# Dissertation

*by* Jane Kistler

**Submission date:** 07-Jun-2022 10:43PM (UTC+0100)
**Submission ID:** 182565170
**File name:** 27554_Jane_Kistler_Dissertation_2914221_1794911835.pdf (2.36M)
**Word count:** 22124
**Character count:** 123505

LONDON'S GLOBAL UNIVERSITY

University College London
Faculty of the Built Environment
Bartlett School of Planning

# "BUILDING INSTABILITY": THE IMPACTS OF REGENERATION ACTIVITY ON LOCAL RESIDENTS: THE CASE OF SOUTHALL, LONDON

By

Jane Kistler

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

7 June, 2022

Word Count:
Main body: 15,465
Appendices: 4,796

**Acknowledgements**

Greatest thanks to my dissertation supervisor, Dr. Yasminah Beebeejaun, for the time and energy she invested in seeing this project through and lending her expertise so that it might be of the highest quality possible.

Additional thanks to the respondents, who generously gave of their limited evening hours to answer my many questions about Southall. I owe much appreciation to Mr. Sanvir Chana, without whose help in recruiting respondents this research would not have been possible.

## Table of Contents

**List of Figures……5**
**List of Tables……6**
**Abstract……7**

**Chapter 1: Introduction……8**
1.1 Introduction……8
1.2 Purpose of the research……9

**Chapter 2: Literature Review……11**
2.1 The commodification of land entrenches inequalities……11
2.1.1 Land commodification globally……11
2.1.2 Land commodification in London……12
2.2 Development on the basis of quantification studies is divorced from local contexts……14
2.3 Celebration of "diversity" does not prevent disproportionate impact on minority groups……17
2.4 The contribution of this research……20

**Chapter 3: Methodology……21**
3.1 Rationale……21
3.2 Research Questions……21
3.3 Research Ethics……22
3.4 Data Sample……23
3.5 Limitations……24
3.6 Data Collection……24
3.7 Data Analysis……25

**Chapter 4: The Case of Southall……27**
4.1 Southall's local context……27
4.2 Changes to Southall driven by regeneration policy……28

**Chapter 5: Findings……30**
5.1 The commodification of land entrenches inequalities……30
5.1.1 Economic inequalities……30
5.1.2 Social inequalities……31
5.1.3 Environmental inequalities……32
5.2 Development on the basis of quantification studies is divorced from local contexts……32
5.2.1 Regeneration activity in the local context……32
5.2.2 The power to influence change in the built environment……34

5.2.2.1 *Local residents' power to influence change in the built environment*……..34
5.2.2.2 *Barriers to local residents' power to influence change in the built environment*……..35
5.3 Celebration of "diversity" and "inclusion" does not prevent disproportionate impact on minority groups……..36
5.3.1 Southall as a key South Asian hub……..36
5.3.2 Incorporation of ethnic minority histories in the built environment……..37
5.3.3 Removal of ethnic minority histories from the built environment……..38

**Chapter 6: Discussion……..41**
6.1 Has the commodification of land entrenched inequalities in Southall?…….41
6.2 Is development on the basis of quantification studies divorced from Southall's local context?……42
6.3 Does celebration of "diversity" fail to prevent disproportionate impact on minority groups?……45
6.4 Reflections……47

**Chapter 7: Conclusion……48**
7.1 Conclusions……48
7.2 Recommendations……49
7.3 Looking forward……50

**References……51**

**Appendix I: Risk Assessment Form……54**

**Appendix II: Ethical Clearance Form……62**

**Appendix III: Interview Consent Form……65**

**Appendix IV: Interview Topic Guide……68**

**Appendix V: Coding Frame……69**

## List of Figures

*all images are author's own

Figure 4.1: Southall's location within greater London and the Borough of Ealing……..…..27

Figure 4.2: Key sites within Southall's local context……..…28

Figure 5.1: The Crossrail station signage is written in English and Punjabi……..……37

Figure 5.2: The shorter Sunrise Radio Building (centre) surrounded by new high-rise developments (left- and right-hand sides), as viewed from South Road in Southall, looking east……..39

## List of Tables

Table 1: This study's dataset……23

**Abstract**

As investment capital becomes increasingly mobile, cities across the globe are competing to attract developers with the promise of a large return on the value of land, which is becoming increasingly commodified and sold at market price. London-metropolitan planning policy has identified “regeneration areas” as sites ideal for this amplified development activity, which the state views as “improvements” to the locality. Policy decisions to designate regeneration areas are typically founded on calculations of their capacity to accommodate a certain volume of development. However, amidst these calculations and profit metrics, the way regeneration activity is impacting residents, particularly those of marginalised populations such as ethnic minorities, is little understood due to a lack of qualitative data.

This study seeks to inform the ongoing academic discussion of how regeneration activity is impacting local residents and the implications of this for policy and governance. Through semi-structured interviews, this qualitative research seeks to understand the lived impacts experienced by residents of Southall, a regeneration area in London, UK, as a result of three main features of the policy initiating development activity in that area: the commodification of land, development that is based upon quantification studies, and celebration of “diversity” and inclusion”. The research findings identified that regeneration activity in Southall is impacting local residents similarly to other regeneration areas in London and around the world, in that inequalities are being entrenched, development is divorced from local contexts, and minority populations are being disproportionately disadvantaged. This study suggests that decisions to initiate regeneration activity without substantively collecting and including residents’ lived experience may counteract policy goals towards “sustainable development” and “inclusion”, instead worsening citizens’ quality of life.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

Due to the expansion of digital technology and increasing migration of people across the globe, capital has become increasingly mobile, with large cities such as London competing to attract foreign investment in commodities such as real estate. The United Kingdom (U.K.) subscribes to a market-led economic system. This system involves reduced state ownership or regulation of commodities; instead, prices of commodities are determined by supply and demand, or the amount the highest-bidding private actor is willing to pay (Beswick & Penny, 2018). Neoliberalism is a belief system underpinning this market economy, whereby it is believed that the economy and society will be healthiest when this private competition exists for resources and commodities like real estate (Robin, 2018). As a result, residents of London are now finding themselves competing with individuals around the globe for space in their area. This study seeks to understand how residents of an area in one of the world's most expensive real estate markets, London, are impacted by these global flows of capital and the increasing commodification of land promoted by the government.

Land development policy in the U.K. is centred around supporting the operation of the market economy. The central government has introduced incentives for property development such as lowering risk by scaling back state regulation and lowering taxes on developers' profits, therefore creating the opportunity to make lucrative profits (Sanyal, 2005). Pro-development policies at the metropolitan scale of governance in London are dramatically transforming the urban fabric. This metropolitan governance structure, the Greater London Authority (GLA), is responsible for encouraging this development, which it describes as a process of "regeneration", encompassing overarching "improvements" to an area (GLA, 2021, p. 99). In its regional-level spatial development strategy, the London Plan (2021), the GLA designates 48 "Opportunity Areas" (OAs), or places targeted as able to accommodate a significant amount of high-density residential units and jobs through intensified development activity. The village of Southall, in the west London Borough of Ealing, is one of these OAs. Like many other OAs, it is an area with an ample supply of brownfield land surrounding a transport "mega-project" node. In the case of Southall, a new station for the Crossrail rail project has been constructed (GLA, 2021; GLA, 2014). What distinguishes Southall from other OAs is the large concentration of individuals identifying as being of South Asian ethnicity living there; in fact, the majority of Southall's community identifies with an ethnic minority group.

## 1.2 Purpose of the research

This study occurs during a pivotal time, when the built form of regeneration areas across London, the U.K.'s biggest foreign investment market, are rapidly changing, yet the impact of this activity upon local residents has not been robustly recorded. Taking Southall as a case study of a "regeneration" area in London, this dissertation hopes to shed light on the lived impacts of residents experiencing development activity driven by the market economy. This research aims to investigate these impacts through semi-structured interviews with current and former residents of Southall. This research aims to explore a crucial question**: "How is regeneration activity impacting residents of Southall?"**. This research seeks to answer this question by considering known impacts of regeneration policy examined in the literature review, and investigate whether similar impacts are occurring in Southall stemming from three main features of regeneration policy in London:

- **Is the commodification of land entrenching inequalities?**
- **Is development on the basis of quantification studies divorced from local contexts?**
- **Does celebration of "diversity" and "inclusion" prevent disproportionate impact on minority groups?**

As a review of relevant academic literature will reveal, qualitative accounts of local residents are missing from much of the policy driving this large-scale regeneration. The data collected in this study will be analysed and used to critically reflect on this background literature, in the hopes of shedding light on any potential gaps between planning policy and its real impacts. As the research of Rocco, Royer & Mariz Gonçalves (2019) shows, the extent of this policy-practice gap reveals important lessons about the degree of social justice and effectiveness of citizens' rights in a planning system within a democratic governance structure such as that of the U.K. The impacts of top-down policies upon residents must be studied, as moving blindly forward may operate to entrench, rather than heal, inequalities in society.

As this inquiry is integrally tied to global flows of capital and is rooted in the operation of commodification of land though the market economy, understanding how residents experience amplified development in their area can shed light on more than just the London or U.K. planning context. Southall's status as a cultural and residential hub for South Asians and other ethnic minority groups makes it a particularly salient case for revealing any systemic inequalities rooted in race and discrimination. Ultimately, this research seeks to

contribute to a discussion around the development of policy which aims to achieve development without entrenching inequality or conferring negative impacts upon vulnerable local residents. This dissertation queries how residents of a multi-ethnic city might have a meaningful hand in shaping changes to their area, and how processes might be developed to ensure that what changes do occur do not adversely impact their lives (Raco et al., 2017).

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

The literature reviewed in this chapter explores the impacts of regeneration activity experienced by residents of areas undergoing heightened development volumes across the globe, particularly in London. This discussion is structured around three main features of policy driving regeneration activity in London: the commodification of land, development on the basis of quantification, and the celebration of diversity and inclusion. Examining these policies in turn, and the impacts they generate in practice, will assist in the following research and discussion of regeneration occurring in Southall.

### 2.1 The commodification of land entrenches inequalities

#### *2.1.1 Land commodification globally*

The U.K. has competed with nations across the world to attract investment since the 1980s, when economic policy began to be driven by a neoliberal ideology. Neoliberal economic ideology views citizens as rational economic actors responsible for providing for themselves. Austerity is the result of this, whereby the state reduces its expenditure on government departments and welfare subsidies such as affordable housing provision. This amplifies the country's need to attract private investment to provide goods and services to citizens. Neoliberal ideology is tied to the market economy, whereby the price of commodities such as real estate are determined by the market. In this system, developers are incentivised to produce homes for private rather than social tenure, as the former achieve higher rents and returns. This has produced a housing crisis in the U.K. Austerity has reduced the construction and availability of affordable and social housing, whilst policy underpinned by neoliberal ideology has encouraged and amplified the construction of market-priced homes (Ferm, Freire Trigo, & Moore-Cherry, 2021). Even where "affordable" housing is provided, it may not live up to its name. The predecessor to the Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities defined "affordable housing" as ranging anywhere from "social" rented "council housing", to housing at "affordable rent", including "those who are paying 60-80 per cent of market rents" (Almeida, 2021, p. 23). The reality is that "these rates continue to be out of reach for many in the working class" across London (Almeida, 2021, p. 23). Therefore, even "affordable housing" in the market economy is not accessible to people in need.

There are global alternatives to the U.K.'s market-driven commodification of real estate. In countries with "decommodified systems,…the state replaces the market", providing

subsidies to “ensure high living standards”, including access to quality housing (Arbaci, 2019, p. 71). This system’s normative foundation is “social equity…that consider[s] housing as a right” which it is the state’s job to provide (Arbaci, 2019, p. 72). That these two systems produce radical differences in the quality of life of citizens is evident through Arbaci’s (2019) explanation of “dualist” and “unitary” rental systems in countries across the globe (p.74). Sweden is an example of a nation where real estate is decommodified and the rental system is unitary, meaning properties for social and market rent are offered on the same market. This keeps private rents low enough to be competitive, making good quality housing affordable and accessible to a wider population group; this, in turn, reduces social inequality. The U.K. case is juxtaposed with this, as real estate is commodified and the rental market is dualist, meaning social rented properties are segregated from the private rental market. The result is that rents soar, widening the gap in quality of private and social housing as the former becomes increasingly less affordable for those on low incomes. Meanwhile, wealthy developers are enriched by high profits. In this system, “high social inequality is thus structural and systemic” (Arbaci, 2019, p. 86), creating a wealth gap. That this is the case is evinced by London, which has the widest financial and spatial inequality gap between socio-economic groups. There, in 2017, “the richest 10% of…residents [had] 273 times the income and assets of the poorest 10%” (Raco et. al, 2017, p. 9).

Whilst Arbaci’s (2019) study is hugely informative to understanding the impacts of the commodification of land, it takes a birds-eye approach to the issue, revealing the systemic causes and effects of socio-economic inequality. The present study hopes to bring the broad issues identified by Arbaci (2019) into closer analytical focus, by attaching them to the lived experiences of individuals so that the impacts of regeneration policy are not viewed abstractly but are grounded at the human-scale through the lives of residents of a state with a dualist, commodified real estate market.

### *2.1.2 Land commodification in London*

In countries like the U.K. where the government abstains from robust financial intervention into the real estate market, most land is sold to the highest bidder. Resultingly, areas of London subject to regeneration activity have been shaped by “global capital flows” and built to suit the needs of affluent foreign investors rather than local residents (Minton, 2017, p. 14; Savini & Aalbers, 2016). For instance, older, more affordable typologies are gradually phased out and are replaced by modern typologies which can attract higher rental profits. Low-rise, low-income areas in London are becoming speckled with high-rise towers, typologies which contrast with the existing urban form and are intended to attract middle-

and-high income residents rather than serve the existing population. This symptom of neoliberalist policy continues to entrench financial and spatial inequalities across London as the rich are privileged by the market economy and the needs of those on lower incomes are not being provided for (Ferm & Raco, 2020).

