroughs can bid to become a NTEZ, becoming places for testing later opening hours, increased access to shops and events. AIMS: to build on growth in the nighttime economy, bringing more activity, safety, culture and <u>public uses to high streets</u> and better protect workers <u>rights</u>.</p>	<p><u>Town Centre Managers & Town Teams</u> > Promotes participatory planning > Facilitates collaboration and collective vision</p> <p>(Wrigley and Labriri, 2015)</p>	<p>Employed by local authorities, town centre management bodies serve a connecting function between local businesses, landlords and authorities, helping to manage, curate and plan for local economic development. Town teams are voluntary groups of residents, business and local authorities who work together and with managers (CS18). HS: locally rooted, managers are able to prioritise needs of the community, aiding curation through supporting rent negotiations and planning policy.</p>
		<p><u>Trader & Resident Associations</u> > Collective vision, local economic development > Democratic planning > Reinvestment in community projects (GLA, 2014)</p>	<p>An organisational form founded and funded by businesses and sometimes residents, they may play a role in PR, education or activism, but often focus on encouraging collaboration between actors. HS: in the case of Chatsworth Road (CS12) the association helped revive a market, reinvested in charities, promoted local employment and enterprise, business networks and public realm projects to improve the HS.</p>

Appendix E: High Street Vacancy by Ownership

Despite research projects, spurred on by the need to address rising high street vacancy (D1), transparency over ownership is still challenging to obtain. Without an overview study of London, D2 provides a representation of UK high streets, focusing on large high streets that attract greater non-local visitor numbers than the majority of those addressed in this study. Regardless, incorporating cities outside of London suggests that proportions of community organisation and public ownership are much lower on London's high streets than elsewhere (D2;D3). D3 shows a study of 15 London high streets, where public ownership has the lowest vacancy rate and community organisation ownership vacancy is much higher than shown in D3, possibly signalling greater planning and policy barriers. In D2 investment schemes (13%) and in D3 property companies (13.7%) — both large institutional landlords unlikely to be based locally — show the highest vacancy rates.



E2. Vacancies of Top UK High Streets by Type of Owner

Study for Power to Change & EG (Data Source: Brett and Alakeson, 2019)

D2 Type Of Owner	Vacancy Rate	Overall Ownership Rate	% Ownership of Vacant Units
Investment Management Schemes	13.0%	5.8%	9.6%
Institutions (Insurance, banking and pension funds)	11.9%	8.9%	13.5%
Overseas Investor(s)	9.6%	17.3%	21.2%
UK REITS & Propcos (Real Estate and Property companies)	9.2%	21.4%	25%
Other	9.1%	3.9%	4.5%
Traditional Estates, Church & Charity	6.8%	13.3%	11.5%
Retail and Leisure Occupiers	5.7%	5.3%	3.8%
Public Sector	4.5%	16.6%	9.6%
Private Individuals	1.3%	7.5%	1.3%

* Based on a sample of 3,200 premises across 22 of the UK's busiest high streets, London streets included were Oxford and Regents street. This may limit representativeness given the degree of tourist footfall and office space, plus the smaller proportion of independent retail and businesses compared to the average local London high street.

** Traditional Estates, Church and Charity ownership is considered the closest to community ownership (Brett and Alakeson, 2019).

*** Categorisation is based on the British Property Federation's standards, in which 'other' refers to UK based businesses who do not fall into any of the other categories; miscellaneous ownership.

E3. Ownership and Vacancy Rates Across 15 London High Streets & Town Centres

Estates Gazette Research for Centre for London (Data Source: Wills and Harding, 2021)

Type Of Owner	Vacancy Rate	Overall Ownership Rate	% of All Vacant Units in Study by Ownership
Investment Management Schemes	9.3%	5.8%	6.8%
Institutions (Insurance, banking and pension funds)	9.2%	4.9%	6.1%
Overseas Investor(s)	1.9%	2.6%	0.7%
UK REITS & Propcos (Real Estate and Property companies)	13.7%	17.1%	31.8%
Other	13.4%	12.1%	22%
Traditional Estates, Churches & Charity Organisations	9.6%	2.9%	3.7%
Retail and Leisure Occupiers	8.5%	19%	22%
Public Sector	2.5%	5%	1.7%
Private Individuals	6.9%	5.8%	5.4%

* Total 'Overall Ownership Rate' ≠ 100% as the researchers were unable to identify the ownership of around 25% of properties.

Appendix F: Case Studies: Place-Based Practices

T1 shows a broad array of case studies from workspaces to retail centres, participatory planning and governance mechanisms predominantly situated in urban centres, aiming to address critical economic issues through place-based practices. While this helped to draw out the available tools for producing fairer local economies, using the high street, T2 (a more detailed version of that found in Chapter 4) helps to identify key spaces and themes emerging out of London's high street practices. Both incorporate a range of actors from local government, to charities, community collectives and businesses, with many hosting a mix.

T1. Urban Economic Issues, Interventions and Outcomes

No.	NAME	LOCATION	KEY ISSUES	INTERVENTION DESCRIPTION	OUTCOMES
CS 1	Spark Project, Ilford (GLA, 2021b)	LONDON	Vacant space, low wages & high-cost accommodation. Lack of social & cultural infrastructure.	Use of council owned assets for meanwhile projects, including affordable workspaces, a market, a community growing space and public space. A 5 year lease of Malachi place was leased to the Salvation Army for a hostel and workshop.	New civic and community spaces, encouraging growing, cooking and eating together; welfare and housing for 42 people and, for new businesses, opportunities for incubation through the market space or affordable studios.
CS 2	Seven Sisters Market & Ward's Corner Community Plan, Tottenham (WCCP, 2021)	LONDON	Vacant floorspace. Risk of demolition & relocation of a cultural hub. Managed decline of the site under corporate management.	Planning permission for the Community plan, which will maintain the UK's second largest Latin Quarter, explores an alternative model for community-led development. It aims to protect the market's heritage and self-manage restoration, ensuring affordable rent, new community spaces and the reinvestment of profits into the local area.	Instigator Save Latin Village have protected the site from redevelopment, ensuring the livelihoods of stall owners and maintaining the sites social and cultural value. 15 years of consultation and activism has seen the site recognised as an Asset of Community Value and the eventual withdrawal by developers.
CS 3	International House, Brixton, Lambeth (3 Space, 2021)	LONDON	Low wages & opportunities for local creative enterprises. Unaffordable office space & rising real estate values.	The initiative came from consultation with 200 local organisations. Using an 11 storey council owned building, a 5 year tender has become an affordable mixed-use workspace with public space and seminar rooms for businesses, community groups and third sector organisation. An initiative offers free space to community organisation for every office purchased.	A London Living Wage agreement with actors and operator has raised wages in the area. The mix of established and small enterprises, community groups and charities, plus the 300 community events attended by 5000 people has created an open, collaborative and innovative atmosphere. 22 businesses were started in the Youth Business Launchpad.
CS 4	Camden Collective, Camden (GLA & Arup, 2020)	LONDON	Vacant high street space. Unemployment & a skills mismatch. Lack of local businesses.	Camden Collective consists of affordable temporary workspaces with subsidised offices, events and classroom space. They have taken on over 18 high street properties under meanwhile leases, providing business support, start-up incubators, training, free events and public realm projects, such as Camden Creates festival.	Chance for collaboration and experimentation between freelancers, start-ups office users and business-led accelerators. Social capital created through events, training and the long term vision. There has also been 200 jobs created and increased local procurement.
CS 5	Central Parade, Walthamstow (Meanwhile Space CIC, 2019)	LONDON	Lack of cultural, community & workspaces for creative workers.	A council owned building was renovated with local authority and GLA funding, and is operated by Meanwhile Space CIC. Now a mixed use creative hub that includes a variety of retail, co-working, studio, exhibition spaces and a bakery-cafe where events and workshops take place.	The space has helped to animate the high street and increase evening footfall. Increased opportunities for local creatives with low cost space and low risk leases in a prime high street location.
CS 6	Croydon Arts Store, Croydon (Scafe-Smith, 2019)	LONDON	High high street vacancy. High youth unemployment	Includes the temporary take over of a shopping centre store in collaboration with the council, First Floor Space (artist collective) and Turf Projects (charity). The site included a research space for Kingston school of art, free exhibitions, desk space and workshop spaces for young people.	Participatory practices have been used to encourage youth engagement and to understand the role of arts in the future development of Croydon. The project has facilitated lasting networks, collective works and learning opportunities for young people.
CS 7	Peckham Levels, Southwark (GLA & Arup, 2020)	LONDON	Lack of community spaces & workspaces for local businesses & creative industries.	Demands were identified by a local steering group with consultations ran throughout the borough. A, now, 8 year meanwhile creative and cultural hub has been created in a council owned car park conversion, containing space for studios, offices, events, the public, retail and food stalls.	The project supports 100 local and independent businesses, has increased footfall as a legacy destination, incubated start-ups, and has encouraged new projects to form through collaboration, events and practical workspaces.
CS 8	Everyone Everyday Neighbourhood Shops, Barking & Dagenham (Participatory City, 2019)	LONDON	A lack of community cohesion due to large demographic shifts. High levels of deprivation.	As part of the councils larger development plans to build a collaborative economy, 5 high street shops and a central warehouse are run by neighbourhood designers who support community projects. The project aims to make community participation more inclusive by making it low or no cost, providing varied activities, resources, support and easy access through a focus on collaborative works.	Through knowledge sharing, spaces and resources for families to work and play, and the support of growing community businesses, the wellbeing and sense of community is developed. Helping to build a practice of distributed decision making, the Open Corners project has also encouraged the collective management of open spaces.
CS 9	Dalston Kingsland Digital Strategy, Hackney (Mayor of London, 2020)	LONDON	Gentrification threatening affordability & diversity. Lack of public engagement & support for traders.	London borough of Hackney is improving infrastructure through free internet access for all tenants and residents. Good Growth funding will also go towards new stalls for Ridley Road Market traders, a better layout and contactless payment machines for traders. Training aims to 'digitally future proof' their operations.	Contactless payment, training and internet will likely increase income opportunities for small traders, while protesting trade from the threat of large retailers. Use of data could help small local businesses access more customers, coordinate stock and create promotions. (Anticipated benefits).

