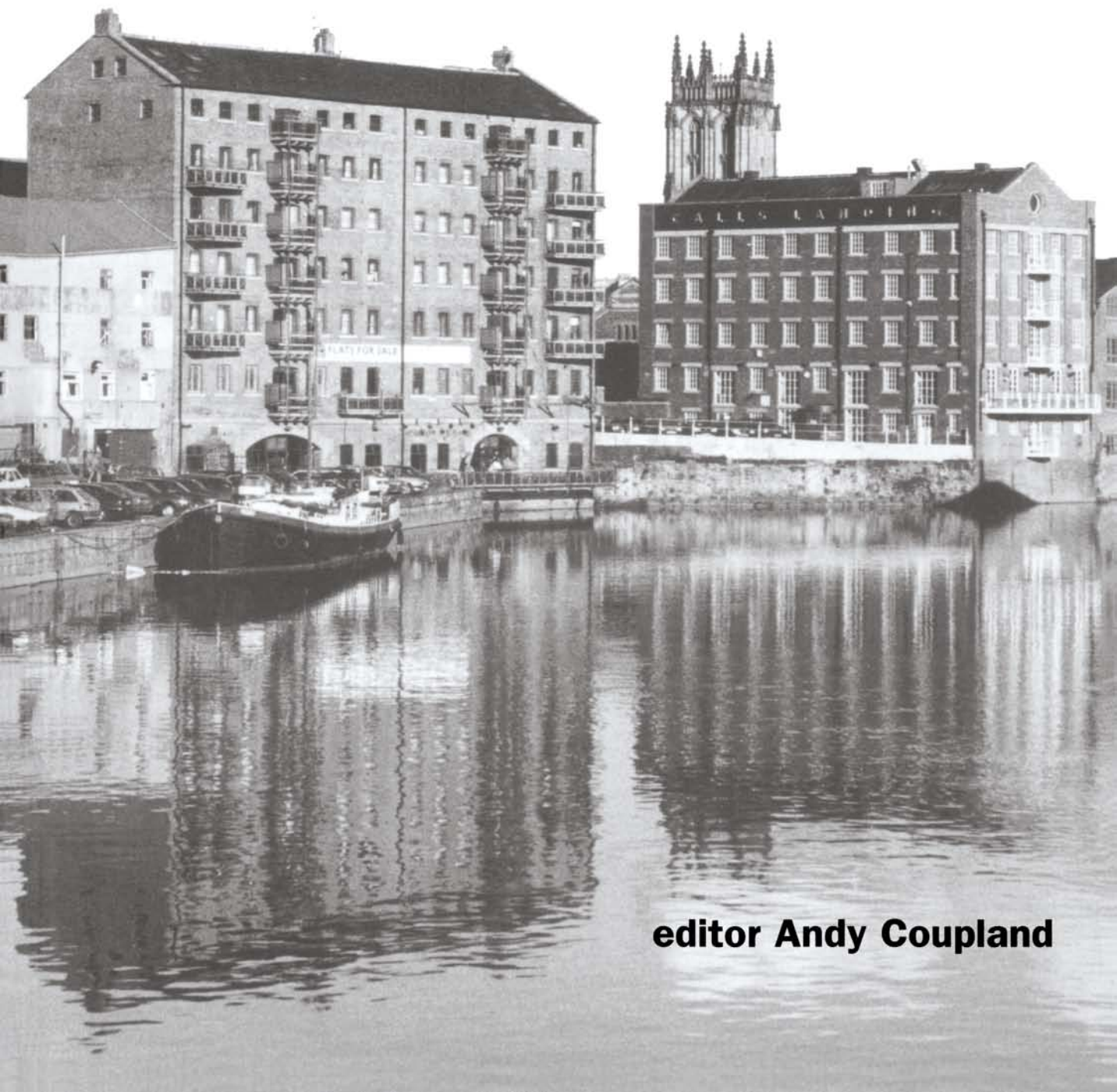


Reclaiming the City

Mixed use development



editor Andy Coupland

Reclaiming The City

Mixed Use Development

Edited by

Andy Coupland

University of Westminster, London, UK



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Illustrations

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Preface

For over twenty years, I have shopped at the Berwick Street market, in Soho. I don't consider myself particularly unobservant, but throughout this period I have never looked up to notice the block of flats that towers over the market stalls. We tend to view the street in relationship to the ground floor uses: its vitality, and the interaction with people in the street, affects how we feel there. But behind and above the streetfronts are a wide variety of other uses.