Oftentimes, local planning authorities (LPAs) in London are not able to control the perpetuation of this profit-orientated development. As a result of the central government reducing their budgets by nearly half between 2011 to 2018 as a symptom of austerity, LPAs have been forced to rely on private developers for funds to provide essential social infrastructure. This may be in the form of planning obligations the developer owes to the LPA, or by forming a public-private partnership to carry out a development in the first place (Ferm, Freire Trigo, & Moore-Cherry, 2021). As LPAs reap increased benefits when developers make higher profits, such as the ability to provide infrastructure such as affordable housing, it benefits LPAs to grant planning permission to profitable schemes (Curtis et al., 2017; Novy & Peters, 2012). One such profitable model has been the OA policy structure, where developers are constructing high-density residential developments on inexpensive brownfield land which surrounds a transport hub, then reaping the subsequent uplift in value. This is so around the new Crossrail station in Southall (GLA, 2021; GLA, 2014). Thus, LPA reliance on wealthy developers empowers the latter further, through a relationship borne of the public funding vacuum created by austerity.

Planning policy in London reflects the desperate need for housing to be provided, even through private means and without robust planning oversight. National planning guidance, the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (2021), states the goal of the English planning system is to achieve “sustainable development”: to develop communities in a way which is environmentally, economically, and socially healthy and resilient, meeting citizens’ needs both now and in future, including housing need (MCHLG, 2021, p. 5). To this end it establishes a “presumption in favour of sustainable development”, strongly encouraging LPAs to approve plans “without delay” which “meet the development needs of [the] area” and support economic “growth and infrastructure” (MHCLG, 2021, p. 6). The London Plan borrows this interpretation of “sustainable development” as development which can be provided quickly and enhances the city’s global economic competitiveness in attracting investment (Ferm, Freire Trigo, & Moore-Cherry, 2021). However, it adds that development which is “socially and economically inclusive” is encouraged, including the creation of “more genuinely affordable homes” (GLA, 2021, pp. XII-XIV, 2, and 5).

The extent to which the London Plan's aspirations align with the real impacts of regeneration policy supporting the commodification of land may be examined using the case of Southall. As policy promotes "affordability" and "inclusivity" in housing, it also promotes the provision of housing by private developers as quickly as possible, with limited planning oversight. However, as allowing investors to develop land for market-priced rents is in the LPAs interest, this situation works against the policy goal of providing housing that is "inclusive" and "affordable"; rather, it privileges and empowers wealthy developers, making government reliant on them for incomes and increasing their rights to exercise control over the built environment. For developers, the most profitable rents are the highest rents, which removes much housing from the attainable grasp of low-income citizens. Without pre-existing wealth or power to gain rights over a parcel of land, and absent state subsidy, marginalised residents have no way of accessing housing resources or controlling the built environment in the city. This operation of the market economy in practice is resulting in the "capture of valuable land from low-income populations that may have lived there for many years", by "dispossessi[ng]" them of accessibility to that space and effectively "coloniz[ing] [that] space for the affluent" (Harvey, 2008, pp. 34 and 39). This is an impact implicitly sanctioned by the state as they encourage market-priced development and do not offer adequate financial assistance to disadvantaged citizens.

Whilst the impacts discussed above may be manifesting in many regeneration areas, this research interrogates how "colonization" of the built environment may have particularly strong implications in the study area of Southall. Southall is predominantly populated with ethnic minority individuals whose lineage originates from nations which were part of Britain's colonial empire. This historical power dynamic is not in their favour, and when combined with modern power dynamics privileging those with wealth and power in Britain, these populations are particularly vulnerable to the impacts of economic inequality entrenched by the commodification of land. Recognising the potential for these adverse impacts to affect marginalised individuals disproportionately, this research seeks to build upon the general impacts discussed in literature and understand the lived experiences of minority ethnic individuals as it relates to the commodification and resulting "dispossession" of land in their area.

### 2.2 Development on the basis of quantification studies is divorced from local contexts

In order to stimulate investment which elevates London's global appeal, the GLA has identified OAs in London as areas which are particularly desirable for this activity. OAs are

designated on the basis of their investment potential, a notion “objectively assessed” by experts at the GLA or LPA using technical calculations that demonstrate the area has the physical capacity to accommodate high-density development (MCHLG, 2021, p. 6). High-density development is seen as the most desirable typology in OAs for two reasons. Firstly, it contributes more units to meet annual targets for new housing set out in the London Plan. Secondly, this type of development offers a maximised number of units over a plot of land, promising higher profits for developers than medium-or-low density developments could provide.

Resultingly, over 10-storey buildings are being built in Southall OA. This contrasts with its pre-existing built form, which is mostly 2-3 storey Victorian terraced houses organised around uniform street blocks (Oates, 2003; Nasser, 2004). Yet, the GLA encourages this high-density development, as it may “change the perception of the area as a place to live”, by creating its own “distinctive character” through renovating what Ealing Council views as unsuitable low-rise buildings and weak public realm (GLA, 2014, pp. 94 and 97; Ealing Council, 2015b). The GLA intend the change in typology to attract speculative investment throughout the coming years, which it has almost ensured due to a policy mechanism that instructs LPAs to streamline planning permissions for developments in OAs (GLA, 2021; GLA, 2014). The result of this reduced scrutiny is that development may be somewhat ad-hoc or at odds with pre-existing typologies and the urban fabric.

The influx of high-density developments has produced great change in regeneration areas across London, deemed to be appropriate by technical assessments in policy. Whilst policy has justified changes to OAs on the basis of calculations, less weight has been placed upon qualitative data of residents’ experiences of their area. Whilst in formulating strategic plans for an area the GLA does consider impact on health, crime and the environment, “currently no measure exists of the social dimension of pre-existing community assets, such as public spaces and culturally or linguistically competent ancillary services for housing [and] employment” (Almeida, 2021, p. 25). The lack of data-gathering about this crucial local infrastructure leads to regeneration activity initiated in an area on the basis of incomplete knowledge. This can be especially damaging to ethnic minority individuals who rely on these social services. The impact of this is that a power balance is created, where the quantitative numbers produced by experts is privileged, and the “lived experience” of locals, residents, and other non-experts are deprioritised and “repress[ed]” (Lefebvre, 1970, pp. 36 and 52; Legacy, 2012). This is underpinned by the state’s neoliberalist rationalisation of citizens not as individuals with different cultural and other identities and wishes, but rather as “rational actors” who invariably pursue their economic self-interest (Sanyal, 2005, p. 12). By this view,

all behaviour within the market economy is “calculable…predictable, [and] quantifiable” (Lefebvre, 1970, p. 36); residents’ qualitative accounts of what they value in the area, and the intrinsic links between their identity and the built environment, cannot be rationalised, and are therefore seen as lower-value to supporting policy initiatives promoting economic growth (Raco et al., 2017).

The failure of the state to capture data on community assets through qualitative accounts is not just present in regeneration policy, but in the related stream of heritage planning policy. Legal protection of historic buildings tends to be extended where a structure has aesthetic beauty or historical significance, as is customary in traditional notions of “value” in English heritage policy. However, Canning (2017) interrogated whether this definition of “value” was universally agreed-upon. Canning (2017) interviewed users of Sikh temples, or *gurdwaras*, located within historic structures throughout England, asking them what they “valued” most about the structures. Whilst aesthetic beauty and history were not frequently cited, most users stated they most valued the spaces for their functionality. Foremost in this was their function as safe, shared spaces where the community can gather to practice their faith. Canning’s (2017) research revealed that users’ opinion contrasted with official policy narratives to a large extent, yet were unrepresented in official practices and policy. Raco et. al. (2017) revealed similar findings in relation to regeneration policy in London. The London Plan identified “problem” areas which would benefit from regeneration; these were primarily low-income areas with much brownfield land ideal for high-density development. Initiating intensified development of these areas was seen as “improving” them by raising their socio-economic profile. However, this contradicted the wishes of local residents, as Raco et. al. (2017) revealed by interviewing them. The qualitative data revealed many residents feel the existing housing affordability of the area is *desirable,* and something which regeneration would dismantle (p. 30). The visibility which the studies of Canning (2017) and Raco et. al. (2017) have given to previously unheard voices of residents reveal the importance of collecting qualitative data about regeneration activity, as this may directly contrast with state narratives of the positive impacts of high-rise, high-density development in the form occurring in Southall.

The blind spot of regeneration policy to the recognition of alternative notions of “value” in the built environment presented by qualitative data is leading to development that is “de-contextualised” from areas’ “local socio-political contexts” (Savini & Aalbers, 2016, pp. 879 and 881; Ferm, Freire Trigo, & Moore-Cherry, 2021, p. 5). If residents objected to the introduction of high-rise developments at market-rent in their low-rise, largely lower-income neighbourhood, the OA designation process includes no obvious procedure for voicing this

input or substantively impacting the designation result. Where qualitative input from local residents is not included in planning decisions of this magnitude, the result is that it becomes nearly impossible for anyone to "understand the anticipated spatial impacts" in the long-term of the development activity in regeneration areas (Ferm, Freire Trigo, & Moore-Cherry, 2021, p. 5; Ferm & Raco, 2020). Calculations can only provide one side of the story, and whilst the numbers may suggest there is land available for development, residents may feel a strain on social infrastructure such as schools and hospitals not captured in statistics. If this is the case, and the community cannot support the rapid densification and changes to its social fabric, the failure to involve residents in policy formation and decision-making may result in a contradiction of sustainable development, and instead lead to hazardously unsustainable futures in OAs such as Southall (Ferm, Freire Trigo, & Moore-Cherry, 2021). It may also result in development which destroys intangible value held by residents, who it has been shown often have, "sedimented memories of family and work…bound up with the neighbourhood" as their lives play out across the built form, the destruction of which would produce adverse impacts on their lives (Watt, 2013, p. 109).

Whilst studies such as that of Raco et al. (2017) have interviewed residents of areas with an ethnically mixed population, such as the London Borough of Haringey, no such study has been conducted in an area with one ethnic group forming the majority of residents, such as Southall. Southall's prominence in the South Asian community in the U.K. makes this inquiry to uncover what locals "value" about the area, and how the regeneration activity is impacting them, particularly important to understand. This dissertation aims to access these marginalised perspectives, creating a space where respondents can share their intangible connections, communal and collective memory, and social values relating to the built environment. Canning (2017) has done similar work to allow everyday meanings to permeate the discussion of what residents "value" about their built environment to better interrogate heritage policy, but the present research seeks to employ this inquiry in relation to regeneration policy. In doing so, the qualitative data may reveal that communal or intangible histories are ingrained in the built environment in a way not recognised by the state's official narratives enshrined in regeneration policy driving change in the area.

### 2.3 Celebration of "diversity" and "inclusion" does not prevent disproportionate impact on minority groups

Of Southall's 40,000 residents at the time of the 2011 Census, the largest non-white ethnic groups identified as Indian, Pakistani, and African-Somali (GLA, 2014), with Sikhs

comprising the largest religious group, at roughly 30% of the population (Ealing Council, 2015a). The majority of Southall's majority-South Asian population migrated to England after Britain's colonial rule of India formally ended in 1947. Post-migration settlement was clustered in Southall due in part to discrimination by local authorities in housing allocation. However, clustered settlement provided strong social and employment links for South Asians, resulting in its prominence as a commercial centre for specialist consumer goods, concentrated around Southall Broadway and South Road (Oates, 2003; GLA, 2014). Entrepreneurialism in the town centre continues to be a key source of employment in Southall, as roughly half of residents lack any qualifications, and unemployment levels are significantly higher than the London average (GLA, 2014). This reflects the challenges which ethnic minority entrepreneurs face across London and in Southall, due to widespread "exclusion from formal [employment] opportunities", due to factors such as discrimination, language barriers, or lack of formal qualifications (Raco et al., 2017, p. 132). Thus, for these individuals entrepreneurship is a key "opportunit[y] for social mobility", and certain areas like Southall provide social capital associated with a local customer base of a shared ethnicity (Raco et al., 2017, p. 48).

However, regeneration activity is threatening entrepreneurialism and therefore is "disproportionately…impact[ing]…[minority] ethnic entrepreneurs" and individuals by depriving them of a key way of making a living (Raco et al., 2017, p. 12). Firstly, this is occurring as large, generic conglomerate shops are encouraged to move into regeneration areas, intended to cater to and attract the influx of higher-income residents intended to move into high-density development. The GLA hopes the expansion of generic retail offer along Southall Broadway will boost the area's competitiveness, in the belief the existing South Asian specialist offer is "worn" and of "declining quality" (GLA, 2014, p. 106; Ealing Council, 2015b). However, a similar expansion of the generic offer in a regeneration area in the London Borough of Haringey, which also has a significant minority ethnic population, led to rising land values and ultra-competitive pricing which meant entrepreneurs could not afford to keep their businesses running, displacing them to other more affordable areas (Raco et al., 2017).

The especial disadvantaging of ethnic minorities is not new, but inherited from the deeply embedded power dynamics of British imperialism. The colonial empire was founded upon the desire to raise profits through commodities extracted from colonised land and exploiting the labour of native residents. This desire to extract value from the colonies led to the acquisition of land for that purpose, and ultimately inhabitants of regions such as South Asia were stripped of their "home, land, territory, [and] means of subsistence", which are

intimately and intricately tied to their "history, language, and sense of…self" (Bhandar & Bhandar, 2016, pp. 1-2). This represented a "dispossession", where residents were disadvantaged in the power structure and lost the right to access the same resources as the colonisers. In the modern context, rising land values and competitive prices could produce the same "forced displacement" and "exclusion" of minority ethnic individuals from areas in which they live in London, similar to that experienced under colonial rule. Both past and present, the U.K. government is the group in power, embarking upon a quest for profit, which disproportionately disadvantages the ethnic minority individual (Bhandar & Bhandar, 2016).