CS 10	Stanley Arts, South Norwood (Mayor of London, 2020)	LONDON	Loss of community spaces. Lack of inclusive arts spaces.	The historical theatre was part of a Community Asset Transfer from Croydon Council. The charity, Stanley People's Initiative, is a group created in 2013 of residents committed to repairing the building and keeping it open as an entertainment, arts and enterprise venue for the community.	Maintenance of an inclusive performance and arts space for often excluded or under represented voices, including artists of colour and LGBTQ+ creatives.
CS 11	Dalston Plan & Hackney Developments Co-operative, Hackney (CommonPlace, 2021)	LONDON	Gentrification risking affordability & diversity. Lack of public engagement & support for traders.	A Supplementary Planning Document was created through the Common Place online platform to inform high street development. Council owned Hackney Co-operative Developments is also acquiring ground floor premises to help curate the high street, focusing on local needs and key services, and guided by the plan.	Highlighted local issues of priority include: the protection of Ridley Road Market, protection of independent stores over chains, affordable workspaces for local people, affordable housing and support for the arts, culture and nighttime economy.
CS 12	Chatsworth Road Traders and Residents Association, Hackney (Chatsworth Road Traders & Residents Association, 2012)	LONDON	Fragmented ownership (60 landlords for 80 units). Loss of local market. High vacancy.	A businesses-led group formed of volunteers, campaigning since 2009 to revive the high street, created a CIC working on local economic development. They reopened and managed the market from 2011. The council took over the market in 2018, but the CIC still works on events.	They revived the Sunday market, negotiated rent reviews, reduced vacancy and extended opening hours; supported local initiatives and encouraged student engagement on planning, helping to strengthen networks, create new jobs and benefit local businesses.
CS 13	Spacemakers, Brixton Village, Lambeth (Spacemakers, 2021)	LONDON	High vacancy. Proposed demolition & residential development.	SpaceMakers were employed by property owners and Lambeth council to help rebuild the area's social life under perceived decline. They filled vacant units through 3m free leases for community projects from rehearsals to galleries and shops.	After a year of the project, the market was revitalised and fully let for the first time since 1979. Meanwhile, small businesses were able to flourish through initial low risk opportunities to acquire customers.
CS 14	Brixton Pound Currency Scheme, Lambeth (Whitehead, 2010)	LONDON	Economic decline & struggling independent businesses.	Following the 2008 financial crisis, Transition Town Brixton created a social currency with the aim of encouraging local spending - a physical currency that could only be spent with local businesses.	The project came to an end after a year with critics blaming the limited success on the transaction costs of paper money and the complexity of urban supply chains.
CS 15	Museum of Futures, Surbiton (GLA, 2021a)	LONDON	Lack of community engagement and investment.	A vacant shop transformed into a sustainable community space aiming to be more inclusive in access and delivery, it provides a fixed space for social interaction. With a community kitchen, Kingston University also host research activities within the space and access was maintained for disadvantaged groups during the pandemic.	A kitchen was added in response to community demands and the space has been used by a wide range of groups and individuals, creating new community connections and a space to try out business ideas. The success has led to two more similar local spaces hosting start-ups.
CS 16	What Walworth Wants, Walworth (We Made That, 2017)	LONDON	Vacant shops and market stalls. Poor quality public space. Lack of social integration.	A public tool to be used by authorities, communities and other stakeholders for designing a more inclusive place through way finding, community empowerment and support for local enterprises. Part of the planning proposals included an extension of the local library to include flexible and affordable meeting spaces for communities.	Changes have helped activate the space and encouraging greater cooperation between stall and shop owners, while making the community space more accessible from the high street.
CS 17	Coming Soon Club Cottrell House, Wembley (Meanwhile Space, 2017)	LONDON	A large disused office space.	The creation of a mixed use space through Brent Council and The Decorators. It hosted an enterprise hub, hot-desking space and training programmes, as well as a cafe and studios.	While providing opportunity for experimentation through the hub of activity, the space has now been demolished and replaced by a 10 storey residential building with only 2 commercial units.
CS 18	SEE3 Town Teams, Forrest Hill, Lewisham (GLA, 2014)	LONDON	Fragmented high street ownership & management. High vacancy.	Funded by Portas Pilot, a voluntary partnership of residents, businesses and local authority members developed several projects including 'Shop Revolution', which gave new businesses the chance to trade on the high street, renovating empty units and offering temporary leases.	One of the first shop pop-ups in Forest Hill, the Butchery, collaborated with local greengrocers to provide fresh food and has since taken on a permanent lease. The group has also helped to create new networks and foster more activity around the high street.
		UK			
CS 19	Fountain Mall Enterprise Arcade (Coman, 2021)	Stockton, UK	Vacant high Street spaces. High unemployment.	A vacated department store bought by the local council has been turned into a premises in which independent businesses pay peppercorn rent to test out ideas, helping them get off the ground.	Bringing activity back to the high street, many stores with unique offerings have developed, rooted in the local community. Around 15 former tenants have moved onto prime town centre locations, aided by £5,000 council grants for vacant property refurbishments.
CS 20	Rock House (Rock House, 2021)	Hastings, UK	Risks of gentrification.	Part owned by a community land trust, Rock House is managed on a cooperative model. A mixed-use project in an underused building contains living, working and community space for local people and newcomers to Hastings. Funders included Meanwhile Space CIC and Power to Change.	The project has provided affordable space and helped to foster creative enterprise, generate jobs and self-employment opportunities, as well as forming social infrastructure through a community hub with regular events.
CS 21	Cafe Indie (Cafe Indie, 2021)	Scunthorpe UK	Limited community spaces & activities for young people.	A social project made up of a cooperatively owned cafe and music venue.	Community ownership has helped build local networks, while prioritising work experience and training for young people.
CS 22	CoLab Dudley (Mayor of London, 2020)	Dudley, UK	High levels of deprivation.	A social lab with an online platform and physical high street space which contains a core team of local people who help in the delivery of, often experimental, community projects.	This has helped develop skills and empower people in the area through the Repair Café and a trade school, while building more cooperative craft networks in the local area.