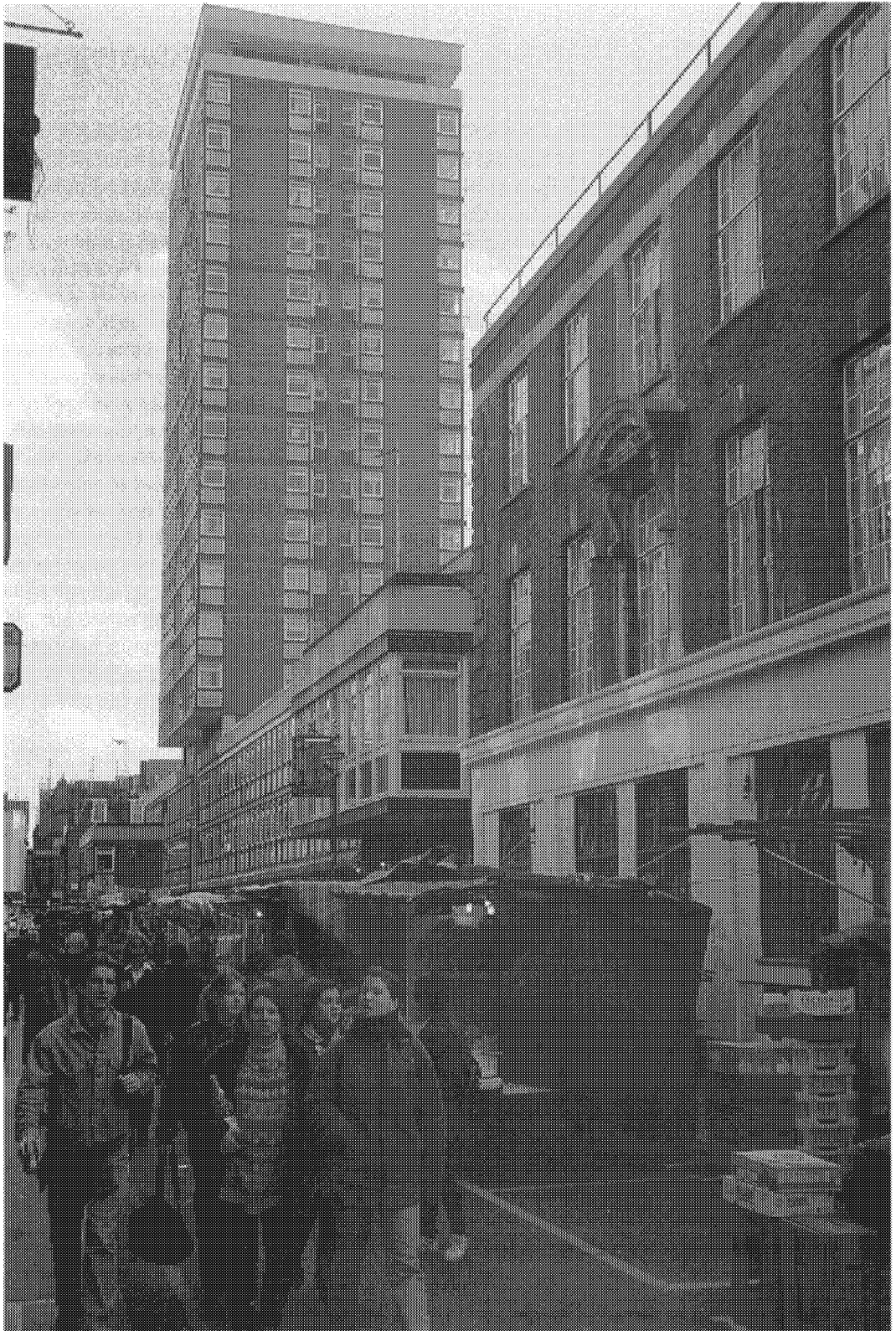
In much of London, and in many other towns and cities, there is a rich mix of uses. Commerce, industry, shopping and housing are located together as they have been for centuries. It is those places where there is an absence of this mix which are notable, and these are a relatively recent phenomenon. Concern to retain and enrich this mix of land uses is strong, and comes from a variety of sources.

On the property side, businesses are shrinking, fragmenting and modernising. While a few companies are growing, many more are now losing employees, although not necessarily business. Just as manufacturing industry has contracted, leaving thousands of unwanted factories, so too are white collar office companies. The stock of office property, much of it coming to the end of the second 25-year institutional lease cycle, is often older, larger, and increasingly unwanted. Owners and investors are therefore reviewing their property portfolio, seeking new uses and in turn changing the nature of areas of our cities which have become wholly commercial.