Rather than engaging directly with these power dynamics in regeneration policy, what mention is made of ethnic difference by the GLA is the London Plan's goal to create a more "inclusive…city", because "diversity is essential to…the city's success", therefore supporting sustainable development (GLA, 2021, pp. XII and 13). Against the backdrop of the commodification of land and increased support by the government for foreign investment, "the city's success" used here includes the ability to attract people and investment from around the globe. That celebrating "diversity" is considered an essential component of this "success" is a principle borrowed from private corporations, where this type of rhetoric is used to portray an organisation, or in this case a city, as having a particular positive image to onlookers from which it hopes to attract business (Raco et al., 2017). Whilst policy celebrating "diversity" promotes an admirable goal on the surface, in effect the term is treated as a commodity to be possessed by the city to boost its global, marketized image, and therefore profit-earning potential, as part of a pro-growth agenda in a globalised real estate market (Raco & Tasan-Kok, 2020). When considered against the U.K.'s colonial history, and the sustained effort by the government to make money from exploiting ethnic minority labour and land, "diversity" seems to be instrumentalised again for the benefit of the group in power. Additionally, the celebration of "diversity" avoids addressing the fact that ethnic minorities are disproportionately disadvantaged through the commodification of real estate in London. Merely recognising the value of the presence of "diversity" avoids substantive engagement with the structural inequalities inherent in the racialised system, such as unequal distribution of resources and the fact that ethnic minority individuals living in London are disadvantaged by virtue of the power imbalance created by imperialism. That these structural inequalities persist in the form of real negative impacts, such as involuntary displacement, is evidence that making London "inclusive" requires more than celebration of diversity. The mere presence of "diversity" is "not a proxy for equality"; rather, equality requires the power dynamics to shift which contribute to racial exclusion in the first place (Beebeejaun, 2006, p. 15).

Whilst the existing literature does much to expose the inequality inherent in the planning system and the particular vulnerability of ethnic minorities to this, the use of the term “ethnic minorities” itself must be interrogated. It is a convenient term used to describe many different individuals, whose lives cannot be essentialised into a single homogenous narrative. In order to understand the real impacts of these policies, this study hopes to advance these broader discussions of inequalities to do with ethnicity, and examine how individuals in Southall experience regeneration activity. Their lives and experiences cannot be generalised, and therefore recording their perspectives will be the only way to understand how residents of Southall are being impacted.

## 2.4 The contribution of this research

This review of policy and literature identifies a key gap in understanding the impacts of regeneration activity in London, in that the qualitative accounts of residents’ lived experiences are absent. Literature explaining systemic problems often takes a broad approach, and struggles to capture the human-scale impacts of regeneration activity. In policy, focus is placed on expert opinions and financial interests, but less on how regeneration has impacted residents’ experience of the commodification of land, development on the basis of quantification studies, and the celebration of “diversity” and “inclusion”. It remains to be seen whether residents of Southall have experienced entrenched inequalities, development divorced from local contexts, or disproportionate impact on minority ethnic groups experienced in other regeneration areas.

The aim of this research is to examine Southall as a case study for gaining a deeper understanding of the impacts which regeneration activity and policy is having upon Southall residents. In doing so, qualitative methods will be deployed to build a more complete understanding of the planning processes at work and their spatial and lived impacts for residents of Southall over the 15 years it has been an OA. This study is useful because, as Rocco, Royer & Mariz Gonçalves (2019) have shown in the context of Brazil, where the commodification of land is also entrenching inequalities, there can arise a wide, “gap between policymaking and implementation”, whereby policy aiming to create sustainable futures is in practice generating negative outcomes for citizens. Examining the nature of this gap can reveal the degree of social justice and effectiveness of citizens’ rights present in the planning system of a democratic state (p. 427). There is potential for an inquiry of this type to shed valuable light on governance practices in countries driven by the market economy.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

### 3.1 Rationale

The methodology deployed in this study was chosen as best to answer the research question, “How is regeneration activity impacting residents of Southall?”. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the data collection method, as it was the most effective methodology for achieving an in-depth understanding of the respondents’ lived experiences. The interview format is important because it is a qualitative mechanism used to capture perspectives not visible in data produced through quantitative studies. Through the interviews this study seeks to give respondents the space to express what they “value” about the spaces they frequently use, similar to Canning’s (2017) approach to understanding intangible, communal meanings attached to historic structures. This inquiry allows for respondents to identify topics which may be absent from official statistics or policy narratives, or even contradict them. The semi-structured nature of the interviews mean that they do not follow a uniform format and therefore each respondent has the flexibility to speak more about issues which they feel are most salient, leading to a more relaxed atmosphere where the researcher’s intervention is kept at a minimum to allow the respondent to share their experiences openly. Overall, semi-structured interviews grant this study the flexibility and qualitative insight sought to be contributed towards the background literature and are most effective at answering the research question.

### 3.2 Research questions

The overarching question this research seeks to explore is: **“How is regeneration activity impacting residents of Southall?”**

This will be explored in relation to the known impacts of three main features of regeneration policy in London discussed in the literature review, which may or may not be manifesting in Southall:

- **Is the commodification of land entrenching inequalities?**
- **Is development on the basis of quantification studies divorced from local contexts?**

- **Does celebration of "diversity" and "inclusion" prevent disproportionate impact on minority groups?**

This question was formulated in recognition of the fact that in-depth, qualitative accounts of the impacts of development upon the people who live in regeneration areas has been missing from state-led discourses. By exploring residents' lived experiences of the impacts of policy implementation, light may be shed on the relationship between practice and policy.

### 3.3 Research ethics

As a precursor to the collection of any data, the study obtained departmental ethical approval from UCL through completion of a Risk Assessment Form (**Appendix I**) and an Ethical Clearance Form (**Appendix II**). It was essential that participants gave their informed consent to participate prior to their interviews, meaning they must be aware of the study's aims and methodology, the topics to be discussed, how their data would be collected, used, and safeguarded to protect their privacy, and their own ability to revoke consent at any time. In my study I explained this information to respondents verbally from the text of my Interview Consent Form (**Appendix III**), after which disclosure all respondents consented to participate.

The consent form outlined several measures to ensure respondents' data remained secure, private, and anonymous. A small ethical risk existed in the form of collection of sensitive demographic data such as ethnic and gender identity, which were necessary for the purposes of understanding the data sample. All data was anonymised immediately upon collection, as identifiers were removed in all study materials, with each interviewee assigned a pseudonym to render them unidentifiable to third parties. All personal data was stored in encrypted, password-protected file folders on my personal computer, and all information was destroyed upon submission of my final dissertation. Additionally, participants were informed that they had a right to decline to answer any question, end the interview, request a copy of their data, or revoke consent for all or part of its use in the study at any time.

### 3.4 Data sample

This study utilises purposive sampling, where respondents were chosen on the basis of their current or former residency in Southall, because the study's central research question can only be answered by those with local knowledge. The snowballing technique was used to recruit respondents throughout the study, with initial respondents found through personal acquaintance and then others recruited from their referrals. This method of sampling allowed me to access more respondents than I initially personally knew in Southall (Bryman, 2016). The sample size of nine was not predetermined but coincidentally determined by whether people were willing and able to be interviewed; some difficulty was experienced in recruiting respondents, with some agreeing initially and not turning up for the interview or not responding to the request for an interview.

This study's dataset is presented in **Table 1.** The views represented in this study are only those of these respondents and are not purported to represent any wider sector of the population.

**Table 1: This study's dataset**

| Name (Pseudonym) | Gender identity | Age | Current or Former resident of Southall | No. of years living in Southall | Ethnic identity includes South Asian |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jagpal | M | 26 | C | 26 | Y |
| Sukh | M | 32 | F | 20 | Y |
| Gursimran | F | 34 | F | 28 | Y |
| Ranvir | M | 22 | F | 13 | Y |
| Jasbir | M | 57 | F | 32 | Y |
| Dev | M | 25 | C | 25 | Y |
| Harpreet | M | 24 | C | 24 | Y |
| Simon | M | 23 | C | 21 | N |
| Jagjit | M | 51 | C | 49 | Y |

### 3.5 Limitations

The use of snowballing sampling in this research led to several coincidental trends which impact the study's conclusions. In future studies, it would be desirable to improve and expand upon these aspects to introduce more diverse perspectives, widening the study's analytical scope. This could be achieved perhaps through use of a probability sample, where residents are selected to be interviewed at random, where time and resources allow; however, for those reasons it was not practicable for this study.

Firstly, the respondents in this study were predominantly male. As discussed in the literature review, the perspectives of women can frequently be left out of academic and political debate and it is hoped a future study would have the resources to specifically recruit and record women's perspectives. Secondly, this study primarily focuses on the perspectives of individuals who identified as being ethnically South Asian, but this could be expanded across other ethnic groups in future. Thirdly, a researcher with Punjabi or other locally-spoken language skills would have the ability to access a larger range of Southall residents than a researcher with only English-speaking capability. Fourthly, with the average age of the respondents being 33, the perspective of other ages of Southall residents, particularly older persons, could add more depth to the discussion of how Southall has changed over the years. Finally, as it was difficult here to recruit many individuals who still reside in Southall, this could be expanded in future.

### 3.6 Data collection

The data collection method utilised was a series of nine semi-structured, qualitative interviews, following the same format. After identifying potential respondents through mutual contacts in my social network, I contacted them via Whatsapp to explain the topic of study and asked if they were willing to participate. From there, we arranged a date to speak virtually using Zoom, at a time outside business hours in the UK time zone, which provided more flexibility than an in-person, daytime interview. Calls were conducted on my personal laptop and encrypted audio recordings were generated by Zoom. Four interviews were conducted using Whatsapp's encrypted call and messaging service. I approved these recording methods only after conducting a pilot study with a friend to test the equipment. The average length of the nine interviews conducted was 42 minutes, and they ranged from 21 to 85 minutes. Following each interview, transcripts of the audio recording were produced by hand using a word processing application. Transcribing the interviews was essential to my

analysis of the data, recognition of overarching themes and formulation of additional coding categories.

Through these interviews I sought to answer the research question, “How is regeneration activity impacting residents of Southall?”. The interview structure roughly followed a Topic Guide (**Appendix IV**), but the semi-structured nature of the conversation meant that questions were flexible and differed across the interviews. Questions were designed to evoke responses that revealed the lived impacts of the three key features of regeneration policy explored in the literature review, namely commodification of land, development on the basis of quantification, and celebration of “diversity” and “inclusion”.

## 3.7 Data analysis

The data analysis process was conducted using a digital word document, which acted as a coding frame (**Appendix V**). The overarching data analysis approach was grounded theory, whereby the data was organised into core categories with sub-codes falling within them. Three core categories were chosen that corresponded with the three features of regeneration policy explored in the literature review: commodification of land, development on the basis of quantification, and celebration of “diversity” and “inclusion”.

Two tables were then created within each core category to contain sub-codes, one containing features of policy and the other lived impacts of the policy. These sub-codes are important themes seen as theoretically significant to answering the research question, and are drawn from the literature review and interviews conducted. First, before interviews commenced, sub-codes were derived from salient points discussed in the literature review. For example, “entrenches inequalities” was a sub-code of the core category “commodification of land”, as this is something discussed in the literature review as a possible impact of regeneration. Then, as interviews commenced, more sub-codes were derived from the discussions with respondents. The open-ended nature of the study’s research question made this inductive method beneficial, as data codes were not rigid from the beginning of the study but were flexible, allowing sub-codes to be generated in an ongoing manner based on the data collected (Bryman, 2016). In this way, new insights could permeate my understanding beyond the initial literature review and themes could shift and change over time. Repeated readings of interview transcripts allowed me to interpret and form new sub-codes from key themes such as those which were repeated across or within interviews, important to the interviewee, or key to answering the research question. This

thematic analysis paired with grounded theory ensured that sub-codes and themes addressed in the subsequent analysis were located within the transcripts themselves and that research conclusions would be completely “grounded” in the data (Bryman, 2016, pp. 584-588).

The physical method for deriving these sub-codes was as follows. After transcribing the interviews, I read through the transcripts again and colour-coded statements according to which of the three core categories they addressed. In the coding frame tables, there were columns labelled with each respondent’s pseudonym, and the rows below were filled with sub-codes. Where an interview statement addressed an existing sub-code, the page number of the transcript was recorded in a cell under their column and in the sub-code’s row. This strategy was less confusing and time-consuming than copying and pasting entire quotes to the table, but simultaneously allowed me to clearly see where numerous respondents addressed similar sub-codes and expressed similar sentiments. This indicated which themes would be important to address in the Findings and Discussion chapters. It also provided ease in future when I wished to revisit those comments and compare them across interviews. I transitioned into more focused coding, placing analytical importance on those sub-codes which seemed to be “most revealing about the data”, particularly those frequently addressed or shared by interviewees (Bryman, 2016, p. 575).

## Chapter 4: The Case of Southall

### 4.1 Southall's local context

Southall is a village located in the west London Borough of Ealing (**Figure 4.1**). Southall's development patterns have always been shaped by its proximity and transport connections to London (GLA, 2014), which by the late 1800s had transformed it from a rural community to an industrial hub centred around sites such as the Southall Gas Works (**Figure 4.2**) (Meads, 1980). For years, Southall has been a hub for South Asian settlement in the U.K., owing largely to Indian and East African migration from the 1950s to 1970s. Today, this ethnic minority makes up a majority of Southall's 40,000 residents. Southall boasts many long-running Punjabi-language institutions and publications, and it offers a safe place to worship and don signs of faith and South Asian identity outwardly in London (Singh & Tatla, 2006). Southall has many places of worship including the largest *gurdwara* in Europe (GLA, 2014; Meads, 1980). This cultural and religious freedom was not always easy, as violent race riots in 1979 and 1981 between South Asians and white residents threatened the community's safety (Oates, 2003).