CS 23	The Old Library Into Bodmin (Lee and Swann, 2020)	Cornwall, UK	High street decline impacted by reduced traffic, high costs & out of town retail.	A significant local building is being used by a community business as a cultural facility with a cafe, performance space, offices and events. Into Bodin, a CIC, redeveloped the site, leasing the site from the council on a 10 year scaling contract,	The Old Library now serves as a cultural attraction, bringing more people onto the high street and benefiting local businesses. The low priced cafe attracts less affluent residents, creating an inclusive social space.
CS 24	Midsteeple Quarter, Dumfries (Lee and Swann, 2020)	Dumfries, UK	High vacancy due to high costs. Lack of residential buildings.	The first community-owned UK high street development, Stove Network formed to take over a cultural centre. In 2011 the main building was transferred freely to the council from the chamber of commerce and leased to The Stove, becoming an artist-led Community Development Trust. Currently, a group of high street buildings are being turned into a work/live quarter.	Midsteeple Quarter Community Benefit Society, created in 2017 to revitalise underused property, aided the renovation and community asset transfer of the, previously empty, The Oven, providing flexible community use and pop-up shops. The Stove Network, through local consultations, identified the need for more housing, currently under construction.
CS 25	Malton Capital of Food, North Yorkshire (HCLGC, 2019)	Malton, Yorkshire, UK	High vacancy. Limited employment opportunities.	Unusually, the high street is owned 60% by one landlord. However, local ownership has helped coordinate the strategic collective high street reinvention. Sports events, festivals and food stalls encouraged the development of local producers focused on small and sustainable production.	There has been 15 new businesses open in the small town, as well as 3 independently owned pubs that have re-opened, attracting significant visitor footfall and a growing population.
CS 26	Open Doors Project, Piloted in 5 Towns (GLA, 2021a)	UK	High vacancy of retail spaces.	Funded by the Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, the scheme matched landlords struggling to fill spaces with community groups. The spaces were renovated and managed by Meanwhile Foundation and Meanwhile Space CIC.	Allowed organisations to test community focused ideas, utilising underused spaces for public good and bringing people together. In Fenton, groups created cultural events for young people, independent living training for disabled people and a community hub.
		INTERNATIONAL			
CS 27	SSE Resourceries (Barcelona en Comú, 2019)	Paris, FRANCE	Complex supply chains, food waste, damage from construction & a housing shortage.	A municipal authority initiative involving a network of 240 social agents tasked with creating a circular economy, repurposing waste, incorporating marginalised people into work, occupying public spaces and buildings, and creating points where community services can be exchanged.	The project has led to public funding of seven cooperatives, helped to get young people into work and led to the creation of an artists' association with studios throughout a number of central public buildings.
CS 28	Polis Athens (Cooperative City, 2019a)	Athens, GREECE	High vacancy. Loss of public space heightened by the financial crisis.	With 27% of public buildings vacant, many of which were storefronts, a platform designed by If-untitled studio aimed to encourage collaboration between municipalities and designers. It promoted community-led interventions and temporary use of vacant buildings, free of charge. 12 arcade spaces were renovated and rented for a year. Grants were also given for small neighbourhood interventions.	Increased high street activity. 25 workshops a month were held reaching 2500 participants. The success of the project encouraged government funding for two more years of the project aimed at reaching young people with 6-month free leases, including utilities and advertising, with the agreement to host events, and the possibility to extend leases.
CS 29	Data X Commerce Pilot, Barcelona Digital City. (Ajuntament Barcelona, 2020)	Barcelona, SPAIN	Threats from the platform economy. Difficulties of promoting local economic development & more sustainable retail.	A website and an app created by Barcelona Open Data Initiative Association, the pilot aims to connect small commerce with open data to support decision making and better gauge customer behaviour. Three shopping areas will test the project which aims to make the digital sphere more inclusive.	Helping to protect local businesses from the threat of large retailers. Use of data could aid with reaching more customers, coordinating stock and deliveries, and creating promotions. (Anticipated benefits).
CS 30	SSE Impulse Plan (Barcelona en Comú, 2019)	Barcelona, SPAIN	Social exclusion and spatial inequality. Cuts to municipal funding and public services.	Building on the city's existing SSE (social and solidarity economy) network, the initiative includes training, funding initiatives and support teams aimed at integrating cooperative projects into local plans. Millions of euros have been invested through financing and economic initiatives.	SSE projects now incorporate 8% of the working population and 7% of the city's GDP, with 100 new projects and 100 businesses advised annually, and 1500 individuals receiving training.
CS 31	Community Use and Management of Citizen Assets Programme (Barcelona en Comú, 2019)	Barcelona, SPAIN	Lack of property ownership transparency. Social exclusion and spatial inequality.	The city has created a policy framework for the transfer of municipal assets to communities for social and cultural projects, community management and the remunicipalisation of basic services. A 'Community Monitor' also audits public assets to create a catalogue of those managed by communities.	The Citizen Asset Board has facilitated the cession of municipal assets to non-profit organisations, rebalancing real estate power. Also, the transfer of assets and register allows for greater citizen participation and accountability within the built environment
CS 32	The Ecos Cooperative (Cooperative City, 2019b)	Barcelona, SPAIN	Social exclusion and spatial inequality. Cuts to local government funding and public services.	A cooperative of cooperatives which helps to promote the growth of the social solidarity economy, providing services to 18 cooperatives which are part of Barcelonas social solidarity economics network.	Setting standards for cooperatives as far as ethical finance, measurement of social output through data collection and synthesis, transparency and volunteer commitment, supporting policy advancement which can foster economic change.
CS 33	Nightingale 1, Brunswick (Mayor of London, 2020)	Melbourne, AUSTRALIA	Lack of affordable housing. Social exclusion. Climate change.	A housing project built on a community model and designed around principles of environmental sustainability, affordability and social inclusion. The ground floor is dedicated to commercial and community uses.	The creation of a model for fossil fuel free, carbon neutral housing build, it has produced affordable housing with greater community engagement between the street and residents.

T2. London High Street Practices: Space & Themes

(Sources: GLA, 2021a; GLA & Arup, 2020; Mayor of London, 2020)

SPACE X THEMES	MARKETS & RETAIL SPACE	SERVICES & SUPPORT	PUBLIC SPACE & COMMUNITY CENTRES	MIXED-USE WORKSPACES	
ARTS & CULTURE	Stanley Arts Centre (South Norwood) - a community owned theatre, bar and cafe spaces focused helping unrepresented groups into the arts (CS10).		Old Manor Park Library (Newham) - a converted library, incorporating printing workshops, artist studios and a community room to support filmmaking, performance and research.		
	Really Local Group (Catford Mews) - a centre with food and events developed by the local community. The new town centre leisure and retail venue will include movie theatres, community spaces and music venues.	EVERYONE EVERYDAY NEIGHBOURHOOD SHOPS	Arcola Theatre (Dalston) - a refurbished building turned into a community resource and zero-carbon cultural venue. Run by a charity, the theatre supports established artists and community workshops.	Croydon Arts Store (Croydon) - an exhibition, research, work and events space set in a vacant shopping centre unit incorporating young people through arts into wider development (CS6).	Catford DEK Studios (Catford) - an old town hall conversion in Catford, providing affordable, flexible and creative workspaces. International House (Brixton) - a 5 year office space with a mix of established and small local creative businesses, community groups and charities (CS3).
	Spacemakers at Brixton Village (Brixton) - 3 month free temporary leases in empty market units for retail to rehearsals (CS13).		Friendly Families Nursery (Deptford) - parent-led, cooperative model for childcare, focused on democratic planning.	St Luke's Community Centre (Islington) - an accessible community centre for local people to socialise through exercise classes, art studios, a cooking school and employment support.	LJ Works (Lambeth) - building on Loughborough Junction Farm & Cafe, LJ works will include low-cost, flexible workspaces, including textiles studios, kitchen incubators, co-working offices and the continuation of the community farm.
Alexandra Rose Fruit & Veg Project (Lambeth) - voucher scheme for low income families which has supported market traders, increased market use and vegetable sales. LATIN VILLAGE & WARDS CORNER COMMUNITY PLAN	Opportunity Support Team (Burnt Oak) - place-based employment support team that works across council departments including housing, benefits and training.		MUSEUM OF FUTURES COMMUNITY CENTRE		
FOOD, CARE & WELLBEING					
EMPLOYMENT TRAINING & UPSKILLING	Dalston Kingsland Digital Connectivity (Hackney) - focused on inclusivity, the council aims to provide free or low-cost internet to council residents and tenants, free wifi across town centre locations and the installation of contactless card machines and training for Ridley Road Market Traders.	Tower Hamlets Civic Centre - a former hospital on Whitechapel HS is being refurbished to create a new civic centre which will bring together council services for easy access, with the ground floor allocated for public use.	East Street Exchange (Walworth) - an extension of the existing library to include affordable meeting and work spaces for communities and to open up access from the HS (CS16).		
		Redbridge Council Community Hubs Programme - brings together different services across the borough as a place where residents can also run activities that matter to them.			
BUSINESS SUPPORT	Queen's Park Community Council - a parish council which raises funds for the retailers association public realm improvements.	Fair Finance - a social business offering products and services to the financially excluded, especially small businesses.	Easthampstead Works - council space providing affordable workplaces for businesses, with flexible adaptable studio and events and spaces.		
	Chatsworth Road Traders & Residents Association (Hackney) - collective organisation which revitalised the local market and supported surrounding businesses (CS12).	Tottenham Opportunity Investment Fund - place based investment for small businesses with rate discounts, support and funding for space renovations & workspaces.	CAMDEN COLLECTIVE WORKSPACES The Startup Mall (Hammersmith) - offers vacant units within the mall to entrepreneurs, maker and technologists who are looking to test out new ideas.		
CIRCULAR ECONOMY / CLIMATE JUSTICE	Growing Communities Market (Stoke Newington) - a weekly market held at a high street location supporting small sustainable farmers, all from within 60 miles of London, and stall holders sourcing local ingredients.	Foodsave, Plan Zeroes and Borough Market (London Bridge) - a group who collect surplus food from markets and redistribute it to local charities to reduce waste.	Climate Emergency Centre (Hackney) - with 5 sites already in action, the planned Hackney centre will form a communal hub for locals to come together and take part in activities focused on issues of people and the planet (Nazir, 2021b).	Think & Do (Camden) - a community space utilising an underused building to work collectively on ideas around the circular and net-zero economy. The Remakery (Brixton) - a cooperative space for repairing and recycling surplus materials.	

Appendix G: Survey Analysis - Talk London

Talk London is the City Hall's (2021) online community forum and consulting platform. Questions are posed addressing current policy issues, from housing to recovery plans and culture, where people can freely leave comments and ideas anonymously. They encourage broad participation and researchers analyse the results and feedback the results to relevant policy teams.

Although consultation platforms are likely to attract parties with the available time and interest, there was representation from a broad range of high street locations around London. While survey participants may not provide a representative sample across age or socio-economic status, the discussions can provide a broader perspective of London's high streets, issues and demands to be triangulated with other media sources and reports. All of the comments were read with key themes and comments recorded, categorisation helped to distinguish the most common themes below (T1).

G1. Talk London Website Forum Question 25/02/20 (Talk London, 2021)

Tell us about your high streets

How important are your local high streets to you? How do you use them and what would encourage you to use them more?

Planning and regeneration

Communities

Economy



Added by Talk London
25 February 2020

↑ 0 ♥ 0

High streets contribute to the social, environmental and economic value of London. There are over 600 of them in the capital, offering different things for different people.

