LONDON DOCKLANDS REVISITED

SUE BROWNILL
An East London Water City for the 21st Century

The LDDC in the 80s?

No, New Labour in 2006
The Continuing Regeneration of Docklands
THE CONTINUING REGENERATION OF DOCKLANDS
Why Revisit Docklands?

• Remains a significant example of regeneration; continuing legacies of LDDC, but less attention in recent years
• ‘Microcosm’ of wider changes, Massey - but also a precursor
• Continuing dynamics of regeneration in Docklands reveals much about trends in regeneration and planning
• And in particular about ways of characterising and understanding this; the dynamics of waterfront regeneration
• Raises questions about the future direction of regeneration post-credit crunch
Docklands Revisited

• Why revisit Docklands?
• Ways of seeing; the dynamics of regeneration
• Looking backwards and looking forwards; four ‘moments’ of Docklands regeneration
  – Addressing market failure
  – The Second Wave
  – A New Docklands Narrative
  – The current crisis and what next?
Docklands Revisited; Some Ways Of Seeing

• A new era of waterfront development
• The mainstreaming of neoliberal discourses and governance; from ‘rolled back’ to ‘rolled out’ neoliberalism
• Relational space and hybridities
• The dynamics of waterfront regeneration; evolving, competing and contradictory narratives, modes of governance, strategies play themselves out over time and space
# The Evolving Dynamics of Waterfront Regeneration

| Context         | Economic – globalisation  
|-----------------|---------------------------
|                 | Political – ‘less ideologically noisy’  
|                 | Social – deepening inequalities  
| Governance      | Open or closed (Jessop)  
|                 | Networked or hierarchical  
|                 | Spatial scale  
|                 | Governmentality; flexible or centralised (Swyngedouw)  
| Narratives      | Neo-liberalism and its variations; competitiveness;  
|                 | Social Inclusion/ cohesion  
|                 | Sustainability  
|                 | Contradictions and hybridities (Raco, Gordon)  
| Strategies and Delivery | Planning styles  
|                 | Budgets  
|                 | Who-pays? Socialisation of consumption  

Competitiveness Market Relations
Environmental and Social Sustainability
De-Centralised Networked
Centralised Closed
World City
Strategic flexibility Value capture
Competitiveness Market Relations
Address Market Failures
No Grand Plans
Sustainable Communities
Participatory planning
Local to Global
Targets, pragmatism
The Continuing Regeneration of Docklands. A Timeline

- **1970s**: First Dockland Plans
- **1979**: Mayor Livingstone Elected
- **1981**: LDDC Formed
- **1985**: Canary Wharf 2nd Wave
- **1990**: Thames Corridor
- **1992**: LDDC Exits Surrey Docks
- **1994**: New Labour
- **1997**: LDDC Exits Royals
- **1998**: ODA
- **1999**: Mayor Johnson. Financial Crisis
- **2003**: QDA Lower Lea
- **2004**: Olympics Decision
- **2005**: Thames Gateway SCAP
- **2006**: London Plan
- **2008**: New UDCs
- **2009**: LDDC Closed
- **2010**: GLA Formed

Financial Crisis 2008-2009
1. 1981-1990; Addressing Market Failure

• Context; the rise of the radical right

• Narratives;
  – Turn east end into the west end
  – trickle-down
  – addressing market failure
  – cutting red-tape.

• But alternatives also
Governance and Strategies

• Governance; quango, exclude local interests, closed, top-down.
• Clashes with local government and communities
• Planning; The ‘era of the grand plan is over’ flexible, opportunistic, influence of design
• Funding; reverse leverage
Clashing Visions

• LDDC’s was not the only vision for Docklands
• Popular Planning and alternative strategies from the GLC
1.1981-1990; Addressing Market Failure
Continuing Dilemmas; Competitiveness v Cohesion
Opposition
The Continuing Regeneration of Docklands. A Timeline

- **First Dockland Plans**
- **Conservative Elected**
- **LDDC Formed**
- **Canary Wharf 2nd Wave**
- **Olympics decision**
- **LDDC exits Surrey Docks**
- **New Labour**
- **LDDC Exits Royals**