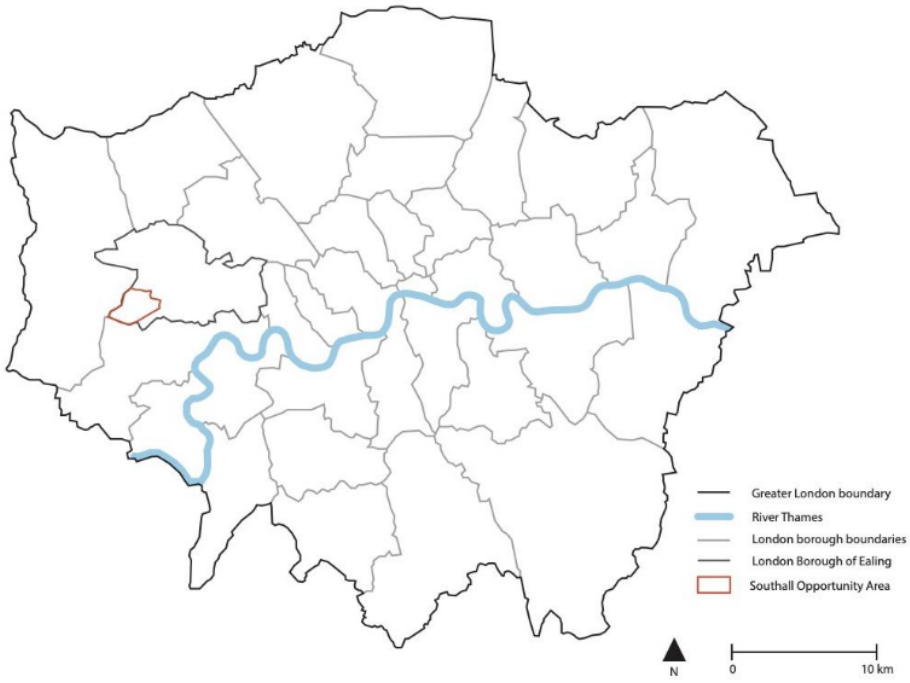


*Figure 4.1: Southall's location within the greater London and the Borough of Ealing*


*Figure 4.1: Key sites within Southall's local context*

## 4.2 Changes to Southall driven by regeneration policy

Regeneration policy driven by the GLA is initiating three key changes to the built fabric of Southall OA:

Firstly, the completion of the Crossrail Station in August 2021 and commencement of service of the Transport for London Elizabeth Line in May 2022 promises to reduce rail travel to Tottenham Court Road station in central London from 45 to 17 minutes (GLA, 2014). To support this, the surrounding traffic junction and bridge, at present difficult to traverse and congested, will be improved and widened (Ealing Council, 2015b).

Secondly, up to 9,000 mixed-tenure homes are slated to be built by 2041 in the area, in some buildings extending over 10 storeys in height. The bulk of the new development is centred on the brownfield site of the former Gas Works, which is financially valuable due to its proximity to the new Crossrail station (Ealing Council, 2015b; GLA, 2014). 56,490 square metres of the development will be dedicated to a hotel, cinema, offices, and retail space (Transport for London, 2021).

Thirdly, the Opportunity Area Planning Framework (OAPF) for Southall aims to add 24,000-32,000 square metres of mainstream, national comparison retail offer floorspace along Southall Broadway, connecting it via a “continuous high street” with a new commercial thoroughfare near the Gas Works site and Beaconsfield Road (GLA, 2014, p. 76).

## Chapter 5: Findings

The following data derived from the interviews has been identified as thematically important through the data analysis process. Certain themes will be emphasised due to their repetition across interviews, importance to certain individuals, or close relationship to the literature referenced in the literature review. These findings are organised in line with the structure of the literature review and the Interview Topic Guide (**Appendix IV**), following the three overarching themes of the commodification of land, development based upon quantification, and celebration of diversity and inclusion.

### 5.1 The commodification of land entrenches inequalities

#### *5.1.1 Economic inequalities*

Many respondents had a clear sense that the brownfield land surrounding the Crossrail station was being developed into residential units to capitalise on Southall's increasingly desirable location and connection to Central London via public transport. Jagpal connected this to a wider trend across London, whereby places such as Southall are pinpointed as growth regions to mitigate rapid population growth and resulting housing need. For Jagjit and others, this commodification of land in Southall is desirable in that it "improved" the area and demolished "redundant" structures such as old industrial units in favour of more economically active uses like flats. Jagjit felt the money invested in these flats would filter out and improve the wider community, for example by leading to the replacement of "traditional Victorian back-to-back…terraced houses" with new builds. Similarly, Ranvir was happy to see the construction of new shops and market-priced housing if it meant that some of the vacant shop units he saw along Southall Broadway were let. However, others viewed the commodification of land in a negative light. They recognised that the old housing stock of Victorian terraces and flats above shops along Southall Broadway are affordable rental options for those on lower incomes, the removal of which in favour of new builds at market rents would force those occupants to move elsewhere. Whilst renters would suffer, freehold owners would benefit. Dev believed that older residents with a freehold may not live long enough to reap the financial benefit of the uplift in value of local real estate prices, which may occur in 10 or more years due to the developments, but that their heirs might.

Whilst respondents admitted the new developments are desirable in so much as they serve the policy objective of increasing housing stock to alleviate need, this was counteracted by

the fact that the units were unaffordable, and therefore inaccessible, to most of those interviewed. It was concerning to many interviewed that few of the new units have been allocated for social tenure or otherwise affordable rent. Simon, a young professional actively looking for a one-bedroom home in which to live with his partner, considered renting a unit of this tenure in the Green Quarter development due to its location only five minutes away from his family home. He quickly abandoned this prospect, upon realising how “ridiculously expensive” they were, reflecting that due to the job opportunities currently available in Southall, “there’s nowhere anyone’s making that kind of money” locally to afford the asking price. Jagpal, exploring the Green Quarter development just five minutes from his home off Southall Broadway, sensed “a crazy divide” between the slick design of the new builds and the Victorian terraces in which he and surrounding residents live. Due to the Green Quarter’s inaccessibility resulting from its high price point, Jagpal jokingly refers to the development as “Beverly Hills”, after the famously up-market enclave in Los Angeles. Similar sentiments across the interviews contributed to a widespread belief that developers are seeking to make the highest profits possible rather than benefitting local people or to create places for locals to use.

### *5.1.2 Social inequalities*

None of the Southall residents interviewed believed that the new residential developments were for their use. This was due to the fact that the price was unaffordable, that many respondents continued to live in multi-generational family homes, and that the new units were too small in size to accommodate families, at mostly one-to-two bedroom units. It is due to this unit size that led Jasbir to the conclusion that the new developments were not aimed at “traditional Southall residents” such as “families” living together under one roof, but rather higher-income, “young professionals”. Along with many others, he assumed this demographic would be attracted to Southall as a convenient place to sleep and reach their jobs in central London quickly in the morning. Noticing Southall’s resemblance to other areas across London experiencing similar developments at odds with local needs, Jasbir believed these flats were being purchased en masse by wealthy “investors from abroad…who want to park their money in London” and rent the units. This demographic of landlord and tenant, Jasbir fears, is resulting in a “transitory” new population who, “don’t have any roots set down in Southall…and don’t want to necessarily stay”, and thus who care less about the quality and upkeep of local social infrastructure such as schools and health services. This development trend, he worried, is therefore systemically “building instability” in the community by adding pressure on local services without providing new homes or facilities which current residents can access.

### *5.1.3 Environmental inequalities*

Several respondents reported negative environmental impacts stemming from the regeneration activity. They were of the understanding that when development commenced on the brownfield Gas Works site in 2010, contaminated soil was exposed, releasing noxious chemicals in the form of particulate matter into the air and groundwater detectable even in neighbouring Hayes. This resulted in complaints of ill health from nearby residents, such as Jasbir's mother. Whilst Ranvir accepted that certain by-products were inevitable from construction, such as noise pollution, he felt that in this instance the developers acted immorally, "flouting environmental regulations just because it saves a bit of money". Jasbir sees this as a fundamental policy issue of, "reconciling [the housing and environmental] crises in a way that isn't going to be to the detriment of one or the other".

## 5.2 Development on the basis of quantification studies is divorced from local contexts

### *5.2.1 Regeneration activity in the local context*

Respondents looked favourably upon developments which could be enjoyed and shared by the whole community. The Crossrail station, which could more closely link residents to their family, friends, and work, was seen as complimenting Southall's character nicely. The planned high street extension near Beaconsfield Road was also seen as desirable, due to its potential to alleviate traffic pressure on Southall's main arteries. However, this positive feeling was conditional on the road being open for public access, rather than reserved for the use of residents of the new developments. Respondents were not sure which would be the case.

Despite these perceived positive infrastructure additions, there was tension regarding the physical ramifications of amplified development activity. Nearly every respondent referred to Southall as becoming increasingly densely populated, describing it as a "confined space", with "people everywhere", "crowded", "congested", "packed", "overpopulated, over congested with multiple occupancy housing", and simply, "there are a lot of people here". One symptom of this was traffic pressure, which led to jams and was accompanied by a paucity of parking spaces. This traffic situation was the most cited longstanding issue with Southall across respondents. Many felt that developers of recent high-rise residential properties had not contributed adequately to improving this traffic situation, nor to other areas of concern such as the uplift in crime, quality of education, and community health and

fitness initiatives. Not only did they feel the present infrastructure was not being improved, but several respondents worried that the rapid construction of new high-density buildings and resulting influx of new residents would place too much additional stress on Southall's infrastructure and facilities, which were being provided at a much slower rate. They also worried a strain would be placed on the health of Southall's natural environment. Simon felt that this development of "overpriced housing at central London price[s]", without first providing foundational infrastructure such as schools and roads, was socially unsustainable and doomed to fail. For this reason, Dev was not prepared to say that the developments were truly "regenerating" the area. Jasbir felt this was a failing of the GLA, which by "trying to achieve one public policy objective which is to increase housing stock" by encouraging development of high-rises is,

> doing so at the expense of another public policy objective, which is to make the quality of peoples' lives better in terms of their ability to use the existing infrastructure locally, like health services, school services, [and] road transport…so we have got a problem where two laudable objectives are coming into collision with one another.

Sukh believes this is undermining the "building [of] local community" in Southall, making life "miserable" and leading to an exodus of residents searching for an affordable place to live with the amenities they need. Simon, along with several others, referred to the development trajectory in Southall as "gentrification".

However, Jasbir stated this negative reaction would not stem from all forms of development. He juxtaposes the overwhelming characteristic of the new high-rises with the development of several council estates in Southall during the 1960s through 1980s when he was growing up. These buildings, low-rise at two-to-three storeys high, fit in well with the existing typologies of the Victorian terraced houses and therefore residents perceived them as "not so huge or looming that they made us feel like we were being overshadowed or intimidated by them, and the people that lived there were slotted into the community quite easily without anyone feeling overwhelmed". The flats' tenure and typologies stand in contrast to Southall's existing fabric, which for some creates a sense of severance between the new builds and the existing community. Jasbir observed this is creating "tensions" in the community, as residents "feel completely swamped" by the "forest" of high-rise development units built around them, a phenomenon Sukh describes as "flooding the area with bricks".

### *5.2.2 The power to influence change in the built environment*

*5.2.2.1 Local residents' power to influence change in the built environment*

When asked the degree to which they were involved in making decisions about the form of regeneration activity occurring in Southall, most respondents said they were entirely uninvolved and did not engage with the planning system. The few who said they had engaged with planning processes were over the age of 50. Of these, Jasbir was the most engaged, having led a campaign group of Southall residents combatting environmental harms wrought by the developments. This role led him to make formal representations in opposition to the Gas Works development in 2010, to a panel of the GLA including then-Mayor of London Boris Johnson. Despite his tireless efforts, he sensed that local resistance was not enough to sway decision-makers away from carrying out these projects.

The respondents who were not involved in planning decision-making were in the sample's younger demographic. Jagpal suggests this may be due to lack of attention or access to planning news. He says that whilst leaflet notices about upcoming developments came through his post box, he did not consider them to be reliable sources of information as the language resembled "propaganda", making the developments seem like "improvements" universally by portraying them in a falsely positive light. Similarly, Dev and his family "definitely don't really care" about planning notices through the post box "because we feel like the government, or our council, don't really care about Southall that much". As evidence of this, he points to litter and other neglect that have made Southall look like "a dump". Gursimran says Southall has "always felt like a neglected town" that "wasn't given much attention" by the state, perhaps due to its large contingent of non-white inhabitants.

Despite this lack of formal engagement with the planning system, younger respondents did obtain local development news through social media accounts and websites, on which they could engage in conversations about how Southall has changed over the years and share information about new developments taking place. Dev felt this was generating valuable involvement, interest and recognition of new developments amongst younger people in the community, spurring, "a small but very important conversation about what's happening with Southall". Where respondents did not engage with the planning system formally or through social media, they became aware of new developments only when construction commenced.

*5.2.2.2 Barriers to local residents' power to influence change in the built environment*

Beyond a general voluntary lack of engagement with formal planning decision-making expressed by respondents in this study, the interviews also revealed instances in which residents may not have the same degree of choice to participate. Jasbir enumerated two significant barriers to residents' exercise of their democratic rights in this area: language and representation.

Firstly, Jasbir explained the language barrier that exists for Southall residents who are "not,…or insufficiently, literate in English". This inhibits their substantive engagement with formal planning processes, as they cannot "express their concerns and objections" in the language required. He believes the core issue is the state's failure to bridge the linguistic gap, instead placing the onus of facilitating communication on the residents themselves, requiring them to request translation services and other resources about planning proposals in writing. In this way, Jasbir feels Ealing Council sets "impossible expectations" of the many in Southall who have limited technical or language resources or social capital to actively pursue this engagement, "taking full advantage of the fact that they are dealing with a largely immigrant population, many of whom do not have English as a first language and therefore cannot express themselves" in opposition to developments.