We'd love to hear from you and help us understand what you think the future of high streets should look like.

How important are your local high streets to you? How do you use them? What would you want to see more of or less of on your local high streets (this could be anything from shops to services and more)? What would encourage you to go to your local high streets more?

Tell us in the discussion below.

Comments (253)

T1. Comment Categories

Key Themes	Mentions (323)	Comments
Variety and Composition	70	Most issues with the high street were focused on the excess of betting shops, followed by charity shops, fast food outlets, coffee and general food takeaways. There was some mention of town managers who could curate the offering, with the most common demands for greater fresh food stores, small services such as repair shops, quality everyday items and homewares.
Small, Independent, Local Stores	70	There was significant mention of the need for more local, independent and small scale stores, suggesting that they are more beneficial to the local community, providing better service, social interaction and job opportunities. There was significant mention of business rate relief, free vacant spaces and other incentives local authorities could provide to support such enterprises.
Vacancy	39	High business rates were attributed repeatedly, as well as rent costs and absent landlords, out of town shopping and lack of local authority action in discouraging vacancy. It is clear the impact this has on an air of decline and falling visitors numbers.

Less Traffic, Pedestrianisation & Cycle Lanes	38	Pollution and traffic were mentioned as a deterring factor from using the high street, with some concerns for unsustainable car use and the suggestion of more pedestrianised and cycle friendly streets.
More Community Spaces	28	Recognising the social value of the high streets, protection of pubs, more community leisure facilities and events were mentioned.
Cleanliness	19	Improved waste management and cleanliness was an issue for many.
Built Environment Design	19	This included the design of greenery, more seating and public spaces, as well as better maintenance and up keep of pavements. Free wifi and charging points were also suggested.
More Parking	13	Many mentioned unaffordable or unavailable parking, associated largely with accessibility issues for the elderly and disabled.
Co-working and Pop-up Spaces	11	Workspaces were proposed as a solution to numerous coffee shops for remote workers and pop-ups were suggested to support opportunities for local retail start-ups.
Longer Opening Hours	7	Suggestions were made for more mixed-use spaces and events, as well as longer, out of office, hours.
Safety	5	Anti-social behaviour, homelessness and betting shops were mentioned suggested to affect feelings of safety.
Affordability	4	Some comments mentioned a need to use online or large supermarket outlets due to a lack of affordability on the high street for goods and leisure facilities.
Other		There was mention of luxury residential builds or the dislike of high density poor quality conversions, a lack of banks and free ATMS, and one mention of gentrification as an issue, with demands for more community consultation and use of planning powers by local authorities.

(Data Source: Talk London, 2021)

APPENDIX H: Media Discourse Direct Quotes

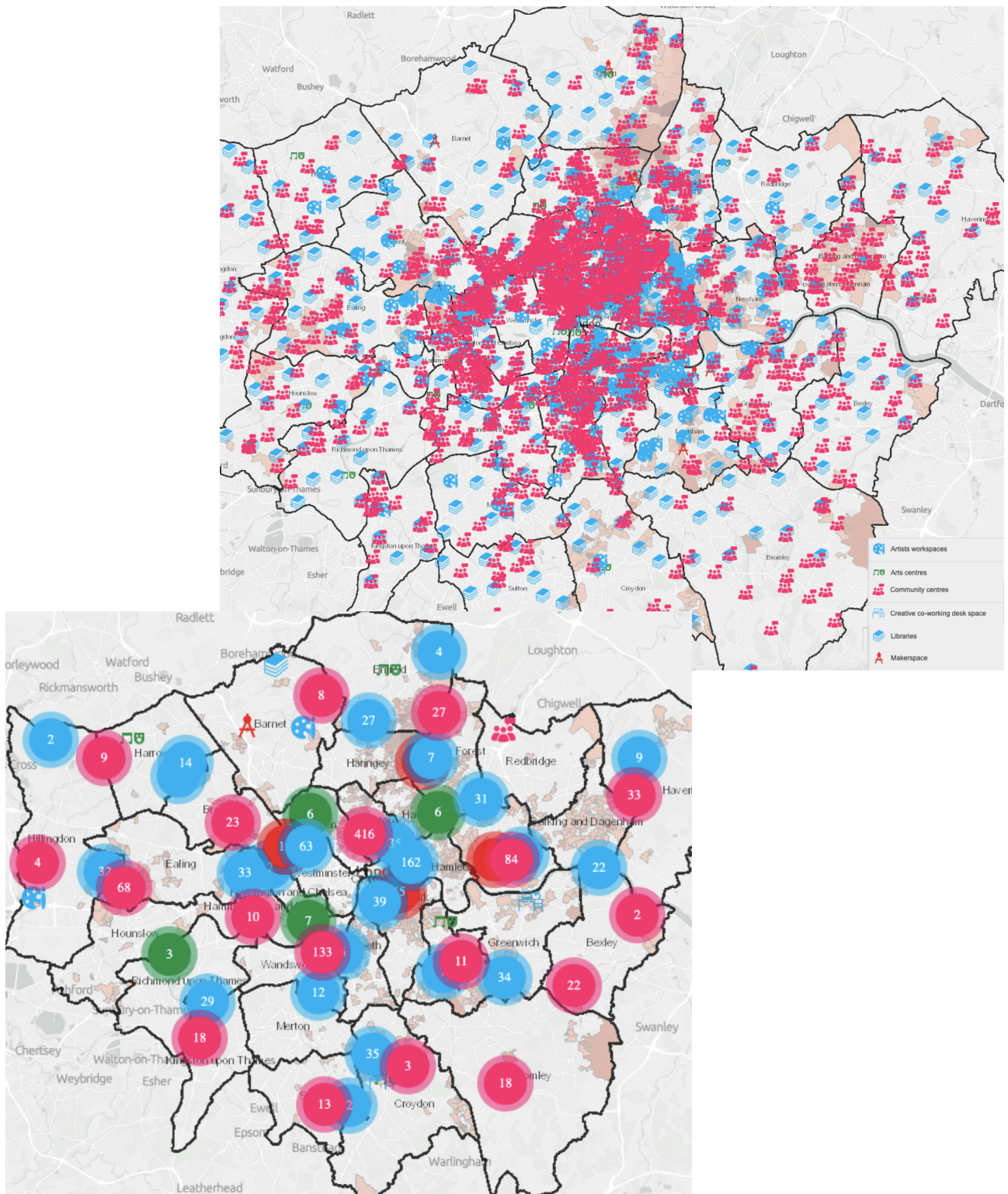
NO	TOPIC	EXERT	REFERENCES
1	'Future of Cities: Commoning and Collective Approaches to Urban Space'	<i>There are very few "instances in which ordinary citizens can work collectively to make use of urban land or spaces for productive means that go beyond the recreational." Urban commons"offer a third way between the sometimes simplistic and ideological counterpoint between "public" – which does not always mean accessible to all – and "private" – which does not always mean closed off to all – in the city."</i>	John Bingham-Hall, LSE Cities, <i>Theatrum Mundi</i> (Bingham-Hall, 2016)
2	'High streets: agents for economic change'	<i>"Local high streets have gained totemic significance as a bleak lens on what many experience as a broken economic system. With the potential to provide a beating heart for a community – connections into the economy, society, and community infrastructure – the decline of the high street has had massive knock-on effects on public and retail spaces across the UK."</i>	<i>Stir to Action conference registration 2019/2020</i> (Stir To Action, 2019)
3	'How to save the UK's crisis-hit high streets'	<i>"According to the Centre for Retail Research there are around 50,000 fewer shops on our High Streets than just over a decade ago, and some analysts predict it will only get worse." "It's not just shops and shoppers who are affected. High Streets have traditionally been at the heart of communities, but as shops close, it can make whole areas unwelcoming. As fewer people come to the High Street, it can make the cycle of decline even worse. For some it can lose its appeal – especially after dark. So problems for the High Street are problems for us all."</i>	Adam Shaw, Reporter, <i>BBC News</i> (13/01/2020) (Shaw, 2020)
4	Pandemic and the digital shift	<i>"One of the things this crisis is going to do is accelerate a vast shift toward digital. It's even more important now that we get high street firms, and SMEs more generally, to think about digitisation, otherwise they are going to be left behind."</i>	Christopher Hayley, NESTA, (GLA, 2020a)
5	'Beyond the Pandemic: The Future of our High Streets'	<i>"The world post Covid-19 will be very different to the one we know. We must seize the opportunity to reaffirm our appreciation for the high street, as a focal point for our communities and accordingly support the small businesses that make our towns shine." "We are therefore asking the Government and Local Authority to resist landlords using permitted development rights to transform newly vacant units in to more lucrative residential developments, instead putting it in the hands of trusted partners able to repurpose them for the use of small businesses that uplift the local economy." "If we take the right action now, when we emerge from Covid-19 we will be able to reimagine these spaces as platforms for technical experimentation, networks of collaboration, testbeds for unique designs and hubs of culture."</i>	Camden Town Unlimited and Euston Town BID, <i>Medium</i> (15/04/2020) (CTU, 2020a)
6	Imagining a post-pandemic London	<i>"Fragmented ownership created high streets that were less responsive and resilient to change, meaning they would suffer terribly as consumer trends shifted. To remedy this, players such as local authorities and business improvement districts have created overarching guidelines that enable small businesses to be a part of a wider strategy...This includes design guidelines, access to knowledge sharing, collaboration opportunities and shared public spaces such as seating, which is collectively maintained." "Our new business rates model rewards those who are adding value to the area" Proposals: "Bookable public realm...co-working space models supportive of startups...multi-purpose function of underused buildings...enjoyable, functional civic spaces co-designed with stakeholders...harnessing of lockdown community spirit and in, expanding mutual aid to independent businesses and to bolster the independent business community."</i>	Camden Town Unlimited and Euston Town BID, <i>Medium</i> (04/05/2020) (CTU, 2020b)
7	It's Time to Socialise the High Street'	<i>"Socialisation of the high street... it will happen through an active intervention at state and local level, along with civil society groups, to bring people back to commune rather than just to consume." "Traffic needs to be diverted and high streets made safe, pollution-free, and walkable, with strong measures to safeguard women and people of colour in particular. Relief from business rates (beyond the recent pandemic holiday), some levelling on effective tax rates between online and bricks and mortar, and regulation of commercial rents for smaller firms owned by local people will help bring character and a sense of place, stimulating local economies."</i>	Andrew Pedelton, New Economics Foundation, <i>Tribune</i> (17/08/2020) (Pedelton, 2020)
8	The future of the high street'	<i>"Prior to COVID-19, many councils were working with town centre planners to understand how high streets were used, making public realm improvement, digitising high streets, master planning and improving access." "Despite municipal resource constraints, long-term changes are needed to reconnect communities with high streets."</i>	LGA, <i>House of Commons Briefing</i> (10/12/2020) (LGA, 2020b)