**1970s**
- **1979**
- **1981**
- **1985**
- **1990**
- **1992**
- **1994**
- **1997**
- **1998**

**1979 - 1981**
- **First Dockland Plans**

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**1998**
- **1999**
- **2003**
- **2004**
- **2005**
- **2006**
- **2008**

**1998 - 1999**
- **Mayor Livingstone**
- **GLA formed**

**1999**
- **GLA formed**

**2003**
- **Canary Wharf 2nd Wave**
- **New UDCs London Plan**

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**2004 - 2005**
- **ODA Lower Lea Thames Corridor**
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- **Mayor Johnson. Financial crisis**
- **LDDC Exits Royals**
2. The Second Wave; 1990-1998

- 1987, 3rd Thatcher government
- 1990 Major replaces Thatcher
- A new consensus?
- Planning gain deals; response to criticism
- Evolution of a ‘partnership’ approach
- Community Services Division
- ‘Rolled out’ neoliberalism?

A ‘Less Ideologically Noisy Place’? (Colenutt)
Is it possible to build bridges?
Market Failure?

• Property slump of early 1990s
• Canary Wharf 60% unlet
• But by 1998 phase two underway
Second-Wave Developments

• Britannia Urban Village

• University of East London, Royals Campus
Whatever Happened to Criticism?

- Early 1990s decision to close down UDCs
  - Central government ‘alarmed that LDDC acting like a local authority’
  - Rising costs
- Exited Surrey Docks in 1994 and Royals in 1998
- Wrote its own obituary in a series of monographs
  - Rewrite of history; stress on outputs
  - Showed how far urban policy and planning had changed, little criticism
  - ‘Allowed to sink relatively quietly into the sunset’ Cochrane
Regeneration by Numbers

• By the end of its life LDDC claimed:
  – Population doubled to 83,000
  – 24,042 new homes
  – 25.1m sq ft commercial floorspace developed
  – 2042 acres of derelict land developed
  – 2690 businesses located into area
  – 60,000 more jobs
  – £7.2b private sector investment
  – £1.9b public sector investment
Regeneration by Numbers

• Privately owned housing increased from 5% to 43% of all households
• Service sector employment increased from 31% to 70%
• Financial services sector increased from 5% to 42%
• Isle of Dogs now major employment centre
• 145 Km of roads and railways
• Another story here of unequal benefits, public sector intervention and major socio-economic restructuring
## Public Expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LDDC, includes grant in aid and income from land etc</td>
<td>£2.386b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax and rate relief</td>
<td>£1.060b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other public sector</td>
<td>£.487b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jubilee Line</td>
<td>£2.9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£6.833b</strong></td>
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</table>
## Where Did the Money Go?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land Acquisition</td>
<td>£187m</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Reclamation</td>
<td>£157m</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities</td>
<td>£159m</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental improvements</td>
<td>£149m</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads and transport</td>
<td>£662m</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Docklands Light Railway</td>
<td>£312m</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Housing</td>
<td>£163m</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and industry support</td>
<td>£117m</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion and Publicity</td>
<td>£27m</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admin and maintenance</td>
<td>£261m</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**Key Events:**
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3. 1998- A NEW DOCKLANDS NARRATIVE?

- Context; ‘New Labour’, globalisation and competitiveness
- New narratives: sustainable communities, social inclusion
- Changing spatial scales; does ‘Docklands’ exist anymore?
- Olympics
Changing Spatial Scales: The Thames Gateway
‘NEW’ GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS

• Greater London Authority
• ‘Benign’ Urban Development Corporations
• Delivery Agencies
• Networked governance
The Governance of the Gateway

Key.

Sub-regional Partnerships
- Thames Gateway London Partnership
- Thames Gateway South Essex Partnership
- Thames Gateway Kent Partnership

Local delivery vehicles
- London Thames Gateway
- UDCWoolwich Regeneration Agency
- Kent Thameside delivery Board
- Renaissance Southend
- Basildon Renaissance Partnership
- Swale Forward
- Invest Bexley
The Re-Appearance of the UDC

• Deas and Ward in 1999 termed UDCS an ‘historical curiosity’
• 2004, back as ‘delivery’ agencies for sustainable communities
• Why?
  – Useful powers
  – ‘tailored’ governance; part of New Localism
  – ‘benign’ and ‘adding value’