The second barrier to some Southall residents' meaningful participation in planning which Jasbir cited was lack of adequate political representation, referring to both local councillors and MPs. He suggested that those previously or currently in these positions of power may stifle the voices of residents, as the representatives have tended to be of the, "Older Asian, mainly male" demographic, which had dominated local discourse for years. This led to the silencing of other perspectives such as those of women. He worried these same representatives were corrupt, more interested in warming to businessmen and politicians than elevating constituents' concerns. He believed this led to planning permission "being granted so liberally for these developments", a decision from which local people felt "excluded".

These and other barriers contributed to Jasbir's strong sense that development in Southall has "continued…without any real control" in the sense that local residents "are not able to articulate their resistance…and do not have the social capital with media and the law" to speak out against what he terms a "fundamental…political, systemic failure to…protect the interest of local people" and "of representation through local democracy". For these many reasons, he feels Southall residents are unable to communicate their views, "either directly

or indirectly. They are completely muzzled". Simon doubted his opinion would be able to impact the course of development at any stage, even though he felt "it seems like it would be a bad idea" to proceed with development which is unaffordable to many in Southall. With resignation, he reflected that "obviously everything is for money and it's not down to us", meaning his fellow residents. Gursimran felt similarly, feeling that decisions about new development are "not…in the hands of the community", and recognising Southall's ethnic minority demographic "it is the disempowered people who are always affected…the ones who are less equal in society".

## 5.3 Celebration of "diversity" does not prevent disproportionate impact on minority groups

### *5.3.1 Southall as a key South Asian hub*

Southall is a strong community hub for Punjabi Sikhs and other South Asian communities in the U.K. All the respondents who identified as ethnically South Asian said their families came to the U.K. from India and Pakistan between 1960 and 1990; the reasons for moving were largely to seek employment opportunities and gain the support of the large pre-existing Punjabi community network in Southall, which made for a smoother transition to England. Relatives moved within close proximity to their immediate families, who helped them raise money for mortgages, cars and businesses. Amidst a U.K. job market where discrimination was rampant and South Asian qualifications were frequently unrecognised, Southall was known as a place where employment could be found in factories, schools, or nearby Heathrow Airport. Due to these experiences, Jasbir feels "the town acted…like an incubator for a new immigrant community", improving the lives of future generations through perseverance and determination. Jagpal feels pride that Southall was "built through immigrant hands, just hard work and people trying to pave a way for themselves, and that sense of community is something I take with me in my everyday life".

Southall provided a unique community where many residents shared the same cultural and religious background; Gursimran referred to the area as a "bubble" of "Asianness" different from anywhere in London, which acted as a protective barrier against the type of racist abuse Ranvir's friends living in other "more white areas" experienced. Jagpal, a turban-wearing Sikh who grew up in the 1980s, felt a sense of "belonging" due to a "network" of local Sikhs. He and his friends quickly realised that "if we stuck together, we'd be safer" from racist abuse walking in public and avoid getting "singled out". For this reason, he finds

Southall is a more “welcoming place” for Sikhs than other areas of the U.K., and that locals have developed a deep camaraderie from this collective resilience.

### *5.3.2 Incorporation of ethnic minority histories in the built environment*

Respondents felt the retention of the Punjabi language on signs within the Southall train station was positive, Gursimran feeling it “celebrated diversity” and promoted an “accepting” environment (**Figure 5.1**). This was a physical acknowledgement of what she described as Southall’s “iconic” place in South Asian diasporic culture, which Jagjit described as Southall’s “own brand” due to its popularity and widespread renown as a tourism hub for South Asian clothing shops, restaurants, and event spaces. However, Dev was concerned that due to the influx of new visitors brought by Crossrail, developers may attempt to “monetise the culture” of Southall in “the way that Chinatown in London is”. He stressed that the residents of Southall do not “want it to become a petting zoo” for Punjabi culture.


*Figure 5.1: The Elizabeth Line station signage is written in English and Punjabi*

### *5.3.3 Removal of ethnic minority histories from the built environment*

Alongside the pride respondents shared in the unique South Asian character and community of Southall were concerns that the new developments may reduce or destroy this valued character of the area.

Firstly, there were concerns about the removal of structures for redevelopment that were seen as valuable to the character and fabric of Southall as a community. Gursimran was concerned about, "Southall losing its cultural identity and its community feeling that brings people together, and the narrative Southall holds" amidst the regeneration, including the "histories" of certain buildings. To her, the planned destruction of key places such as event halls for Asian cultural events would mean, "wiping the history of Southall a bit". Other structures stirred this sentiment in respondents, including the gas holder on the Gas Works site. This blue tower was emblazoned with the initials "L.H.", indicating to passing airplanes that London Heathrow airport was near. This held special meaning for Jagpal as it represented the many Asian community members who found work at Heathrow to support their families. When the gas holder was demolished in the 2010s to make way for the Green Quarter development, which he admits "might look great", Jagpal felt like it "pushed everything out…all the rich history…Southall lost a little bit of its culture, because that was our sort of 'Welcome to Southall' gate", as a built memory of Southall's history of immigration and struggle. He also lamented the high-rise new builds surrounding the listed Sunrise Radio building (**Figure 5.2**), formerly the home of an iconic South Asian radio station which he recalls everyone would play aloud as they drove past the building. The area is very meaningful for him as his parents purchased their first car in a nearby garage, a milestone in family history and diasporic culture. However, Harpreet puts words to Jagpal's sentiment about the area now, where the new high-rise developments dominating the skyline are, "literally covering up" Sunrise Radio's history, "because you can't see it; it's not as much of a landmark as it used to be". Whilst Gursimran felt there was some scope for "modernising" Southall, she felt firmly this should not come at the cost of covering up its historical "roots". Whilst this was a sentiment shared across interviews, there was no uniform perception of what was valuable to retain in Southall, as individuals attached meaning to different places; for instance, Harpreet did not oppose the removal of the gas holder, because whilst he acknowledged it was a "landmark", he viewed it as "an old useless thing that needed to be replaced".

*Figure 5.2: The shorter Sunrise Radio Building (centre) surrounded by new high-rise developments (left- and right-hand sides), as viewed from South Road in Southall, looking east*

Secondly, there were concerns that new developments would erode the thriving commerce of ethnic minority businesses in Southall. Jagpal “worried” that the demographic of residents attracted by the new developments created great demand for chain restaurants such as Pret a Manger, Costa, and Nandos, forcing local residents to move away as their “businesses won’t thrive as much”, as they would be unable to compete with the prices and type of product offered by huge companies. Gursimran pointed out that small businesses were already suffering from closure and loss of revenue during the pandemic and that further adversity could push them out of business. Simon questioned the need for the plans to expand the generalist shopping offer in Southall, as the community had easily accessed these shops in other neighbouring areas such as Uxbridge and Ealing for many years, which he noted were “only a bus ride away”. He argued that the introduction of chain stores in Southall would not only be impractical, but also damaging to Southall’s independent South Asian businesses. He said that “if you make everywhere like [other places with chain stores], then everywhere is just going to be the same”, and this would destroy what makes Southall unique and desirable in his eyes. Sukh, who is in the South Asian event industry, noted the plans to close several key venues for community events to create flats. Having spoken to several owners of these event spaces, he relayed they feel the development has had a negative impact on them because they are unable to run their business and thus will have to

find work elsewhere. He found this disappointing, as these are key gathering spaces for cultural events in the South Asian community.

## Chapter 6: Discussion

### 6.1 Is the commodification of land entrenching inequalities in Southall?

Respondents perceived that the pace of development in Southall has been very rapid in recent years, suggesting that its designation as an OA since 2010 has accelerated and amplified development in the area. Interviewees suspected this was due to the proximity of several brownfield sites to the new Crossrail station, which has greatly increased the sites' value to investors, as intended by the GLA (2021, 2014). However, all respondents expressed they did not feel the developments were intended for their use, largely due to unaffordability. Simon, a young professional, was interested in living close to his family but could not afford to buy an entry-level unit in the Green Quarter development, five minutes across Southall Broadway from his current home. Resultingly, he must look for an affordable place to live in another area of London. Situations such as Simon's led many respondents to the conclusion that the developments are being marketed towards affluent investors, rather than offered at a price point affordable for current Southall residents. As evidence of this they pointed to the low numbers of affordable housing being provided as part of the developments, despite local need amidst the current housing crisis. Those on lower incomes were in a disadvantaged position, being unable to afford units in the new developments and a lack of high-quality affordable housing availability due to austerity (Ferm & Raco, 2020). This disadvantage, combined with the easy access to the new units for those with considerable financial resources, suggests that an economic inequality gap is expanding in Southall as a result of the commodification of local land (Raco et. al., 2017).

Respondents noticed that not only the price, but the typologies of local developments were misaligned with current residents' preferences. Jagjit noticed that, increasingly, new developments were of a modern design. He predicted this would lead to the future demolition of dated Victorian terraced housing stock and construction of new builds that match this modern character. However, this trend created concerned Harpreet. Aesthetic preferences aside, he noted that the older housing stock, such as the upper-storeys of shops along Southall Broadway, are relied upon by locals on lower incomes as providing some of Southall's most affordable homes. He felt their demolition and replacement with modern new builds represents a "dispossess[ion]" of this crucial affordable housing by developers seeking to raise the value of the land. This results, as Harvey (2008) writes, in the "capture of valuable land from low-income populations that may have lived there for

many years", thereby forcing disadvantaged residents to move out of Southall as they look for low-rent housing (p. 34).

The impacts of the commodification of land extend beyond economic health of the community, to its social and environmental well-being. Jasbir perceived the new residents attracted to developments to be "transitory" high-income young professionals who are not invested in the community in a long-term way. He was concerned this would counteract the "building [of] local community" and building of robust social infrastructure in Southall that benefits the entire community. In addition, interviewees mentioned the developments have posed threats to the physical health of some Southall residents and the environment. Several respondents referred to known health complications experienced by acquaintances resulting from construction on the Gas Works site.

Collectively, the interviews portrayed that the developments arriving in Southall are not primarily catering to local residents, and are in actuality perpetuating adverse impacts upon their economic, social, and environmental health. That echoes what is occurring in other OAs in London; the commodification of land is entrenching existing inequalities (Savini & Aalbers, 2016; Ferm, Freire Trigo, & Moore-Cherry, 2021).

Those benefiting from the regeneration activity are developers and freeholders, who experience a financial benefit due to the uplift in the value of their land, as well as renters with enough wealth to enjoy this convenient place to live. Meanwhile, young residents such as Simon cannot access these developments. That this is the case in Southall contests the GLA's assertion in the London Plan that initiatives such as the designation of OAs are working to achieve "sustainable development" including increased "affordability" and "inclusivity" of housing. These findings would contest that notion, suggesting instead that the housing being provided in Southall is neither affordable to nor inclusive of the respondents surveyed. Rather than living up to its GLA definition as "improvements" to the local area, the "regeneration" activity in Southall is seen by the respondents in this study as damaging residents' quality of life (GLA, 2021, p. 99).

### 6.2 Is development on the basis of quantification studies divorced from Southall's local context?

Southall was designated as an OA after being "objectively assessed" by technical experts at the GLA as being able to accommodate a large amount of high-density development.

However, the views of the vast majority of respondents contested this conclusion, feeling there was not room in Southall for a significant amount of high-rise, high-density development, as the GLA asserts. The terms interviewees used to describe Southall's current spatial arrangements were various synonyms of "overcrowded" and "congested". Sukh's emotional reaction that the area was being "flooded with bricks" arose from the stark contrast between the new high-rise typologies and the pre-existing low-rise urban fabric. Jasbir described living amongst these high-rises as the feeling of being "completely swamped".

Respondents supported this concern with another: that the strain this pattern of development would place on local infrastructure would overburden Southall. Respondents did look favourably upon infrastructure such as the new Crossrail station because it could be used by the whole community. However, many felt that developers are failing to provide additional social infrastructure necessary to relieve the pressure placed on Southall's existing resources due to the influx of new residents; this includes roads, schools, health care facilities, and social housing. In absence of robust contributions from the developers, Jasbir felt that local infrastructure would be completely overburdened and deprive pre-existing residents of the same chance to access these resources as they have enjoyed in the past. He felt the achievement of "one public policy objective…to increase housing stock" should not be achieved at the great "expense of another public policy objective which is to…make the quality of people's lives better in terms of their ability to use the existing infrastructure locally".

Southall seems to be following the trend led by other London regeneration areas, where regeneration and development driven by government is at odds with "local circumstances" (Minton, 2017, pp. 14 and 24). Local residents interviewed held views that contradicted the GLA's assertion that Southall could accommodate a large number of new residents and development. The understanding of local circumstances revealed through this collection of qualitative accounts of residents' experiences directly challenged this policy narrative, signalling a qualitative blind spot within regeneration policy. If the state proceeds with development in Southall without consultation with locals to understand the "local socio-political contexts" before initiating a course of action, it will follow a similar trend to other areas of London where it is nearly impossible to "understand the anticipated spatial impacts" of a long-term development programme using just facts and figures (Ferm, Freire Trigo, & Moore-Cherry, 2021, p. 5; Savini & Aalbers, 2016, p. 881). Such a development process can lead to dangerously unsustainable futures.