At the same time environmental concerns are crystalising into policies to encourage sustainable development and limit damage from the use of private transport. Increasing household creation [despite little population growth] is creating further pressure for new housing. It is generally accepted that this cannot all go into greenfield sites and new towns; much must go back into the cities, often in areas previously used for commerce or industry.

Equally, we now wish to prevent any further damage to the vitality and viability of our cities due to shopping and leisure uses going to car-dependent sites out-of-town. Policies now favour locating these back in the town and city centres, along with a new mix of uses to increase the opportunities for city centre residential development. For the first time in over a century reality has caught up with the game of Monopoly; there are hotels in Fleet Street and the Strand and houses in Park Lane.

(overleaf)
Berwick Street Market, Soho,
London. A traditional street
market, with a mix of uses,
and a residential community.



Chapter I

An Introduction to Mixed Use Development

Reclaiming The City is a book about mixed use development, and is mostly concerned with property development in cities. Mixed use development is a term that might at first sight seem obvious, but that is sometimes used in ways which are more confusing than helpful. Increasingly, mixing different land uses in the same geographical area is seen as a positive contribution to planning policy. It is hoped that by increasing the mix of land uses, and especially residential uses, residents will lead more 'sustainable' lifestyles, using their cars less. In addition, town and cities will become more attractive, viable and safer to live and work in. In effect, government policy is encouraging greater urbanization, and higher density cities.

The book examines some of the evidence to see whether this re-occupation of cities will have the desired effect. It introduces some new evidence that suggests that mixed use development may make a difference, and examines some of the wider factors that may nevertheless limit mixed use developments and so fail to deliver the significant changes that may be necessary to create more sustainable cities. This introductory chapter examines the background to the discussion about mixed use development and sets out the main points contained in the chapters that follow.

The Mixed Use Jigsaw Puzzle

As we have already stated, this book is concerned with the mixing of different uses, including residential uses, in city centres. Mixed use development has become increasingly important in recent years. There are a number of reasons for this, some of them interrelated. Each explanation for the interest in creating more mixed use development is like a piece in a jigsaw puzzle. This book attempts to describe each of the pieces, and show how they fit together to create a complete picture of the mixed use debate.

In recent years development pressures have continued to concern politicians and the wider public. Although the population of the UK is hardly growing, for various reasons the number of households continues to increase, creating a need for housing in addition to the necessity to replace worn-out buildings. Concerns about sustainability and the need

to reduce car use – or at least to stop it increasing – have led to calls to stop the expansion of urban areas. Development pressures on rural landscapes or areas of particular scientific importance have become increasingly contentious. These pressures have led to new proposals to increase urban densities and create new ways of getting more people living in existing centres. This debate has tended to focus on the concept of the ‘compact city’. There are sharp disagreements between commentators about the value of this idea to UK planning practice, and Michael Breheny (Jenks *et al.*, 1996) has questioned the relevance of the debate at all, given the degree of continuing urban decentralization. There are further heated debates about the nature of the evidence on the value of higher density cities.

At the same time the shake-out in employment, which once decimated manufacturing industry, has started to affect service employment. The introduction and use of new technologies requires new types of office building, and perhaps in the future less space (with fewer staff). New technologies also allow businesses to relocate anywhere in the UK or even beyond. London Electricity, for example, are establishing their customer services department in Sunderland. The Prudential are establishing a new telephone-based bank, which will be located in Dudley in the West Midlands. In most cities older, ‘secondary’ office space is no longer needed; and may never be needed again. Other uses have to be found, as the economics of redevelopment (and the lack of demand for the space that would be created if redevelopment were to occur) means

Figure 1.1

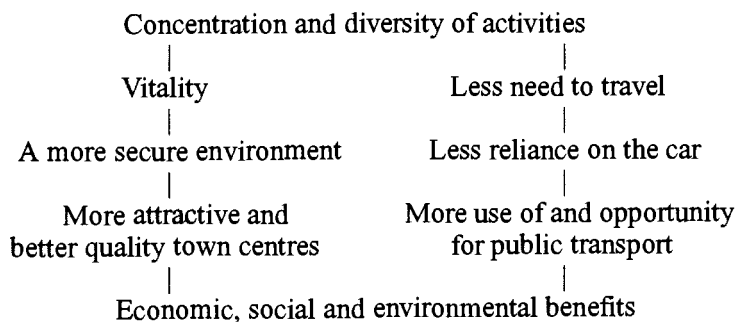
60 Sloane Avenue, London.
Conversion of the former
Harrods depository into a
mix of offices and retail uses
in a predominantly residential
part of Kensington.



that demolition is not a serious option. So throughout London, and in cities across the UK, former office buildings are considered for conversion to apartments, hotels or student halls of residence. And former industrial premises, and those once used for services supporting relocated industries, are also re-used in imaginative ways.