9	'Community Town Centres'	<p>"The BID model is a part of the answer, but it's not the solution. You don't often need the architecture of governance of BIDs to bring people together – there are informal ways to do it."- East England BID operator;</p> <p>"The profile of BID leaders is all-important. Having a successful partnership means you need the right person." - Inner London BID operator;</p>	Centre for London Community Town Centres Report (Wills and Harding, 2021)
10	'We're fighting to show what urban development for people, not profit, can look like'	<p>"How we rebuild our high streets and town centres after the pandemic is one of the most urgent questions facing communities across Britain."</p> <p>"As we emerge from the pandemic to face the stark reality of the climate crisis, how – and for whom – we undertake urban development will be critical to building a sustainable and just economy. The Wards Corner Community Plan is a viable and coherent answer to this question, which could offer a model for communities across the country seeking to rethink urban change."</p>	Carlos Burgos, Victoria Alvarez and Myfanwy Taylor, Save Latin Village Actors, <i>The Guardian</i> (11/08/2021) (Burgos, Alvarez and Taylor, 2021)
11	'Neighbourhood Democracy Will be Key to Maintaining High Street Spirit'	<p><i>On Low Traffic Neighbourhoods: (LTN):</i>"For once, there will genuinely be postcode winners and losers, and as a rehearsal for some of the harsher economic and social measures that will have to be enacted towards the ambitions of net zero."</p> <p>"An informed and participative form of localism will have to be the lynchpin to defusing LTNs as another potential casualty of our incessant culture wars and promoting not just this initiative, but other intensely place-sensitive clean growth schemes. In this, as in other instances, empowering communities through genuine conversation, dialogue and exchange about the benefits of LTNs will be fundamental to their success."</p> <p>"Community co-design and neighbourhood democracy which gives the local community a voice will be an integral part of good growth. And for this to be deemed 'good growth', it is vital that engagement happens effectively with those parts of the community it is designed to benefit."</p>	Jonathan Werran, Chief Executive Localis, LGC (08/04/2021) (Werran, 2021)
12	PDRs threaten London local democracy and high streets	<p>Permitted development rules could be used as "a way of getting round the safeguards on design quality, type of housing, community gain and so forth." - Sadiq Khan (Mayor of London)</p>	Sadiq Khan in, Charles Wright, Reporter, <i>On London</i> (24/05/21) (Wright, 2021)
13	Shaping London's Town Centre, Community Governance	<p>"High streets have been on life support for many years and some of the main threats include the changing world of retail, planning development right changes, delinquent ownership and the impacts of Covid-19. They [high streets] need to become more diverse and functional spaces for community uses. The high street is only 'dying' if we take the viability of bricks and mortar retail as its only vital sign"- Claire Harding (Centre for London)</p> <p>"There are too many competitions, no access for community organisations directly and coordinating them to make sense of something for a single place is difficult. Competitive processes that local authorities have to go through is unlikely to lead to sensible regeneration." - Vidya Alakeson (Power to Change)</p> <p>"There needs to be more facilitation, connection making by local authorities." - Caroline Wilson (Inclusive Economy Team, Islington Council)</p> <p>"We need greater transparency. If you've taken comments, make an instagram account and share what you've done with them. Mapping is also important, as even for us a clear view of ownership is quite difficult." - Tom Sykes (TFL)</p>	Vidya Alakeson, Caroline Wilson and Tom Sykes, in: Claire Harding, presenter, Centre for London Webinar, <i>Community Town Centres Report</i> (26/05/21) (Harding, 2021)
14	Policy Paper: Build Back Better High Streets	<p>"Necessity being the mother of invention, this past year and a half or so has seen towns, cities and villages right across the country rediscover their high streets. We've stayed close to home and shopped local. Turned to small independent retailers who found all kinds of innovative ways to keep us going...the decline experienced by high streets over the past 20 years is by no means inevitable or terminal – and that, with a little help from government, they can once again become the proud and prosperous heart of every community."</p> <p>"We're doing things differently...and giving our high streets the freedom they need to change with it. If a vacant shop isn't working for retail, arcane rules shouldn't stand in the way of it becoming a nursery, or small independent fitness studio."</p>	Boris Johnson, Prime Ministers Forward (15/07/21) (in MHCLG, 2021c)
15	Forget shops: how one UK town ripped up the rule book to revive its high street	<p>"What are town centres for?" "if people are not coming into town to shop, what are they going to come in to do?"- Nigel Cooke (Stockton Councillor)</p> <p>"The Stockton vision is to buy up, repurpose, restore and reconfigure the heart of the town, emphasising events, independent enterprise, green space and conviviality. The Castlegate shopping mall will be replaced by a park three times the size of Trafalgar Square, equipped with a library and leisure centre. The new green space will link the high street directly to the River Tees, showcasing Stockton's principal natural asset."- Julian Coman (Observer)</p> <p>"Stockton's hyper-active council has come up with one of the few genuinely innovative strategies around."- John Tomaney (professor of urban and regional planning, UCL)</p>	Nigel Cooke and John Tomaney, in: Julian Coman, Reporter, <i>The Observer</i> (21/08/21) (Coman, 2021)

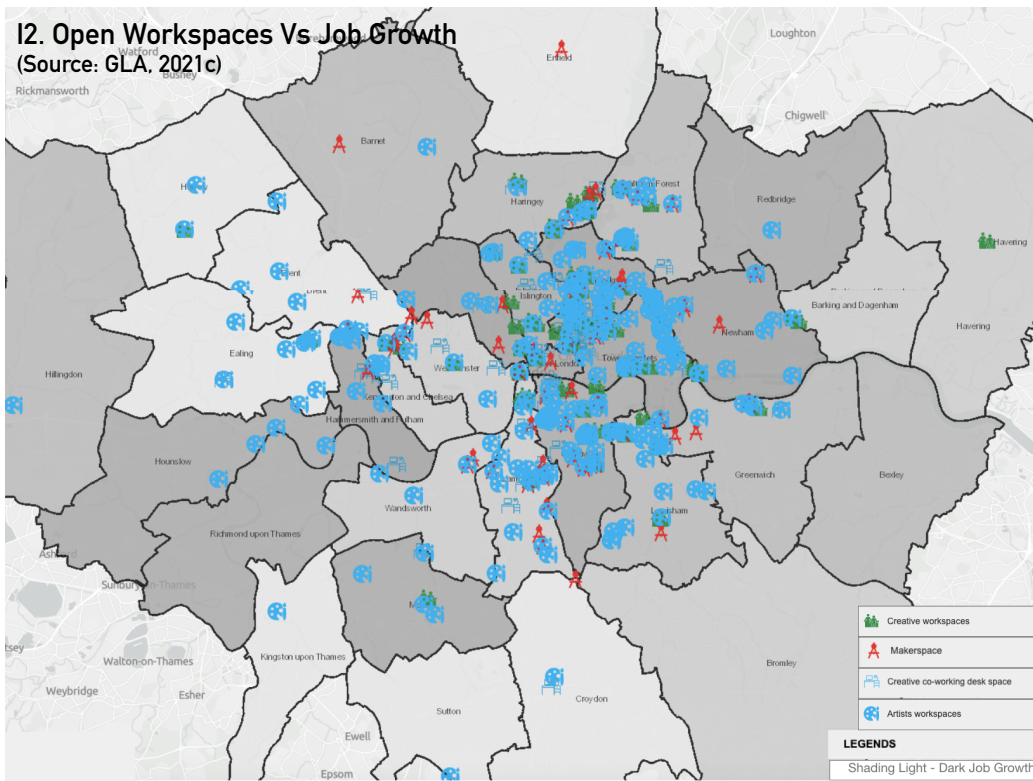
APPENDIX I: Mapping London’s Collective Spaces

With the most deprived areas shown in red, these areas tend to have limited cultural infrastructure (H1). The concentration of artist workspaces and community centres in central London, in particular, could reflect civic engagement disparities and a lack of organising capacity needed to maintain non-government spaces.