‘For some areas a UDC with its focus on planning powers, integration of regeneration effort and ability to generate increased private sector confidence may be needed’.
## Changing Governance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LDDC era</th>
<th>Post LDDC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Modes of governance</strong></td>
<td>Entrepreneurial, shifting more to partnership/networked at end</td>
<td>Networked, participatory alongside, entrepreneurial and hierarchical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Open v closed</strong></td>
<td>Closed to interests other than business (at east initially)</td>
<td>Rhetoric of participatory, stakeholder governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spatial Scale</strong></td>
<td>Central/local</td>
<td>Multi-level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Governmentality</strong></td>
<td>Over-riding of local government, strong central steer, facilitate the market</td>
<td>Double devolution, what works, lack of overall steer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A New Docklands Narrative?

• Three balanced and inter-woven themes
  – Diverse long term economic growth
  – Social inclusivity
  – Fundamental improvements in London’s environment and use of resources

East London is my priority area for development regeneration and infrastructure improvement.
By 2020, the aim is for East London and the London Thames Gateway to be a new kind of exemplary, sustainable world class urban quarter, avoiding the mistakes of new town and other past development policies.
Engines of Growth

• Title of TGUDC first Corporate Plan
• Also concerned to ‘address market failure’
Building bridges?

- Attempt to link competitiveness and cohesion
- But does this just heighten contradictions eg have to secure high value development to get funding for housing and other public investment

The sub-region will embrace the opportunities for new strategic development and use this growth, and the leverage it brings for government investment, to improve the urban structure and the level of urban services for existing residents and business as well as accommodating new communities’. East London SRDF
Back to ‘Grand Plans’?
Design; Papering Over the Cracks?

• One are where there has been little change
• LDDC stressed its design credentials
• Mayor set up Design for London
• Terry Farrell and Gateway
• But still debates as witnessed by Rogers auto-critique

There is something wrong when the Thames Gateway - Europe's biggest regeneration project - is still peppering the banks of the beautiful River Thames with shoddy, toy town houses, and Dan Dare glass towers," Richard Rogers
Fragmented Regeneration Approaches
A World Class Urban Quarter

2012

Wood Wharf
THE CONTINUING ‘REGENERATION’ OF CANARY WHARF

- 14m sq ft already built (12.2m sq ft in original agreement; half of this built by 98/99)
- Further 11.7 m sq ft in pipeline or planned.
- Millennium Quarter, redevelopment of part of Enterprise Zone.
- 1998-2003 Tower Hamlets saw employment growth of 21.9%; six times the London average
Building Bridges?
As a result of knowledge-driven economic growth, Tower Hamlets has a high productivity economy offering highly paid employment.

…but higher skilled jobs are mainly filled by commuters from outside the borough.
Current Dilemmas

- Complexity
- Problems of ‘governmentality’
- Different modes of governance interacting
- Community still absent
- Lack of infrastructure investment
- Led some to reflect nostalgically on LDDC era and call for return of a single minded body

‘Following the establishment of the London Docklands Development Corporation in 1981 Canary Wharf was completed in record time; London should learn from these exemplars to become a model of sustainable and well designed urban environments.’

Richard Rogers
## Who is Involved?

Stakeholders in Selected Thames Gateway Local Delivery Vehicles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LAs</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private sector</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other pub sector</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comm and Vol</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What Next? Another Shift in the Dynamics

• As Lehman Brothers bankers leave their Canary Wharf offices what are the implications for the regeneration of Docklands?

• A strategy based on ‘planning gain’ is not suited to a falling market. Where is ‘growth’ in a recession?
What Next? Another Shift in the Dynamics

- Basis of ‘New Docklands Consensus’ and regeneration as combination of deregulated markets and deregulated planning is crumbling
- Will Docklands be labelled as expressing the worst of the age of irresponsibility?
- Boris – infrastructure projects such as Thames Gateway Bridge pulled
- Focus on Olympics
- Changes to governance arrangements?
What Next? Another Shift in the Dynamics

• Will these Stop the City protestors be celebrating the end of de-regulated regeneration?

• Will we return to Keynesianism?

• Is there space for some alternatives?

• But we’ve been here before in 1992

• We can be sure of further changes in the dynamics of regeneration in Docklands in the future, but the contradictions won’t go away.

• And Docklands will still be a microcosm and precursor of these wider changes