A further piece in the mixed use puzzle is the wish to sustain and improve town and city centres. Partly driven by the concern about increasing car use, government has acted to prevent many new proposals for out-of-town shopping (rather too late, in the view of some commentators). Instead, efforts are being concentrated on improving the vitality and viability of town and city centres. Similarly there are concerns about the quality of the places that are being created: the liveliness; the level of activity throughout the day; the design of individual buildings and the urban design context in which they exist. Mixed uses offer an opportunity to change aspects of this liveliness and design. A linked worry is about safety and crime levels; again, by mixing uses and having greater activity and therefore observation within an area it is thought that crime – or the likelihood of certain crimes taking place – can be limited.

The government has recently explained the basis on which they increasingly support mixed use development in planning policy statements. This is illustrated by the diagram below (DoE, 1995a):



The Secretary of State for the Environment, John Gummer, has outlined this approach in a number of speeches. It has developed throughout 1995, and is reflected in the changing Government policy statements. One of the more detailed explanations was made at a conference in Manchester in July 1995 (DoE, 1995b):

The emerging consensus is that development is more sustainable if it produces a mixture of uses. Segregation of land uses, encouraged in the past, is not relevant now. The trend back to mixed usage brings a number of potential benefits. It ensures vitality through activity and diversity. It makes areas safer. It also reduces the need to travel, making people less reliant on cars, bringing welcome environmental benefits.

Diversity of uses adds to the vitality and interest of town centres. Different, but complementary uses, during the day and in the evening, can reinforce each other, making town centres more attractive to residents, businesses, shoppers and visitors. That is why my draft revised PPG6 promotes mixed use development.

Mixed use development should increasingly become the norm rather than the exception. It will be a gradual process of raising awareness amongst developers and investors of the benefits which can be realised.

We will be expecting developers to think imaginatively in future as to how proposals can incorporate mixed land uses, to produce lively and successful developments over both the short and long term, and provide a positive contribution to the quality of our towns and cities.

This book examines many of these claims. While the overall views put forward by the Secretary of State seem persuasive, there are indications that some parts of the argument may be based more on hope than reality. The discussions about the topic can be summarized in the diagram below.

Why Mixed Uses?

ADVANTAGES

Definite

Attractiveness and vitality – diversity; up to 24 hour city

Uses unwanted or obsolete property, including listed buildings

Range of uses means greater likelihood of some parts letting

Possible

Reduction in travel (shorter trips, more multi-function) so reduced emissions; sustainability

Reduction in crime; more activity; greater uses; observation of street

DISADVANTAGES

Definite

Harder to dispose of property asset quickly

Requires active management of property

Therefore harder to raise finance and may put some possible tenants off

Possible

Lower rents achieved

Problems of separate access needed for each use

Conflict between activities; noise, traffic etc (e.g. housing over wine bar)

While some of the advantages of mixed use can be accepted as absolute, others may or may not be true in certain circumstances. And there are undoubtedly certain perceived disadvantages of mixed use development that are overlooked by the government's statements, and which may well be the deciding factors in the decisions taken by development companies or investors. Some of these are illustrated in the case studies and examples that are included in the following chapters.

Clearly there are very good reasons that can be advanced for the development of mixed use schemes and areas, and these are examined in the book. It is also worth noting that there are distinct advantages for the government in adopting this approach as the basis for policy. The policy has no financial consequences for the government; no additional public expenditure is needed. However, the property industry may well incur greater development costs in building mixed use schemes.

In addition, by attacking obsolete local authority zoning (which is almost non-existent, and reflects an approach abandoned by local authorities since the late 1960s) there is a perception of pushing down barriers that many in the property market believe still to exist. 'Planner bashing' has been a favoured approach to excuse failures of the market for many years: for example, Michael Heseltine made a statement in 1979 about jobs being locked away in planners' filing cabinets to justify speeding up the development control system. This might be seen as merely a development of that approach (Thornley, 1991).