Indeed, the interviews revealed a widespread sense amongst respondents that their opinions and perspectives about Southall's built environment would not sway the decisions of those empowered to control it. Younger respondents in particular exhibited disenchantment with the formal planning system, which led to very little engagement with it. Jagpal attributed his lack of involvement or trust to the language used on development application notices placed through his letterbox; he said these resembled "propaganda", by always portraying the developments as overwhelmingly positive and ignoring any potential harms to the area. Others had a pessimistic view of the relationship between Ealing Council and Southall residents, believing that the council lacked concern for residents' quality of life. As evidence of this they pointed to failure to remove litter scattered throughout the area and general neglect of the built environment by the council. Instead of formal engagement, most young people shared opinions and information about the built environment via social media. Amongst older respondents, the few who did engage did not express that they felt their efforts made a difference in the outcome of decisions. This included Jasbir, who went so far as to make representations to then-Mayor of London Boris Johnson in opposition to development on the Gas Works site.

Beyond the voluntary decision of some not to participate in the planning system, Jasbir raised the important issue of real barriers that remove the option of participation for some residents. Firstly, there exists a language barrier for residents that are not fluent in English. It is difficult in practice for these residents to navigate the formal planning system, as the onus lies with them to request information about proposals impacting them, or to articulate their "lived experience", in their necessary language. It is difficult for a person who does not speak English to utilise a webpage or phone line which is entirely in English to request information. Oftentimes, these individuals are elderly or lower-income migrants, without the skills or access to technology required to request this information. Without the "social capital" to navigate this system, non-English-speaking residents face a significant impediment to their ability to speak up. The lack of proactive action by public bodies to access non-English-speakers' perspectives stands in sharp contrast to the necessity of quantitative statistics to underpin official decisions initiating development in Southall. It is clear quantitative data is considered to be of higher importance than quantitative (Raco et. al., 2017). Secondly, when the first barrier is combined with what Jasbir perceived as inadequate political representation, this contributes to residents' being "unable to articulate their resistance", creating a "political, systemic failure to…protect…the interest of local people" and therefore "democracy". That very real barriers exist to inhibit members of the Southall community from making their opinions heard in planning debates constitutes a form of "repressi[on]" of voices, something which Lefebvre (1970, p. 36) cautioned against in a democracy, as in

principle no one should be systemically excluded from such decisions. In all, the interviews offered various reasons as to why views of some living in Southall were not included in underpinning decisions about the built environment, and that qualitative data including the understanding of lived experiences of residents were not robustly being sought by those empowered to make decisions impacting their lives.

### 6.3 Does celebration of "diversity" and "inclusion" fail to prevent disproportionate impact on minority groups?

Southall exhibits common features of other London OAs and regeneration areas, but is distinguishable by its history as a key cultural and residential hub for South Asians in the U.K. Efforts by the state to recognise this identity include outward gestures such as the retention of the Punjabi language on signage at the new Crossrail station alongside English. This gesture was seen by Gursimran and others as a positive celebration of Southall's "diversity" and "inclusivity". However, the interviews gave a sense that the content of genuine "inclusivity" involves more than outward gestures of cultural celebration.

It was clear from the striking similarities between respondents' family histories that Southall, like other London regeneration areas such as the Borough of Haringey examined in the study of Raco et. al. (2017), has been essential for providing a place of residence and entrepreneurship for ethnic minorities arriving in England. These populations are more likely to be "exclu[ded] from formal [employment opportunities" due to racism, and thus employment opportunities in these places offered a chance for social mobility (Raco et. al, 2017, p. 132). A way for the South Asian community to maintain its identity amidst a hostile environment was to band together to keep cultural and religious life alive, and resultingly businesses owned by minority ethnic individuals, such as Asian event halls, became key community hubs. Many of the respondents in this study of South Asian descent have formed deep emotional connections to Southall for this reason: the built fabric reflects and is integrally tied to their culture, acting as physical reminder of South Asian immigrants' struggle to establish their life in England against many obstacles.

With respondents' deep emotional connection to Southall's built environment came a widespread sense that this personal meaning was being eroded by the regeneration activity happening Southall. As meaningful structures were demolished or minimised to make way for new developments, respondents felt their history was being lost. Sukh, who works frequently in South Asian-owned event venues, is acquainted with several of the owners

who can no longer afford the competitive rents in their area and are seeking employment elsewhere. Others are in the process of selling their land to developers, after finding that increased demand for land in Southall makes their asset more valuable as residential units than as a commercial space. Sukh laments this loss of valuable community gathering space in the area. Similarly, other respondents felt the regeneration activity was destroying the intangible communal value of the Sunrise Radio building, which has been surrounded and overshadowed by new high-rises, and the gas holder, which was demolished to make space for new developments. Jagpal believes the new developments in these two areas lack any personality, meaning, and connection to the fabric of Southall's deeply engrained South Asian history. This contrasts with the GLA's promotion of this typology of development as Southall, as something which will enhance the area and give it its own "distinctive character" making it more liveable (GLA, 2014, p. 97) For this reason, he feels the new developments have minimised the prominence of these two structures and therefore "pushed…out…all the rich history" of ethnic minority struggle in Southall, and has the effect of "literally covering up" the history "because you can't see it", as Harpreet puts it. These views accord with those of residents of other London regeneration areas, having, "sedimented memories of family and work…bound up with the neighbourhood", and resultingly demolition of structures holding this meaning had adverse impacts on their quality of life and feelings of belonging (Watt, 2013, p. 109).

The process of erasing history and meaning in Southall today cannot be understood in a vacuum but must be considered against the historical backdrop of imperialism. The developments in Southall are being constructed at least partially to extract value from the land, for the benefit of for-profit businesses and the U.K. government. This echoes the operation of Britain's colonial empire in South Asia; in both instances, the U.K. government embarks upon a quest to profit from land and wields a disproportionate amount of power over ethnic minorities who live there. As a result, in imperial times and in Southall, South Asians are dispossessed of their "home, land…[and] means of subsistence", tied integrally to their "history, language, and sense of all self" to support this acquisition through the colonial state's use of the land (Bhandar & Bhandar, 2016, pp. 1-2). Respondents expressed that the regeneration activity in Southall is eroding South Asian history, replacing key community structures with buildings devoid of meaning to them to take advantage of rising land values in the area. This is driving ethnic minority entrepreneurs out of business and resulting in the "forced displacement" of residents to elsewhere that is more affordable to live and work (Raco et al, 2017, p. 132).

Whilst the Mayor of London in his introduction to the London Plan states that ethnic minority entrepreneurs should be able to contribute to "the city's success" (GLA, 2021, p. XII), this research suggests that the role being impressed upon ethnic minorities in Southall is to move their culture and livelihood aside to make way for market-priced, high-density developments which can generate profits for businesses and, in turn, the city of London's global economic competitiveness. That in Southall the majority of the population is of ethnic minority descent demonstrates not only that they are being disproportionately impacted by the commodification of land but also that parallels can be drawn to the time of Empire (Raco et. al., 2017). This reality calls into question the real substance behind the celebration of "diversity" and genuine "inclusivity" created by the state in retaining the Punjabi language on the Southall train station sign; perhaps, this type of outward promotion is "not a proxy for equality" in substance (Beebeejaun, 2006, p. 15), as under the current regeneration policy regime ethnic minority identities are being adversely impacted.

### 6.4 Reflections

The qualitative data collected in this study suggests that in Southall, regeneration activity is impacting residents in a way consistent with regeneration areas in London and beyond, in that the commodification of land is entrenching inequalities, development on the basis of quantification studies is divorced from local contexts, and celebration of "diversity" and "inclusion" fail to prevent disproportionate impact on minority groups. The research methodology was effective to reveal perspectives which had till now remained largely absent from the debate about regeneration activity in Southall; this includes the lived experience of residents, some of whom feel excluded either socially or financially from having access to or influencing change or seeing their lives reflected in the built environment.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

### 7.1 Conclusions

The qualitative data collected in this study suggests that regeneration activity in Southall is having similar impacts upon residents as in other regeneration areas in London and beyond; this is so in that the commodification of land is entrenching inequalities, development on the basis of quantification studies is divorced from local contexts, and celebration of “diversity” and “inclusion” fail to prevent disproportionate impact on minority groups. In seeking to build understanding about how regeneration activity is impacting local residents, the case of Southall was chosen in part due to its potential to be extrapolated to reflect upon processes of regeneration in other cities and nations where land is increasingly commodified amidst the market economy.

The negative impacts expressed and recorded in this study contribute to understanding of a, “gap between policymaking and implementation” in London identified by Rocco, Royer & Mariz Gonçalves (2019, p. 427), as some of the good intentions of regeneration policy are not obtained in practice. The findings in this study contradict the GLA’s definition of “regeneration” in the London Plan as representing “improvements” to an area, or that it is entirely “sustainable development”, which is creating environmentally, socially, and economically resilient communities, or that this development is ”socially and economically inclusive”, creating “more genuinely affordable homes” (GLA, 2021, pp. XII-XIV, 2, 5, and 99). Rather, many of the residents surveyed feel that the regeneration activity is manifesting the opposite impacts in Southall. This “gap between policymaking and implementation” exists in states around the world, which like the U.K. follow a market-driven economic system and pursue a programme of housing policy underpinned by neoliberal ideals (Arbaci, 2019). In Southall, this gap presents itself in the form of inequality, whereby not all residents are able to express their views to public bodies with the same ease, nor are all residents able to access social resources or new housing due to lack of financial or social capital. Where wealth and power provide access to these things, many of the respondents felt the council and developers were not doing enough to assist those without robust resources in accessing what they need. This London case reflects a state of being occurring in capitalist states across the globe, whereby wealth and privilege provide access to the power to own and influence change in the built environment. This, alongside the barriers and struggles faced by local residents to do the same thing, suggest that the content of the planning system may be flawed in the notions of fairness and equality. Through hearing and

understanding the lived impacts of those living in an area which is the subject of regeneration activity in London, this qualitative research has shed valuable light on the ways in which social justice is evaded in governance and planning systems of major cities today.

## 7.2 Recommendations

This research suggests that current planning processes are entrenching inequality and exclusion, as some residents of Southall are pre-positioned as disadvantaged compared to others, lacking access to information and experiencing economic hardship due to barriers such as finances, ethnicity, or language. Greater steps towards equality and fairness in planning governance may require a rethinking of the ideological foundations of our nation-state. Currently, the neoliberal ideology underpinning planning policies sees quantitatively-measured economic growth as a desirable project. However, if qualitative data were collected from residents of local areas, and was able to permeate decisions about regeneration activity, there may be an opportunity for the state to shift some emphasis onto prioritising citizens' quality of life and a healthy society in policy. This may reverse some of the negative impacts regeneration activity is having on residents (Lefebvre, 1970). The ideology underpinning such a shift might envision, "Cities for people, not for profit" (Marcuse, 2009, pp. 195-196).

This research has revealed that increasing the number of citizens who are able to contribute to decisions about the built environment and incorporating their perspectives in decision-making will reduce the chance of changes to regeneration areas negatively impacting these individuals. One way this may be achieved is through state reversal of austerity programmes to provide more financial resourcing to LPAs and other public authorities (Ferm & Raco, 2020). Additional funds may enable LPAs to collect more qualitative data in a way that engages with citizens' perspectives, including those which conflict with state narratives of what is right to change in the built environment. Resourcing of the state to enable them to carry out this function would represent a new, "radical empowerment of civic society", contribute to reshaping notions of "value" in the built environment, and allow for regeneration policies to proceed based on information including marginalised testimonies in order to protect the places and social services of real significance to people, thereby reducing the present negative impacts of regeneration activity in Southall, for instance (Beebeejaun, 2018, p. 95).

## 7.3 Looking forward

Future research could expand understanding about the impacts of regeneration activity on local residents, both in London and in cities around the globe in states following capitalist ideologies. In London, areas such as Southall will continue to change as the OA policy structure matures and development activity amplifies. Studies charting the continual changes in these areas as perceived by residents will continue to augment qualitative understanding of their lived experiences, which have been largely excluded from formal policy documents and the metrics used to rationalise decisions about the built environment. The voices of women, ethnic minorities, and other vulnerable groups are particularly important to consider and amplify as they are oftentimes excluded from these debates.

The negative impact which the commodification of land has had already on respondents who reside in Southall suggests that this trend of marginalising ethnic minority lived experience in favour of policy goals of financial gain will continue, unless the techniques used to initiate and approve this development activity are changed to encompass and acknowledge the real, lived impacts of regeneration activity. This dissertation hopes to capture the experience of some of these residents, in one regeneration area in London, to show how the experiences of a single individual can provide insight into the degree to which global economic systems are affecting the health of our societies and happiness of people.

## References


Almeida, A. (2021) ‘Pushed to the Margins: A quantitative analysis of gentrification in London in the 2010s’, *Runnymede Trusst and CLASS*.

Arbaci, S. (2019) ‘Welfare Regimes and National Housing Systems in Europe’. In *Paradoxes of Segregation: Housing Systems, Welfare Regimes and Ethnic Residential Change in Southern European Cities* (1st ed.). London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods* (5th ed.). Oxford, UK: OUP.

Beebeejaun, Y. (2018) ‘Public Participation and the declining significance of planning’. In J. Tomaney and J. Ferm (eds.), *Planning practice: critical perspectives from the UK*, Routledge, London, pp. 85-100.

Beebeejaun, Y. (2006) The participation trap: the limitations of participation for ethnic and racial groups, *International Planning Studies*, 11(1), pp. 3–18.

Beswick, J. and Penny, J. (2018) ‘Demolishing the present to sell off the future? The emergence of ‘Financialised Municipal Entrepreneurialism’ in London’, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*.

Bhandar, B., & Bhandar, D. (2016) 'Cultures of Dispossession: Critical Reflections on Rights, Status and Identities.' *darkmatter Journal*, 14.

Canning, C. (2017) ‘The Gurdwara in Britain: Narratives of meaning, use, and development’, *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures,* 26(2), pp. 52-78.