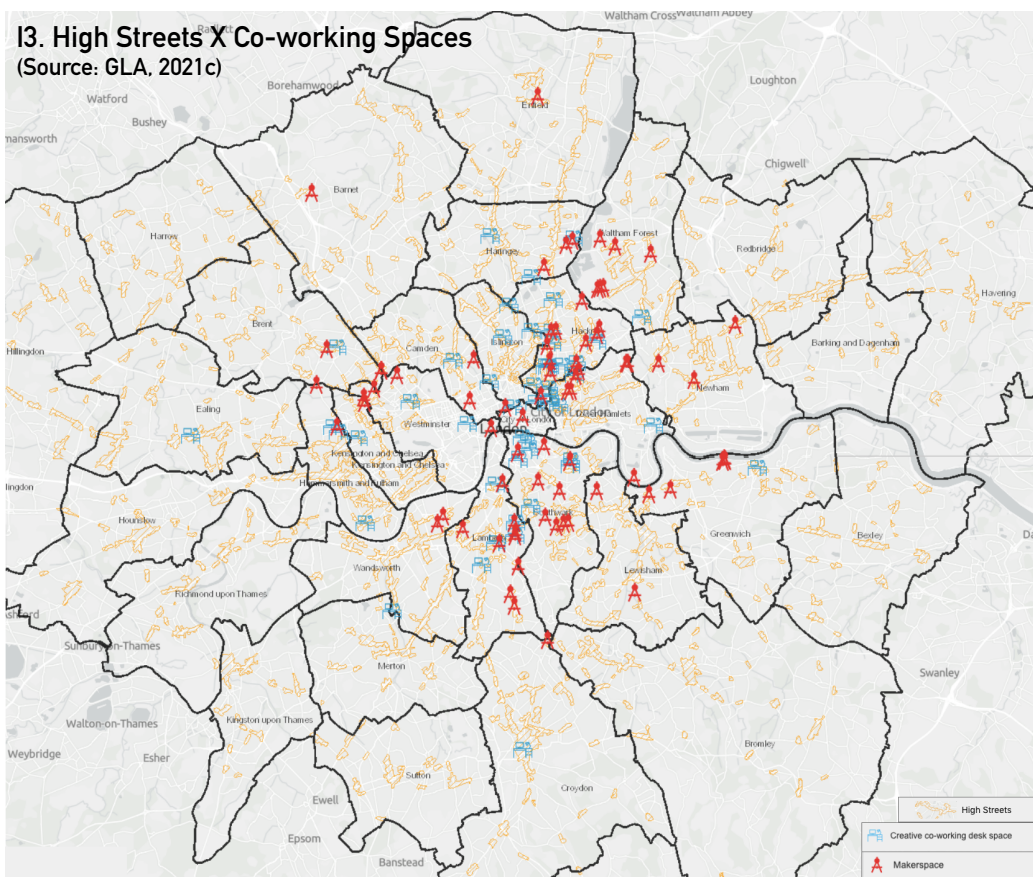
11. Cultural Infrastructure vs Deprivation Index (Source: GLA, 2021c)



Open workspaces providing affordable rent, flexible terms and shared facilities don't currently align with jobs growth (H2) (Architecture 0, 2021).



While often situated on high streets, maker-spaces and creative co-working spaces are highly concentrated in central London, limiting opportunities for the 11 boroughs with none or few, especially those with large expected jobs growth, such as Redbrige and Houslow (H3).



Appendix J - High Street Data Profile

T1. Key Figures: London's Economy & High Streets	
<p>EMPLOYMENT // 28% of Employment (1.5million jobs) are located on the high street. Over the past 5 years jobs on the high street have increased 45%, and 'around' by 21%. (Mayor of London, 2020). 1 million London residents are self-employed (Centre for London, 2021).</p>	<p>ENTERPRISE // 41% of London's businesses are on the the high street (We Made That & LSE Cities, 2017). 90% of London's businesses are Micro (less than 10 employees) and small businesses account for 7.4%. SME's produce around half of GDP and provide 52% of employment in the capital (GLA, 2018b).</p>
<p>EMPLOYMENT // High street employment: 49.4% other service industries (mainly offices), 15.4% retail, 13.5% accommodation and food services, 12.8% health, education and public administration, 8.9% other Industries (ONS, 2020a).</p>	<p>ENTERPRISE // Since 2017, chain stores in the UK have decreased by 5.97%, while independent stores increased by 1.28%. (Deloitte, 2021). However, nearly 70% of small businesses in London suggested rent to be unaffordable (We Made That and LSE Cities, 2017)</p>
<p>WORKSPACES // Often situated on the high street, London has around 266 Co-workspaces and 497 Open workspaces (including co-working, incubator (usually with extra business support), accelerators, artist spaces, maker spaces and kitchens) (London Business Centre, 2021). These spaces have proven to increase employment and opportunities for female and BAME headed companies (Madaleno et al., 2021). 65% of accelerators (business supports spaces with fixed programmes) are located in London — growing +78% annually from 2014 (Beahurst, 2018).</p>	<p>ENTERPRISE // 40% of HS businesses are knowledge intensive, growing at 1.5 x the rate of London as a whole. Whereas only around 20% of London's high street is made up of food and drink functions (Mayor of London, 2020).</p>
<p>LAND USE // London high streets: Leisure 0.2% Community 1.6% Offices 12.3% Retail 20% Residential 65.8% (ONS, 2020a). Secondary office spaces in central London are declining rapidly; under policy changes 22% of B1 office spaces were converted to residential spaces between 2013-2015 (Ramidus Consultig Ltd, 2017).</p>	<p>London has the highest numbers living on or around the high streets, but with the majority students, diversified activity encourage greater safety across times of the day (ONS, 2020a).</p>
<p>ACTIVITY // Over the last 7 years footfall has declined 10% (LGA, 2020b). Data for November 2020 showed that UK high street footfall has decreased by 45% compared to the same period of the previous year, and was still 30% lower in February 2021 (Springboard, 2021). In London, The City saw a -73% decline in retail and recreation mobility, -48% in Islington and -19% in Hackney in June 2021, compared to the baseline (GLA & Google, 2021).</p>	<p>VACANCY // The oversupply of retail units was estimated to be 25% pre-covid (Landsec & Jll, 2019). 30,000 net closures are expected nationally by 2022, but vacancy rates are to be around on par with 2013 (Deloitte, 2021). While London high street vacancy is usually around half the national average, London saw the largest UK increase, rising to 9.1% (2020 Q2) - rates still vary significantly between boroughs (Local Data Company, 2020).</p>
<p>ACCESS // 90% of Londoner's live within 10 minutes of the local high street and 63% walk to the high street, promoting active travel (We Made That & LSE Cities, 2017).</p>	<p>VACANCY // A study of 15 London high streets found vacancy rates by owner type: Investment Managers 9.3%, Real Estate Companies 13.7%, Traditional Estates, Church and Charity Organisations 9.6%, Public Sector 2.5%, Private Individuals 6.9% (Wills and Hardings, 2021, see Appendix E).</p>
<p>INCLUSIVITY // Around 51% of people who visit HS are not in work, compared with 27% of Londoners overall.</p>	<p>45% of surveyed users said their primary use was non-retail related — particularly vulnerable groups like the elderly (We Made That & LSE Cities, 2017).</p>
<p>COMMUNITY// 1-2% of the high street is currently community run facilities (ONS, 2020a). While funding opportunities for high street property community ownership is growing, current estimates suggest 15/1000 designated Assets of Community Value end up in community ownership (Archer et al., 2019).</p>	<p>CULTURE // 80% of London's cultural production and consumption spaces were found to be within 200m of the high street (We Made That & LSE Cities, 2017).</p>

Appendix K - High Street Practices Evaluative Framework Expanded

This section shows more detailed analysis for the four London cases addressed in Chapter 5, explaining the radar diagrams through qualitative evaluation of project attributes using T1. Although subjective, and not a numerically robust method, analysis is aimed at developing a framework for more democratic high street models across diverse contexts, as opposed to creating a comparative scoring system. Ratings work for internal evaluation, encouraging prioritisation of areas for development through the pillars of rights, ownership and deliberation, and supporting the development of high street policy. Evaluation also demonstrates the compensatory nature; for examples, a lack of collective ownership being balanced by democratic governance, or essential service provision replaced by mutual aid arising from social spaces.