Definitions: Mixed Use and Mixing Uses

The terms 'mixed use' or 'mixed use development' are widely used, but seldom defined. Without definition, considerable confusion can be generated, mainly because the issue of scale can be crucial. Recent debates over planning policies designed to create a greater mix of uses show why this can be important.

Some planning authorities have adopted policies that have a size threshold; schemes over (for example) 300 m² must include a mix of uses. Others have been less prescriptive, concentrating on encouraging a mix of uses within an area. For the potential developer these differences of definition can be crucial; do they have to provide a couple of retail units on the ground floor of an office building? Would a development of flats on an adjacent site next to an office development meet the planners' requirements?

These are therefore more than merely academic questions, and it is possible to illustrate the range of ways that 'mixed use development' can be interpreted. In some parts of the USA for example, mixed use implies a mix of commercial and residential. Offices over shops would not fit the bill; they are both commercial uses.

Again, in the USA, the Urban Land Institute takes an even harder line; mixed use developments (MXDs) must have three or more significant revenue-producing uses, with significant physical and functional integration (including uninterrupted pedestrian connections), and be developed in conformance with a coherent plan. Everything else

that has a mix of uses is downgraded to a 'multiuse project' (Urban Land Institute, 1987). Yet even with this apparently limiting definition, hundreds of large-scale planned mixed use development projects exist in city centres across North America.

Confusions can arise over the use of the term 'mixed development'. In the context of housing, the term 'mixed development' often turns out to refer to a mix of houses and flats. In another housing context the same term is used to refer to a mix of private for sale and rented accommodation. In other contexts it has been used in relation to a mix of public and private development. None of these necessarily involves any mix of uses.

Confusion also clearly exists in the minds of some chartered surveyors. A recent journal article on mixed use development included a photograph of Milton Keynes, captioned 'Milton Keynes demonstrates the advantages of well-planned mixed-use development' (Mills, 1994). Yet according to the planning department in Milton Keynes there are no mixed use policies for the city, and almost no mixed use developments. This confusion illustrates the importance of establishing terms and definitions; putting housing and industry side by side is not the same as mixing uses in an integrated and symbiotic manner.

The scale of development is also an issue of some importance. How much of a mix of uses is necessary before a scheme is truly 'mixed

Figure 1.2

'Byzantium', Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

An unusual example of a mixed use building designed by Rem Koolhaas in the late 1980s with offices and flats in adjacent sections of the same building, with retailing and restaurants underneath.



use'? The US definition requires 'significant revenue-producing uses'; in Berlin at least 20% of the gross space should be devoted to residential use in a commercial scheme; in the UK the situation is often far less clear cut. A recent book listing development projects includes (among many others) Canary Wharf as a mixed use development, owing to its retail element (Powell, 1993). The total area of non-office space is much less than 10%, and the retail space is ancillary to the office use, needed to provide services for the office staff. How valid therefore is the description of this project as 'mixed use'? In another context reference is often made to 'mixed use' business parks where the development envelope may be 100 ha and may feature a range of uses. These uses can be entirely unrelated, and on discrete areas of a landscaped campus. Effectively they are a number of separate developments which happen to be being pursued by one developer (Mills, 1994). A book published in 1993 titled 'The best in mixed-use development design' is in practice purely concerned with business parks, some of which have no uses other than commercial space (Phillips, 1993).

Throughout this book we shall be concerned both with buildings with a mix of uses within them, and with schemes, sites or continuous street frontages with different uses. Generally (unless we make it clear) we shall not be referring to very large developments, nor those where there is one particularly significant use and a token volume of another use.

The Geography of Cities

The size and spacial arrangements of most British cities are different from those in either Western Europe or North America. London must be excluded from the picture; it is vastly bigger than any other UK city with around seven million residents. With the singular exception of the City of London, which has a tiny residential population (c.5 000) and a vast area of commercial office space, the rest of Central London has a very mixed character; residential accommodation can be found throughout the whole of the area, both owner occupied and rented; privately owned or managed by housing associations and local authorities.

Outside London the population of the largest English city is in the order of a million (Birmingham) and then the size falls to around 500 000 or less in Sheffield, Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester. In Scotland, Glasgow has a population of around 700 000. Below this Bristol has a population of around 400 000, Coventry 320 000 and then Leicester, Bradford, Nottingham, Hull, Stoke on Trent and Wolverhampton have population figures that descend from 280 000 to 250 000.