Curtis, A., Cargill Thompson, J., Honegger, L., Kafka, G., Liu, W., Montero, A., Mountain, D., Salmi, J., & Seow, N. (2017). Opportunity for whom? How communities engage with land value capture in Opportunity Areas. University College London (UCL). https://www.academia.edu/34860139/Opportunity_For_Whom_How_Communities_Engage_With_ Land_Value_Capture_in_Opportunity_Areas.

Ealing Council (2015a) '2011 Census Profile: Ealing wards', *Ealing Council*. Online. Accessed 2 Sep 2021. Available at: https://www.ealing.gov.uk/downloads/download/2372/2011_census-ealing_ward_profiles.

Ealing Council (2015b) *Southall Gateway Supplementary Planning Document.*

Ferm, J., Freire Trigo, S., & Moore-Cherry, N. (2021) 'Documenting the 'soft spaces' of London planning: Opportunity Areas as institutional fix in a growth-oriented city', *Regional Studies,* pp. 1-12.

Ferm, J., & Raco, M. (2020). Viability planning, value capture and the geographies of market-led planning reform in England. Planning Theory & Practice, 21(2), 218–235. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/14649357.2020.1754446.

Greater London Authority (2021) *The London Plan 2021.*

Greater London Authority (2014) *Southall Opportunity Area Planning Framework.*

Harvey, D. (2008) 'The Right to the City', *New Left Review,* 53, pp. 23-40.

Lefebvre, H. (1970) *La révolution urbaine.* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN.

Legacy, C. (2012) Achieving legitimacy through deliberative plan-making processes – lessons for metropolitan strategic planning, *Planning Theory & Practice*, 13(1), pp.71–87.

Marcuse, P. (2009) From critical urban theory to the right to the city. *City*, 13(2/3), pp. 185–197.

Meads, R.J. (1980) *The Maypole and Southall Green.* (Culprint, Southall).

Ministry of Housing, Communities, and Local Government (2021) *National Planning Policy Framework.*

Minton, A. (2017) *Big capital: Who's London for?* Penguin, London.

Nasser, N. (2004) 'Southall's Kaleido-scape: A study in the changing morphology of a west London suburb', *Built Environment (1978-)* 30(1), pp. 76-103.

Novy, J. & Peters, D. (2012) Railway station mega-projects as public controversies: the case of Stuttgart 21, *Built Environment*, 38(1), pp.128–145.

Oates, J. (2003) *Southall and Hanwell: History & guide*.

Raco, M. and Taşan-Kok, T. (2020) A Tale of Two Cities: Framing urban diversity as content curation in super-diverse London and Toronto. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: an Interdisciplinary Journal*, *12*(1), pp. 43-66.

Raco, M., Kesten, J., Colomb, C., Moreira de Souza, T. (2017): *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity: The case of London*. Utrecht: Utrecht University, Faculty of Geosciences.

Robin, E. (2018). Performing real estate value(s): Real estate developers, systems of expertise and the production of space. Geoforum.

Rocco, R., Royer, L., & Mariz Gonçalves, F. (2019) 'Characterisation of Spatial Planning in Brazil: The Right to the City in Theory and Practice', *Planning Practice & Research,* 34:4, pp. 419-437.

Sanyal, B. (2005) 'Chapter 1: Hybrid Planning Cultures: The Search for the Global Cultural Commons', in *Comparative planning cultures,* ed. B. Sanyal, pp. 3-25.

Savini, F. and Aalbers, M. (2016) 'The de-contextualisation of land use planning through financialisation: Urban redevelopment in Milan' *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 23(4), pp. 878-894.

Singh, G. and Tatla, D.S. (2006) *Sikhs in Britain: the making of a community*. (Zed Books: London and New York City).

Transport for London (2021) *Southall Development Sites Bus Study*.

Watt, P. (2013) 'It's not for us: Regeneration, the 2012 Olympics and the gentrification of East London', *City,* 17:1, pp. 99-118.

Appendix I

# RISK ASSESSMENT FORM

# FIELD / LOCATION WORK

***The Approved Code of Practice - Management of Fieldwork should be referred to when completing this form***

*http://www.ucl.ac.uk/estates/safetynet/guidance/fieldwork/acop.pdf*

**DEPARTMENT/SECTION** THE UCL BARTLETT SCHOOL OF PLANNING

**LOCATION(S)** SOUTHALL, LONDON, UK

**PERSONS COVERED BY THE RISK ASSESSMENT** JANE KISTLER

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF FIELDWORK

This is a proposal for semi-structured, qualitative interviews to be carried out by the researcher with former or current residents of Southall, either remotely via telephone or in their place of residence in Southall, UK, or an otherwise neutral location such as a public café.

Consider, in turn, each hazard (white on black). If **NO** hazard exists select **NO** and move to next hazard section.

If a hazard does exist select **YES** and assess the risks that could arise from that hazard in the risk assessment box.

**Where risks are identified that are not adequately controlled they must be brought to the attention of your Departmental Management who should put temporary control measures in place or stop the work. Detail such risks in the final section.**

| **ENVIRONMENT** | **The environment always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this hazard** |
|---|---|
| *e.g. location, climate, terrain, neighbourhood, in outside organizations, pollution, animals.* | Examples of risk: adverse weather, illness, hypothermia, assault, getting lost. Is the risk high / medium / low ?<br><br>LOW. I would potentially be interviewing some residents on-site in Southall. I have been there many times and am familiar with the area, so it is relatively low-risk. In the unlikely event that I be lost or assaulted I will ensure that at all times a trusted person is alerted to my whereabouts, who can seek help should I fail to check-in after the planned interview times. |

| **CONTROL MEASURES** | **Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk** |
|---|---|
| | work abroad incorporates Foreign Office advice |
| | participants have been trained and given all necessary information |
| | only accredited centres are used for rural field work |
| X | participants will wear appropriate clothing and footwear for the specified environment |
| | trained leaders accompany the trip |
| | refuge is available |
| | work in outside organisations is subject to their having satisfactory H&S procedures in place |

| | |
|---|---|
| | OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented: |

| **EMERGENCIES** | **Where emergencies may arise use space below to identify and assess any risks** |
|---|---|
| *e.g. fire, accidents* | Examples of risk: loss of property, loss of life |

LOW. In the event I should come into danger of imminent serious bodily harm, I will keep close contacts apprised of when and where I will be, so that they might assist in the event of an issue.

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



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

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

| LONE WORKING | Is lone working a possibility? | YES | If 'No' move to next hazard<br>If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks |
|---|---|---|---|
| *e.g. alone or in isolation*<br>*lone interviews.* | Examples of risk: difficult to summon help. Is the risk high / medium / low?<br><br>LOW. There is a low risk associated with lone working, as I will be carrying out interviews alone and traveling to-and-from respondents' homes and Southall on public transport and on foot. Where I do not take someone along with me for safety, I will keep my personal mobile phone with me and on high charge at all times, and inform trusted others of where and when specifically I will be so that they might be ready to respond in the event that I require assistance. I will be travelling during the day to minimise risk. | | |

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

| ILL HEALTH | The possibility of ill health always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this Hazard. |
|---|---|
| *e.g. accident, illness,*<br><br>*personal attack, special personal considerations or vulnerabilities.* | Examples of risk: injury, asthma, allergies. Is the risk high / medium / low?<br><br>LOW. I have no pre-existing health conditions. |

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

| TRANSPORT | Will transport be required | NO | | Move to next hazard |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | YES | X | Use space below to identify and assess any risks |
| *e.g. hired vehicles* | Examples of risk: accidents arising from lack of maintenance, suitability or training<br>Is the risk high / medium / low?<br><br>LOW. Public transport will be used to travel to and from Southall. | | | |

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

| DEALING WITH THE | Will people be | | If 'No' move to next hazard |
|---|---|---|---|

| PUBLIC | dealing with public | YES | If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks |
|---|---|---|---|
| *e.g. interviews, observing* | Examples of risk: personal attack, causing offence, being misinterpreted. Is the risk high / medium / low? | | |

LOW. I will be conducting semi-structured interviews with members of the public. Questions will be designed sensitively, and where subjects are delicate, I will tactfully explain why I am asking. I will be polite and friendly, forthcoming, and disclose all relevant privacy information to put the respondent at ease. The respondents will be fully informed of their rights to withdraw from the study or to refrain from answering any line of questioning at any point during the interview. I will dress appropriately and modestly for the occasion.

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



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

| CONTROL MEASURES | Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk |
|---|---|
| | lone working on or near water will not be allowed |
| | coastguard information is understood; all work takes place outside those times when tides could prove a threat |
| | all participants are competent swimmers |
| | participants always wear adequate protective equipment, e.g. buoyancy aids, wellingtons |
| | boat is operated by a competent person |
| | all boats are equipped with an alternative means of propulsion e.g. oars |
| | participants have received any appropriate inoculations |

| | |
|---|---|
| | OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented: |

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

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

| SUBSTANCES | Will participants work with substances | NO | If 'No' move to next hazard<br>If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks |
|---|---|---|---|
| *e.g. plants, chemical, biohazard, waste* | Examples of risk: ill health - poisoning, infection, illness, burns, cuts. Is the risk high / medium / low? | | |
| **CONTROL MEASURES** | **Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk** | | |

- [ ] the departmental written Arrangements for dealing with hazardous substances and waste are followed
- [ ] all participants are given information, training and protective equipment for hazardous substances they may encounter
- [ ] participants who have allergies have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
- [ ] waste is disposed of in a responsible manner
- [ ] suitable containers are provided for hazardous waste
- [ ] OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

| OTHER HAZARDS | Have you identified any other hazards? | YES | If 'No' move to next section<br><br>If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks |
|---|---|---|---|
| *i.e. any other hazards must be noted and assessed here.* | Hazard: Covid-19<br><br>Risk: is the risk | | |
| **CONTROL MEASURES** | **Give details of control measures in place to control the identified risks** | | |

I am fully vaccinated against Covid-19, and before travelling to any in-person interview would take a lateral flow test to ensure that I am Covid-free in the 48 hours prior to meeting the respondent. All respondents will be contacted to identify whether they are comfortable with an in-person interview or not, and where possible interviews will be conducted virtually to minimise the risk.

| **Have you identified any risks that are not adequately controlled?** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **NO** | **X** | **Move to Declaration** |
| | **YES** | | **Use space below to identify the risk and what action was taken** |

| **Is this project subject to the UCL requirements on the ethics of Non-NHS Human Research?** | NO |
|---|---|

**If yes, please state your Project ID Number**

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

| **DECLARATION** | The work will be reassessed whenever there is a significant change and at least annually. Those participating in the work have read the assessment. |
|---|---|
| | Select the appropriate statement: |
| X | I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that there is no significant residual risk |
| | I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that the risk will be controlled by the method(s) listed above |

NAME OF SUPERVISOR **Dr. Yasmiah Beebeejaun**

**FIELDWORK** **5** May 2010

**Appendix II**

# This is the 2020/21 Moodle Snapshot and Late Summer Assessment

## Your response

Respondent: **Jane Kistler** Submitted on: Tuesday, 31 August 2021, 9:37 AM

## Ethical Clearance Pro Forma

It is important for you to include all relevant information about your research in this form, so that your supervisor can give you the best advice on how to proceed with your research.

You are advised to read though the relevant sections of UCL's Research Integrity guidance to learn more about your ethical obligations.

Please ensure to save a copy of your completed questionnaire BEFORE hitting 'submit' (you will not be able to access it later).

### Submission Details

1 * Please select your programme of study.

MPlan City Planning : MPlan City Planning

2 * Please indicate the type of research work you are doing.

- [ ] Dissertation in Planning (MSc)
- [x] Dissertation in City Planning (MPlan)
- [ ] Major Research Project

3 * Please provide the current working title of your research.

The impact on local residents of large-scale regeneration projects in London: the case of Southall Opportunity Area

4 * Please select your supervisor from the drop-down list.

Beebeejaun, Yasminah : Beebeejaun, Yasminah

62

## Research Details

5 * Please indicate here which data collection methods you expect to use. Tick all that apply.

- [x] Interviews
- [ ] Focus Groups
- [ ] Questionnaires (including oral questions)
- [ ] Action research
- [ ] Observation / participant observation
- [ ] Documentary analysis (including use of personal records)
- [x] Audio-visual recordings (including photographs)
- [ ] Collection/use of sensor or locational data
- [ ] Controlled trial
- [ ] Intervention study (including changing environments)
- [ ] Systematic review
- [ ] Secondary data analysis
- [ ] Advisory/consultation groups

6 * Please indicate where your research will take place.

UK only : UK only

7 * Does your project involve the recruitment of participants?

'Participants' means human participants and their data (including sensor/locational data and observational notes/images.)

(•) Yes ( ) No

## Appropriate Safeguard, Data Storage and Security

8 * Will your research involve the collection and/or use of personal data?

Personal data is data which relates to a living individual who can be identified from that data or from the data and other information that is either currently held, or will be held by the data controller (you, as the researcher).

63

This includes:

- Any expression of opinion about the individual and any intentions of the data controller or any other person toward the individual.
- Sensor, location or visual data which may reveal information that enables the identification of a face, address etc. (some postcodes cover only one property).
- Combinations of data which may reveal identifiable data, such as names, email/postal addresses, date of birth, ethnicity, descriptions of health diagnosis or conditions, computer IP address (of relating to a device with a single user).

○ Yes ◉ No

9 * Is your research using or collecting:

- special category data as defined by the General Data Protection Regulation*, and/or
- data which might be considered sensitive in some countries, cultures or contexts?

*Examples of special category data are data:

- which reveals racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership;
- concerning health (the physical or mental health of a person, including the provision of health care services);
- concerning sex life or sexual orientation;
- genetic or biometric data processed to uniquely identify a natural person.

◉ Yes ○ No

10 * Do you confirm that all personal data will be stored and processed in compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR 2018)?