T1. Evaluative Tool: Economic Democracy on the High Street Criteria

Pillars/ Principles	Criteria	Application
Individual Economic Rights (Inclusive)	Welfare Resources	+ Accessible essential services + Access to wellbeing resources
	Labour Rights	+ Decent employment + Advice and support services + Skills & training + Prioritisation of labour over property rights
	Economic Opportunity	+ Small business funding & start-up incubators + Employment support services + Focus on Local Economic Development + Affordable spaces
	Inclusive Design	+ Connected + Accessible + Inclusive design
Diverse Forms of Collective Ownership (Collective)	Collective Ownership	+ Collective ownership of assets + Democratic stewardship of assets
	Distributed Social Surplus	+ Community re-investment + Socially productive use of land + A diverse range of organisations (in scale and form) and strong local independent businesses
	Common Production	+ Shared workspaces + Collaborative projects & collective production + Social Solidarity Economy
Knowledgable and Deliberative Publics (Participatory)	Democratic Planning	+ Empowering participatory planning + Assemblies (physical and online platforms) + Other deliberative processes
	Social Infrastructure	+ Community & cultural centres + Open public space + Events, development of networks & social capital
	Transparency & Accountability	+ Open & accessible information + Broad public engagement & recourse to accountability

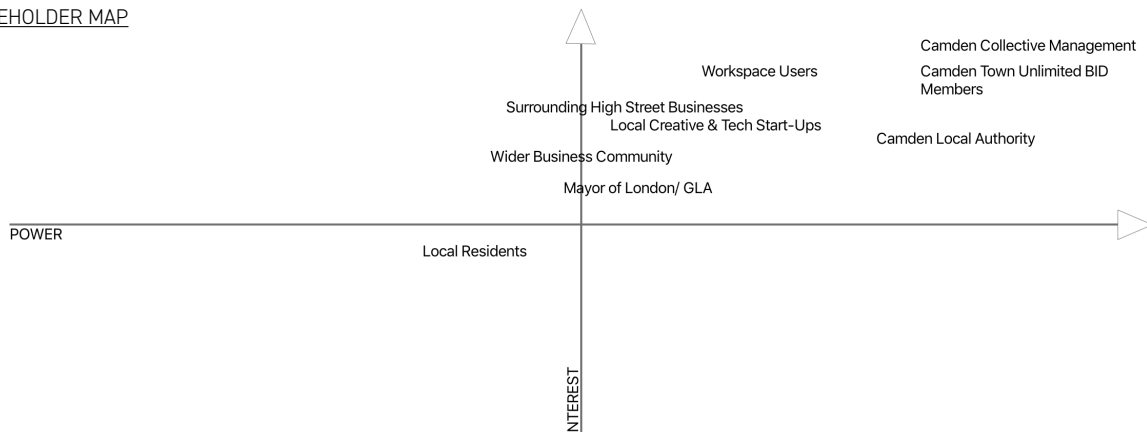
T2. CAMDEN COLLECTIVE WORKSPACES

Pillars/ Principles	Criteria	Rating	Application
Individual Economic Rights (Inclusivity)	Welfare Resources	2	- Limited public services and focus on wellbeing - Engagement with environmental sustainability and social justice issues
	Labour Rights	4	- Employment training programmes - Increasing opportunity for small local enterprise employment - Free desk space targeted at the young, community-focused and those pursuing projects for social good
13/20			

	Economic Opportunity	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Free workspaces, project seed funding and start-up incubators - CTU also runs the Camden Future Changemakers fund which supports 16-35 year olds deciding on priorities and allocations of local grants - Nurtured 917 new businesses, raised £25m in finance and created 214 new jobs - Local supply and employment encouraged through business networks - Business advice and support services, as well as informal support
	Inclusive Design	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High street location and open cafe - Meanwhile leases mean sites vary in design and the short term locations could limit access for some - Limited use by those outside of creative and knowledge industries
Diverse Forms of Collective Ownership (Collectivism) 10/15	Collective Ownership	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - BID ownership means collective ownership and stewardship model where local businesses democratically vote on issues and renewal. - Common good depends on the composition of BID group - business actors may have varying powers in reality
	Distributed Social Surplus	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A registered charity runs the workspace on a not-for-profit model but focus is on businesses - Reinvestment in community and placemaking projects - Encourages diverse, socially focused and local small enterprises who reduce extraction
	Common Production	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evidence of collaborative projects emerging from networks formed - Limited shared production due to separate offices and rotation of users - Free space users contribute 2 hours a month to the organisation with a skeleton staff operation relying on collective maintenance
Knowledgeable and Deliberative Publics (Participatory) 12/15	Democratic Planning	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decisions made largely through the BID voting mechanisms - The BID campaigns for policies which benefit the local area, allowing community interests to influence local politics outside of elections. - BID organisation works with other community groups and organisations on local issues and planning
	Social Infrastructure	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited public space but free desk spaces and open events - Host to Camden Creates Festival & other 'place making' events - Actively building local organisational partnerships - Networks created through the number of spaces and users over time
	Transparency & Accountability	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - BID structure ensures reporting and strong public visibility - Desk space members engage through quarterly review meetings - Recourse - ballot has seen renewal of the BID for over 15 years - Broader public engagement through the Festival, placemaking activities and voluntary community consultations

FUNDING: Camden Town Unlimited BID Levy; The Mayor of London's High Street Fund; The Mayor of London's Regeneration Fund; The Mayor of London's Panel and Mayor of London's Growing Places Fund; Camden Council; City Bridge Trust Stepping Stones Fund; The Mayor of London's Good Growth Fund Development Funding. Originally relying on grants for funding, they are now more sustainably funded with paid office spaces supporting free-desk space (Camden Collective, 2021).

STAKEHOLDER MAP



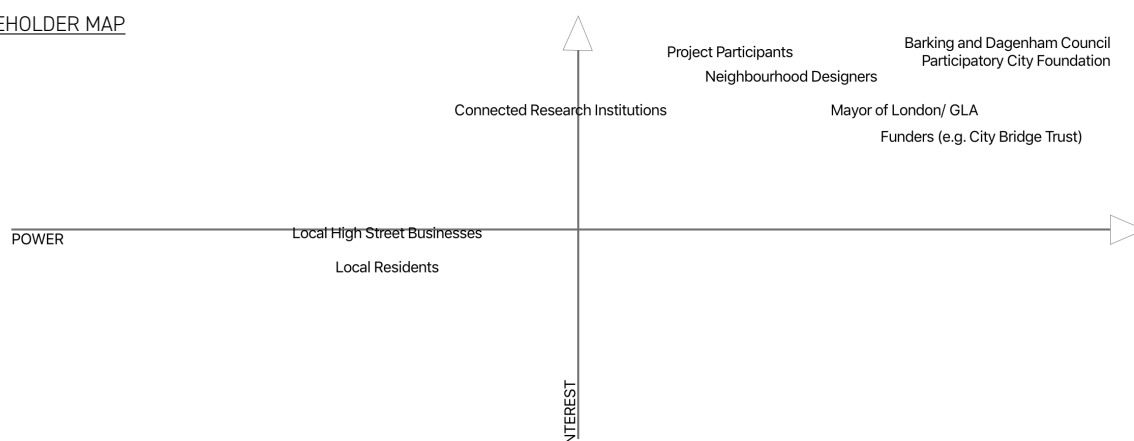
Source: Architecture 00, 2021; Camden Collective, 2021; CTU, 2020c; GLA, 2014; GLA, 2018b; GLA & Arup 2020; Madaleno et al., 2021.

T3. EVERYONE EVERYDAY NEIGHBOURHOOD SHOPS

Pillars/ Principles	Criteria	Rating	Application
Individual Economic Rights (Inclusivity) 16/20	Welfare Resources	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access to mutual care resources from shared cooking to food growing and child-minding services - Wellbeing events and supporting programmes
	Labour Rights	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The social solidarity economy prioritises mutual production over consumption - Skills & training for project initiators by neighbourhood designers - Skills sharing
	Economic Opportunity	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support for 250 projects over 5 years - Business support manager to encourage local start-ups through resources and training - Limited creation of employment opportunities or sustained income
	Inclusive Design	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accessible high street location - Designed around inclusive participation principles - Projects designed to be accessible through low time commitments, low costs and shared responsibility
Diverse Forms of Collective Ownership (Collectivism) 11/15	Collective Ownership	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited ownership of local assets by community members - Shared use of workshop facilities and neighbourhood shops provide more opportunities to develop collective property ownership - Open Corners project is initiating the collective stewardship of open land but is in formative stages.
	Distributed Social Surplus	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community focused project encourages mutual care and support through developing the social solidarity economy - Promoting small diverse projects and businesses - Projects designed to improve living conditions in the borough
	Common Production	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Designed to promote collaborative projects and sharing economy - Spaces for collective production including a centralised workshop - Incorporates platforms designed for sharing resources online - Collective production of products and services with, projects designed to encourage co-production and be non-hierarchical.
Knowledgable and Deliberative Publics (Participatory) 10/15	Democratic Planning	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Little democratic governance of the overarching scheme - Projects promote a culture of distributed decision making - Chance for those taking part to shape the borough through participatory projects
	Social Infrastructure	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open Corners outdoor spaces, shops and workspaces provide space for social engagement but with some constraints of the overarching institutional management - Collective project design, newspaper, festivals, events and workshops encourage social capital to form
	Transparency & Accountability	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open publishing of results and research around participatory projects - Collaborative research with outside organisations increases pluralism - May be held accountable more by funders than local people

FUNDING: Barking & Dagenham Council, The City Bridge Trust, Bloomberg Philanthropies, Esmée Fairbairn Foundation, National Lottery Fund, City of London, Mayor of London, Barking Riverside and BD Collective.