The spacial arrangement of all these cities, Birmingham included, is for there to be a central business district, with a shopping centre of regional significance and commercial space occupied by a variety of local and national companies (some as regional headquarters with a few as national centres). In addition there are a range of artistic, cultural and leisure facilities as well as local, regional and some national government offices. This core area will be mixed in character; but this mix comprises the uses listed above; almost without exception it excludes

Figure 1.3

Ihme Centrum, Hanover, Germany.

An early 1970s development near the city centre, of housing, offices and shops. Mixed used developments do not necessarily generate good architecture, wherever they are built. See the case study in Chapter 10.

residential uses. These can be found close to the city centres, in areas that are predominantly housing. Other uses will exist in conjunction with the housing: local shopping, churches, schools etc. Many of the cities have a significant area of industrial buildings between the city centre and the residential areas, and there may be some industrial premises within the older, more traditional turn-of-the-century residential areas that pre-date the more rigid segregation that was to follow. Many of these industrial areas are no longer in industrial use; these are the areas where significant regeneration has been undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s, and in these areas a much greater mix of activities is being provided, with a mix of new-build and re-use of important parts of the industrial heritage. This has led to thousands of new residents in the former warehousing area of Glasgow's city centre Merchant City area for example.

It is interesting that the residential density of cities does not seem to relate to the spacial arrangement. Birmingham, (4 444 people per km²) has a similar overall density to London (4 182) and Munich (4 125). Paris, however, has a dramatically higher density (20 848) (Kivell, 1993).

During the 1960s different countries showed significant variation in the expansion in size of urban areas taken by a 1% increase in population, with France showing a 1% increase, the UK a 2.09% increase, the USA only 0.77%, and the Netherlands 0.69%.



In many ways US and Canadian cities follow a very similar pattern to UK cities (other than London). However, in some cities the residential area around the city 'downtown' has been significantly abandoned (e.g. Detroit). In other cities there have been more concerted attempts to introduce a residential component, often in the former industrial areas close to the city centre (Seattle, Toronto). These areas include significant residential elements. Other cities have seen no major loss of earlier residential areas (eg. Boston), and in New York residential conversion of office space is taking place in a similar way to London.

The pattern in many Western European cities is somewhat different. Many cities have populations in the millions. Germany's federal structure means that state capitals have significant government functions as well as local finance organizations of national significance. While in the UK all significant national functions are found in London (newspaper publishing, finance, national government), in Germany individual centres have particular characteristics. Hamburg, population c.2m, is the base for several national newspapers; Munich, which is a similar size, is the home to Porsche and BMW; Frankfurt, with a population under 700 000, has all the largest financial headquarters, while Bonn, which is smaller still, is the heart of government as well as being an important university city. The largest city is Berlin, with over 4 million people.

In these German cities, as in the Netherlands and France, the same functions of regional government, commerce, retailing and artistic and leisure functions can be identified that are found in UK cities. But the residential population is interspersed throughout the city in a similar way to London. Even the central areas of these cities have significant residential populations. These are 'real' long-term residents, not merely second home owners or company lettings which can be found in London. As a consequence, the basic facilities that these populations need are also still found in much greater concentrations than can be found in many UK cities.

In the UK, developers have often fought against the idea of mixing residential and commercial space. Issues arise about the need for separate access, the financial costs of a separate service core, the potential nuisance or noise problems. For example, a property adviser to the Cadogan Estate in Chelsea, while claiming that he supported the idea of mixed uses, wrote in the following terms;

Mixed uses should *not* be contained within the same structure where this can be avoided and valuable investment resources used in a more profitable way. Particularly, residential accommodation on top of offices should be replaced by sensible financial negotiations locating the housing in an adjoining area (Sim, 1994)

While it is possible to identify a few large-scale mixed use British developments – the Barbican in the City of London, the Brindleyplace development in Birmingham – they are relatively few and far between. Yet things are seen as very different in other parts of Europe. In Berlin, significant developments are being undertaken by a range of developers. The plans require around 20% of the space in most city centre

developments to be residential, and most of these projects allocate the residential space to the upper floors, over offices, which in turn are above retail and restaurant uses. This pattern of development is now the norm, and raises few questions from developers or apparent difficulties with potential funders. The case study on Berlin in Chapter 10 goes into greater detail.

While German practice is somewhat different from that in the UK, other European countries have a similar approach to the UK. In the Netherlands, for example, there are very few mixed use buildings, and where they do exist uses are segregated within the building structure. Planning policy there is much more concerned with accessibility of development for those who will need to use it, and with ensuring that sufficient facilities exist in new developments to avoid the need to travel to obtain basic services. The resulting developments are not so different from those large-scale schemes of redevelopment in the UK such as Brindleyplace in Birmingham or the regeneration undertaken in Leeds or Manchester.