◉ Yes
○ No
○ I will not be working with any personal data

11 * I confirm that:

☑ The information in this form is accurate to the best of my knowledge.
☑ I will continue to reflect on, and update these ethical considerations in consultation with my supervisor.

You **MUST** download a copy of your responses to submit with your proposal, and for your own reference.

64

**Appendix III**

Jane Kistler
University College London
Bartlett School of Planning
MPlan City Planning
23 November, 2021

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

**1. Introduction**

Research Project Title: *Living proof: local residents' experience of regeneration policy in London: the case of Southall*

Researcher: Jane Kistler

Research Participant's Name: _____

Please thoughtfully consider taking part in the research for this Masters dissertation at University College London (UCL), taking into account the below factors. Participation is entirely voluntary.

I, Jane Kistler, the researcher, respect your privacy and am committed to protecting the personal data you provide to me. I will not share or distribute any data which you provide to me, except as unattributed quotes in the text of my dissertation.

**2. About this Study**

This study for the purposes of my dissertation seeks to research perceptions of how redevelopment works in Southall are impacting the locality. You are being invited to take part as you are a current or former resident of Southall with valuable, first-hand experiences to share about living in the area and its change over time. As a participant, you would be asked over the course of a roughly 45 minute interview to provide information regarding your personal observations and perceptions of the places in Southall you find to be valuable and the changes the area has been undergoing. The interview could either be face-to-face or virtual, depending on your preference.

It is hoped that this research will shed light on the changes taking place in Southall.

**3. Your Information and its Security**

By consenting to participate in this study, you agree that I may collect, use, store and transfer the information that you provide, including details about your race or ethnicity. My collection and processing of this information is done on the lawful basis of educational and research purposes, conducted as a task in the public interest, along with your consent to participate.

I will digitally record our telephone or physical interview on my laptop, where the recording will be kept in encrypted, password-protected file folders on my Google Drive account, along with anonymised written transcripts of our conversations. Only I will have access to the information you provide—it will be kept strictly confidential. For your security, all information you provide me that would reveal your identity will be anonymised in all transcripts and publications, by use of a pseudonym. Upon completion of my course in September, all of your information will be securely and permanently erased after it has fulfilled the purposes for which it was collected.

**4. Your Rights to your Information**

Your consent is the foundation of this study and I am committed to honouring it completely and without question. You may exercise any right explained below by contacting me using my details listed below.

At any point, you have the right to withdraw your consent to participate in this study. If at any time you no longer wish to participate, or do not want to answer any particular question(s), please tell me and I will give effect to your wish immediately, no questions asked.

Additionally, you have the right to be informed of or limit the use of your information, you have a right to access, obtain a copy of, correction, or erasure of your data, and you can also object to or restrict the processing of your information.

If you wish, a copy of the completed dissertation can be sent to you at the end of the process.

**5. Contact Details**

To exercise your rights, express concerns, ask questions or for any other reason, you can contact me at any time via telephone or WhatsApp at **+44 (0)7496 401233** or by email at **janekistler1@gmail.com**.

Initial concerns should be escalated to the researcher but further queries may be directed to my Dissertation Supervisor, Dr. Yasminah Beebeejaun, at y.beebeejaun@ucl.ac.uk.

**6. Signature of Consent**

By signing this consent form, I agree that:

1. I have read and understood the consent form in full;
2. I am voluntarily participating in this research, and am aware that I can end my participation at any time;
3. The data from the interview may be used as described above;
4. I agree that my interview may be recorded;
5. For my participation in this study, I will not be receiving any type of payment or benefit;

6. I am entitled to request a copy of my interview transcript and may make changes I feel are necessary to ensure that any agreement made towards confidentiality is upheld;
7. Any questions I have are addressed, and I am aware that I can contact the researcher with further questions in the future.

Participant Signature : _____ Date: _____

**Appendix IV**

INTERVIEW TOPIC GUIDE

**Methodology**: semi-structured interviews, 45-60 minutes in length

**I. Introduction and Background**

1. For how long have you lived in Southall? Who was the first in your family to live there, and why did they choose to move there?

2. Did you enjoy living in Southall? What do you value most about growing up there?

3. How has Southall changed over the years you've been there?

**II. Reactions to the development**

4. Do you feel like the development taking place in Southall is needed? Why or why not? Do you think any other development would be preferable?

5. Do you feel that the developments are for the people who currently live in Southall to use and benefit from?

6. Do you feel like the development is complimentary to, or fits in with, the existing character (physical & community fabric) of the area? Why or why not?

**III. Engagement with planning processes**

7. How did you become aware of the developments? Was it only when you saw the construction happening, or before?

8. Have you ever engaged with any planning processes surrounding development in Southall? Why or why not?

**IV. Impacts of the development**

9. Do you know of anyone who's been significantly impacted by the development, such as landlords, residents, or business owners?

**V. Conclusion and Wrap-up**

10. Is there anything you would like to talk about that we have not covered in the interview so far? Would you like to elaborate on anything we spoke about before?

**Appendix V**

Coding Schedule

Table 1: policy 1: Commodification of land policy themes

| | Jagpal | Sukh | Gursimran | Ranvir | Jasbir | Dev | Harpreet |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sustainable development 1: economic growth | | | | | | | (2) addresses rising house prices<br><br>(3)-(4) recognises train station & flats are achieving same goal & are linked |
| SD 2: social sustainability | | | | (2) positive reaction to funding being put in the past into social facilities by the council | (1) not socially sustainable bc the desire to prioritise economic growth<br><br>(4);(7);(9) doesn't have infrastructure capacity; puts pressure on existing | (2) developers just trying to make profits, not doing anything to improve crime rate or education | (2) positive where money was put into widening the Broadway/pedestriar friendly and into schools and generic shopping |
| SD 3: environmentally sustainable | | | | (4) negative environmental impacts and on residents health due to practices of the developers- immoral | (1); (4) huge negative environmental impacts due to development of brownfield site; not sustainable bc prioritisation of economic motive over environmental; need to have joined up thinking | (2) pollution | |
| Economically inclusive/affordable | | | | | | | |
| Developers make lucrative profits | | (2)-(3) | | | | | |

Table 2: Commodification of land: lived impact 1

| | Jagpal | Sukh | Gursimran | Ranvir | Jasbir | Dev | Harpreet |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Entrenches inequalities (financial and spatial)<br><br>New developmemnts not accessible to existing residents | (2)-(3) locals cant access or afford this | | (3) | | (9) not affordable, little social housing | | (4) residents will have to move |
| Development aligned w global capital flows not local circumstances & needs | | | | | (5) | (2) | (3) no need for generics in Southall, it's too commercial for the place; He would have no reason to live there |
| Built form may be at odds with typology of area | | (1) generic flats are replacing Indian factories for sweets/clothing, removing community | | | (5) high-rise typology contrasts w existing built form; low-rise developments didn't feel intimidating | (2) too swanky; just there bc of Crossrail | (3) taller than ever before |
| Capture of valuable land from low-income populations who may have lived there many years | (4) | | | | (4) | | (4) |
| Some scope for developments | (4) important thing is new housing need | | (3) | | | (2) positive bc bringing money to the area | (4) station has needed upgrade for a long time |

Table 3: Development on the basis of quantification policy themes

| | Jagpal | Sukh | Gursimran | Ranvir | Jasbir | Dev | Harpreet |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Numbers drive infrastructure provision rather than qualitative views | | | | | | | (3) "I haven't seen many lights on in those towers" |
| Positive response to crossrail | (2) for greater good that its more connected to London, but generic | (3) fits in w character | | (4) improving connection to London and desirability of the area, boosting business | | | (4) |
| If new infrastructure is for public use, will be good | | (3)-(4) new road access will ease traffic congestion; generic shops | (2) when growing up had to go to other areas for generic shopping | (4) thinks Crossrail will benefit residents; but mostly those who want to commute into London e.g. have a job in the city; but won't help residents who live there right now, will just increase in-migration | | | |

Table 4: Policy 2 lived impact 1: Technically-assessed development is divorced from local contexts

| | Jagpal | Sukh | Gursimran | Ranvir | Jasbir | Dev | Harpreet |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Power imbalance—technical view repressed lived experience of non-expert locals /general inequality | | | (5) its always the disempowered people who are affected, who are less equal in society | | (3) local people don't have the social capital to articulate their resistance w media, the law etc | | |
| Development decontextualised from the area's local social political contexts | (2) | | | | (7)-(8) transient population will reap instability bc of lack of emotional connection | | |
| Makes it impossible to understand the long-term spatial impacts | (1) | | (3) not sure who new development will attract | | | | |
| Community cannot support the rapid densification | (1)-(3) "confined space" | (2)—juxtaposed w him appreciating green space growing up | (3)-(4) | | (2)-(4) esp w multiple occupancy housing<br><br>(5); (7) contrasts w/ spaciousness of youth in 70s | | (3)-(4) Crossrail needed for capacity/volume of population |
| Significant barriers exist to residents' formally engaging in planning mechanisms | | | | | (9)-(10) the population has a language barrier which local govt is not trying to bridge; it is disadvantaging them bc they cant practicably exercise right | | |
| "fundamentally undemocratic form of planning" | | | (4) the fate of the community is no longer going to be in | | (1)-(3) collusion between government & developers | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | the hands of the community<br><br>(5) parents didn't receive communication | | without local say has not protected locals – "corruption"; planning permission given liberally, despite local opposition; locals do not have good quality political representation<br><br>(7);(9) locals not able to change anything; muzzled | | |
| didn't know about the developments before they began | (3) | | (3) | | (8) some of them bc they're coming up fast | (3) found out through social media | (4) found out through social media |
| Participates in planning engagement mechanisms | | | | | (2);(8) involved in organisation CASH & served in local government; made representations at a public hearing to the mayor in 2010 regarding one development | (3) doesn't care about postbox notices | |

Table 5: policy 3: celebration of "diversity" and "inclusion"

| | Jagpal | Sukh | Gursimran | Ranvir | Jasbir | Dev | Harpreet |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MoL intends to create a more "inclusive city" bc | | | (4) likes Punjabi on southall station | | | | |

Table 6: lived impact 3: minority groups are instrumentalised and disproportionately impacted

| | Jagpal | Sukh | Gursimran | Ranvir | Jasbir | Dev | Harpreet |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Commodification of "diversity" to make city look good | | | (4) | | | (3) wouldn't want Southall to become a petting zoo | |
| Introduction of generic retail offer can negatively impact ethnic entrepreneurs | (2)-(3) | (3) Asian venue owners | (4) | | | (1)-(2) have been more chains over the years; ethnic stores would close if demographic changed | (4) will have to change the shops bc nobody will want them |
| Hearkens back to colonial dynamics of dispossession/racial politics | | | (2)-(3) – Southall felt neglected by state bc it was predominantly Asian | | (3) non-Asian councillors & actors don't have that connection to Southall<br><br>(5) racial politics – white ppl in power put new immigrants in Southall bc they didn't want them in their communities | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perpetuates a homogenous view of what "Asian-ness" is & fails to recognise hyperdiversity | | | (4) | (2) Southall as actually a very diverse Asian area with different nationalities, faiths and sects | (3); (7) poor political representation run by older Asian men, some with poor English skills, and lack of other voices; younger Asian councillors are powerless – "political suffocating of an alternative argument"<br><br>Also note hyper diversity of neighbours –one Hindu and Muslim | (1) Southall v diverse | (1) mix of religions in Southall |
| Community —people's parents moving to southall for this reason | | (1) | | (1)-(2) | (5)-(6) | (1) | (1) |
| Parents having to work in factories/airport since that's the only work they could get | (1) | | | **(1)** | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Living in Southall meant you were around people who looked and was raised similarly to you | (1) | (1) | (2)- seen as a benefit | (1)-(3) allowed you to avoid some racism | | | (1) |
| People lived with/nearby multigenerations of their family | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | | | |
| People or their families moved away from Southall | | (1) | | (1)-(2) | (7) | | |
| Southall as key Asian community hub/iconic | (1)-(2) Southall built through immigrant hands--community | | (2), (4) | (2)-(3) | (5) | | (2) |
| Community has changed bc built fabric being removed | (2) | (1); (2) mentions sunrise radio, "What really made Southall Southall" is changing; removing places where there are memories e.g. Asian wedding halls | (3)-(4) development loses Southall's "narrative" and "culture"; Wiping the history from Southall | | (8) | | (3) history being "covered up" – sunrise radio<br><br>(4) although said despite gas tower being a landmark, it served no purpose |

# Dissertation

GRADEMARK REPORT

FINAL GRADE

/100

GENERAL COMMENTS

**Instructor**

PAGE 1

PAGE 2

PAGE 3

PAGE 4

PAGE 5

PAGE 6

PAGE 7

PAGE 8

PAGE 9

PAGE 10

PAGE 11

PAGE 12

PAGE 13

PAGE 14

PAGE 15

PAGE 16

PAGE 17

PAGE 18

PAGE 19

PAGE 20

PAGE 21

PAGE 22

PAGE 23

PAGE 24

PAGE 25

PAGE 26

PAGE 27

PAGE 28

PAGE 29

PAGE 30

PAGE 31

PAGE 32

PAGE 33

PAGE 34

PAGE 35

PAGE 36

PAGE 37

PAGE 38

PAGE 39

PAGE 40

PAGE 41

PAGE 42

PAGE 43

PAGE 44

PAGE 45

PAGE 46

PAGE 47

PAGE 48

PAGE 49

PAGE 50

PAGE 51

PAGE 52

PAGE 53

PAGE 54

PAGE 55

PAGE 56

PAGE 57

PAGE 58

PAGE 59

PAGE 60

PAGE 61

PAGE 62

PAGE 63

PAGE 64

PAGE 65

PAGE 66

PAGE 67

PAGE 68

PAGE 69

PAGE 70

PAGE 71

PAGE 72

PAGE 73

PAGE 74

PAGE 75

PAGE 76