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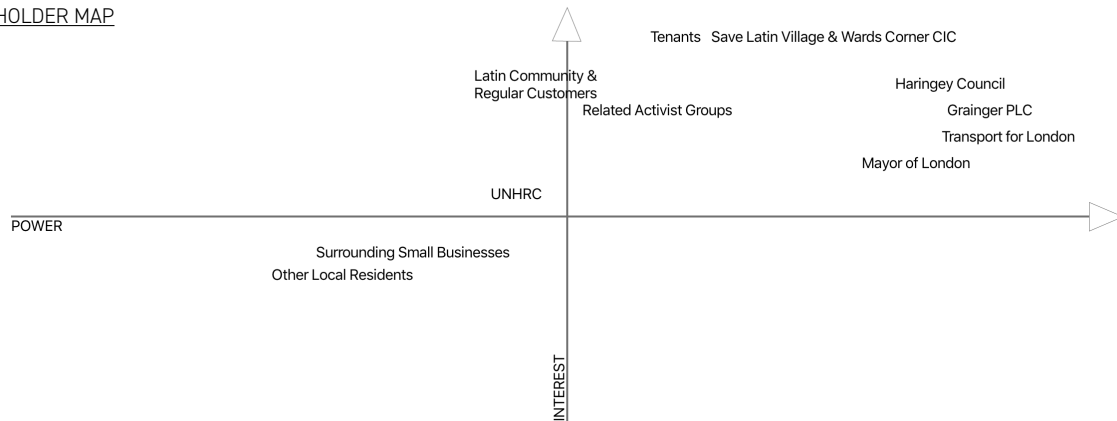
Source: Every One Every Day, 2021; GLA 2020a; Forné, Micciarelllo, and Fresnillo, 2019; Participatory City, 2019; Participatory City, 2021.

Pillars/ Principles	Criteria	Rating	Application
Individual Economic Rights (Inclusivity) 16/20	Welfare Resources	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - WCCP (2021) survey suggests the site provides an affordable source of food, personal care and other services - on average 44% cheaper than the surrounding areas - The same survey suggests 90% of visitors partake in social interaction, most from different cultural or social background, encouraging a vital social hub - Forms a key source of informal advice and support - Access to cultural resources
	Labour Rights	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Employment largely by long-term tenants rooted in local community - Strong community and activism demonstrates the prioritisation of people over property rights. - The project aims for a "new economic common sense...centring everyday workers, tenants and community members as the main actors in social change" - (WCCP, 2021) - Currently, little skills support.
	Economic Opportunity	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Higher market stall occupancy compared to the national average - As a key latin centre, the site supports small businesses by clustering activities, attracting customers from up to 10 miles away — the majority of who also visit other local amenities - Protecting affordable rent for all tenants and employment for the under employed - Financial modelling funded through the Democracy Collaborative predicts financial strength under a variety of different circumstances which support minimum rent, including private funding - Economic analysis has predicted 450 jobs to come of the community plan through community wealth building in the surrounding area (Unit 38 , 2019) - Networks and visitors encourage local economic development - Limited economic support for actors to grow productivity with many retail traders facing significant market challenges
	Inclusive Design	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Well connected high street site with plans to broaden use - Clustering of services and shops for easy access - Welcoming space for immigrant and ethnic minority groups
Diverse Forms of Collective Ownership (Collectivism) 11/15	Collective Ownership	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collective renovation and stewardship of the site proposed by the CIC with aims of raising capital through a Community Benefit Society - Distributed ownership of community plans managed by the Development Trust and designed by an architecture cooperative Unit 38 - Proposed trust management of the Ward's Corner development
	Distributed Social Surplus	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The West Green Road and Seven Sisters Development Trust was created in 2008 for the promotion of sustainability, local enterprise, local benefits and encouraging locally owned assets - Plans to reinvest profits into community projects and renovations - Diverse range of nationalities and small businesses rooted in local issues - High number of dependents of current market traders
	Common Production	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Market made up of largely retail sole traders - Networks encourage collaboration between tenants - Collective efforts to develop the community plan
Knowledgeable and Deliberative Publics (Participatory) 14/15	Democratic Planning	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plan created through 15 years of consultation with the local community - Management will be democratically controlled by the trust - If the Community Benefit Society is used, it will work on a democratic voting system of one member one vote, as opposed votes per capital input or no of shares.
	Social Infrastructure	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plans for community/public space could encourage more collective projects and events - Designation as a civil and cultural asset has created a key space for collective action and activist campaigns - Evidence of strong networks and cultural attraction making the social element of service key for visitors

	Transparency & Accountability	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Website, social media and planning documents open up information for the public - The Development Trust hosts regular consultations and presentations - Collaboration with other organisations and research institutions to improve understanding of the sites importance - Approval based on planning permissions and strong public support - Due to separation from local authorities and a lack of legal site ownership, processes of accountability and recourse are still informal
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FUNDING: Crowdfunding Campaign, Market Income, Residents, Organisation & Business Contributions of Wards Corner Coalition (incl. Sustainable Haringey, Haringey Living Streets, Wood Green Friends of the Earth, The Ethical Property Foundation), possible support from Tottenham's Future High Streets Fund Programme. The Community Plan renovations are expected to be £12.9m. The trust aims to raise half (around £6m) through grants and £6m through ethical financing, with the rest coming from a Community Benefit Society, issuing shares which will work on one member one vote (Public presentation, WGRSSDT, 2021b).

STAKEHOLDER MAP



Source: Alin, 2019; Diamond et al., 2018; King et al., 2018; Save Latin Village, 2021a;2021b; Plunkett Foundation, 2020; Trust for London, 2011; Unit 38, 2019; UNHR, 2017; Wards Corner Policy Advisory Group, 2019; WCCP, 2021; West Green Road/ Seven Sisters Development Trust, 2021a; 2021b.

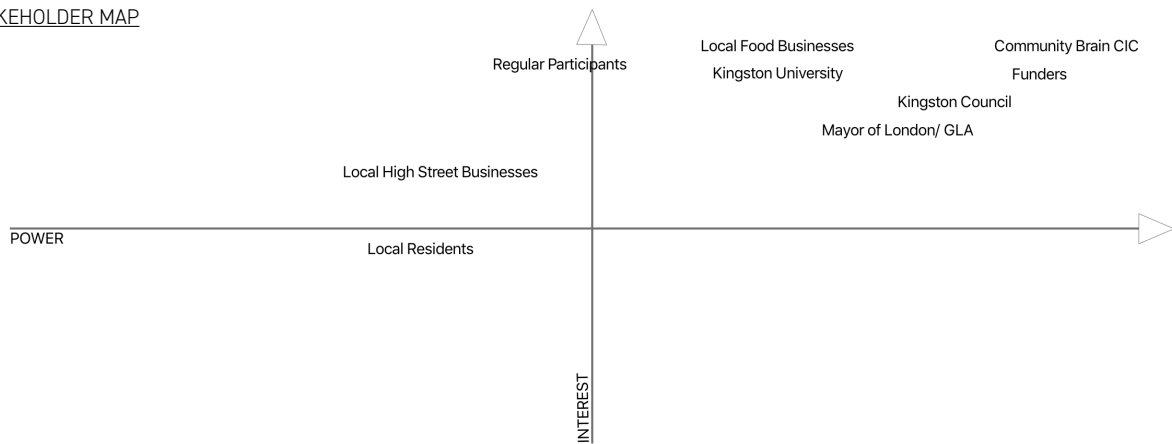
15. MUSEUM OF FUTURES COMMUNITY CENTRE

Pillars/ Principles	Criteria	Rating	Application
Individual Economic Rights (Inclusivity) 14/20	Welfare Resources	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus on wellbeing events, growing plants and healthy food - Key site for hosting public services and support
	Labour Rights	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Site for some workshops and skills but focus is on leisure activities - Limited focus on employment, job creation or individual rights. - Promotes the development of community based businesses
	Economic Opportunity	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Incubator for local food businesses, promoting local economic development - Network and focus on empowerment encourages the proliferation of new projects and collaborations but with limited financial support for new enterprises
	Inclusive Design	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accessible and connected high street location - Focus on reaching excluded community members, as well as creating an open and empowering space
Diverse Forms of Collective Ownership (Collectivism) 8/15	Collective Ownership	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Little collective ownership or stewardship - Project run by a placemaking CIC
	Distributed Social Surplus	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Projects focused around enhancing local community projects and development of small local rooted businesses - Supports small food businesses but may have little impact on the wider high street diversity - Focus on events may attract those with availability over impacting the broader community
	Common Production	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kitchen space has provided a site for collective production - serving as a key site for a soup kitchen and other food services - Community space hosts collaborative events and research groups from Kingston university

Knowledgable and Deliberative Publics (Participatory) 9/15	Democratic Planning	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Little democratic processes in place - Space responded to a survey suggesting that a barrier to participation was a lack of long-term community space. - Space has hosted events influencing local issues, providing a high street site to incorporate a broader section of society into planning
	Social Infrastructure	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long term site promotes use and the development of social capital - Public space and events help to connect local people - Serves as a community resource and space for cultural activities
	Transparency & Accountability	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CIC is held accountable through reporting measures but little is done beyond this to publish information to the wider public - Limited assessment and reporting on impacts - Engagement and interest may be restricted to those with time and resources to participate

FUNDING: Mayor of London's High Street Fund, Surbiton Business Community, Kingston Council, Community BrainArts Council Grants & Heritage Lottery-funding for research groups.

STAKEHOLDER MAP



Source: Community Brain, 2021; GLA, 2021a; Museum of Futures, 2021