Figure 1.4

Queen's Quay Terminal,
Toronto, Canada.
A conversion and
reconstruction by Olympia
and York of the 1920s
warehouse to offices with
retailing below and
apartments on the top
storeys. See case study 1.1.

What Lies Behind the Concern for Mixed Uses?

As has already been noted, the effect of promoting mixed used development and higher density urban development would, if successful, put greater numbers of people in the cities. The European Community Green



Paper explicitly supports this approach by promoting the concept of the 'compact city' (CEC, 1990). This is examined in greater depth in chapter 3 on sustainability. However, encouraging more urban residential occupation, whether in mixed used schemes or in mixed use areas, may not be straightforward.

The British often give confusing messages about their attitudes to cities. On the one hand, cities are still seen by many as the place where fortunes are made, and there continues to be an exodus from the countryside by those seeking to gain a wider range of experiences or opportunities for employment and leisure. On the other hand, most people aspire to live in the countryside – or, failing that, the suburbs. This is not in any way a recent phenomenon. Raymond Williams examined the way in which cities have continually been seen in literature as places of dirt, ugliness and evil compared with the positive pastoral description of the countryside. Here too attitudes are generally negative – the countryside is consistently recorded in literature as being a worse place to live than it had been years, decades or centuries earlier (Williams, 1973).

People in the UK state a preference in overwhelming numbers for living in the countryside. A survey carried out by the Henley Centre for Forecasting shows that only 3% of the population identified city or large town centres as their preferred residential location. On the other hand, 45% expressed a preference for a country village (Henley Centre, 1994). And a substantial proportion state a preference for owning their own property rather than renting – 75% or more, depending on the survey (at least, that was the proportion before the advent of significant 'negative equity'; evidence suggests that owner-occupation is a slightly less attractive option in the mid-1990s).

This apparent hostility – or at least ambivalence – to cities is not reflected in the views of residents of many other Western European countries. There is a much greater acceptance of and expectation of living in the great cities: Paris, Amsterdam, Prague, Berlin or Barcelona. Many who live in these cities happily occupy rented accommodation, either social housing with a degree of state support or subsidy, or from a private landlord. However, there is an increasing proportion of owner occupation in these cities too, as well as a steady flow of population to the suburbs.

In North America the flight from the cities to the suburbs has been even greater. Despite the attempts of planners to sustain them, the central areas of many cities have become almost deserted. Lewis Mumford described the suburbs as 'a collective attempt to lead a private life' (Mumford, 1938). Edmund Fowler (1992) explains how suburban development reflects the low-density aspirations of Americans and Canadians. Peter Hall offers a similar analysis; because population densities are low, the possibilities for fruitful human interaction are much reduced. Even the quality of material life, in the range of shopping goods and entertainments available, is impoverished and standardized (Hall, 1975).

Some views on the preference for suburban living are even more extreme. The architect Christopher Alexander cites a study in Vienna in

1956 (Alexander, 1972). The city planning department sampled 4000 people to find their housing preferences. Most preferred apartments to single-family houses because they wanted to be near the centre, where everything was happening. (These were of course Viennese residents, who had already opted to be in Vienna, not the countryside.) A Viennese psychiatrist then gave the questionnaire to 100 neurotic patients in his clinic. A much higher proportion wanted to live in one-family houses; they sought, in Alexander's words, 'the suburban dream'. His main hypothesis is that:

It is inevitable that urban concentrations create stress. Our first reaction to this urban stress is to move away from it; to turn our backs on it; to try to escape it. This is very natural. Yet the remedy is worse than the disease. The ills of urban life which are commonly attributed to density and stress, are in fact not produced by the original stress itself, but by our own actions in turning away from that stress. If urban society is to survive, we must overcome this over-reaction. If people do not expose themselves, if they do not dare to make themselves vulnerable, life will become more and more intolerable, and we shall see more and more of the signs of dissociation which are already far too evident.

These attitudes to housing affect an individual's willingness to live and work in a city. However, cities change over time, as do attitudes to living in cities that appear to have been changing in the past few decades. Some North American cities have been increasing their inner city residential population in the same way that British policy would hope to achieve. In Toronto a former warehouse was redeveloped (by the same developer who created Canary Wharf in London) into a mix of retailing, offices and apartments. In Seattle there are several successful inner city residential projects, particularly in the areas no longer required for industry. A similar situation can be found in the rapidly expanding city centre population in Vancouver, while in Manhattan millions of square feet of unwanted offices are being converted to apartments. This reflects a trend that can also be observed in the UK: there are changes in the way that property developers and funders view the value of development sites.

Recent changes to our cities and towns have been driven predominantly by technological development. The twin engines of this change are continuing economic growth and technical developments that ensure that new technologies continue to be developed. Those technologies – once considered sophisticated and expensive – become cheaper and more widely available. Continued growth also leads to greater choice; more people can choose where they work, where they shop, what they want to eat, where they live. They can also afford technology that influences these choices and their lifestyles: freezers, video players, caravans and, most crucially, cars.

The continued increase in car ownership allows many more choices for car users in meeting their needs and preferences. The technologies and the car combine to allow people to choose to eat interesting (frozen

Figure 1.5 (opposite)
Waterfront Place, Seattle,
Washington, USA.
Part of an early 1980s
complex of offices,
apartments and shops on the
edge of the downtown office
district. A typical US city
centre mix of uses, with
residential towers over
commercial uses and garage
parking. See case study 1.1.



or restaurant prepared) foreign food, with minimum preparation; to collect a recent film release, then watch it at home; to phone for a freshly prepared pizza to eat at home; to travel to see friends on the other side of town, the next town, or 100 miles away without significant inconvenience. Yet this increased choice has had a negative impact on non-car users (and on car users once they are out of their vehicle).

At one time – and not so long ago – a particular, but probably typical village in rural Norfolk had a baker, a butcher, two grocers, a post office, banks, a choice of pubs, a secondary school, a cinema and even a drapers. Yet in size and population it was about the same as it is today. Cars were relatively scarce, and the links to the two nearest towns, each about 6 miles away, were by bus. One of the towns was served until the mid 1960s by a railway.

Now there are three general shops, the post office, a bank open two days a week, and just two pubs. The junior school remains, but the secondary school has gone; all the specialist shops and services have gradually closed as villagers transact more business elsewhere. They travel there by car. Those without access to a car have much more limited choices. The railway has gone. There are three buses a day to one town, none to the other (except the school bus). There are no cinemas either in the village or in either town; the nearest is 25 miles away, a 12-screen multiplex on an edge-of-town retail park outside the nearest city. This model holds true throughout the country. Indeed, it is true in much of Western Europe, and can be found in an even more extreme form in North America.

The response of the planning system to these developments, which have taken place over the past few decades, is understandable but not necessarily wholly beneficial. Cars were accommodated, with more and wider roads and with bigger parking areas. New estates were designed, which required the residents to use a car to obtain almost any service. New settlements were designed, which were predicated on high car ownership. Entire US cities developed wholly dependent on car use, in such a way that alternatives (public transport, cycle or walking) were almost impossible. At the same time the planning system was also trying to tidy up and simplify patterns of land use. 'Inappropriate' uses were removed; new areas of development were 'zoned' for single uses; the development industry developed with distinct specialisms in building just one type of structure. Housing developers built housing estates. Other development companies built shopping centres, industrial estates or office blocks. Single-use areas started to replace the confused mix of the nineteenth-century industrial city.

Only very recently has it been realized that this is not necessarily all good – how 'unsustainable' this could be. Now many city authorities are trying to improve public transport, to encourage shared car pooling or park-and-ride schemes, and to reduce or even remove city centre traffic. As we shall see, policies are being developed to mix uses back together so that residents can meet their needs and preferences without necessarily having to rely on using the car.

Attitudes to Mixed Use Developments

DeNeufville, (1981), points out that land policy defines the land use patterns that a society may seek; sprawling or compact; mixed or homogeneous; short or long distances between home and work; protection of ecologically fragile lands or unique scenic areas. However, in and of themselves these patterns have little meaning; they are means to other ends. This must be relevant to this study; mixed use in itself has little intrinsic significance – its importance is what it represents. This can be likened to the use of the term ‘urban village’. Probably first used by Herbert J. Gans to describe community neighbourhoods within cities (Gans, 1968), and later by Tony Aldous in a similar vein in London (Aldous, 1980), it has now been taken up and used in a subtly different way for the purposes of promoting new development: in the USA to increase densities of existing urban communities, and in the UK to justify wholly new higher density settlements. Yet as David Sucher points out there is an apparent contradiction between the concepts of ‘urban’ and ‘village’. It may be that the term is being used (almost subconsciously) to create the feeling of the perceived attractions of the rural village and the advantages of the city (Sucher, 1995).

There is a link to a related aspect of mixed use development that needs to be considered: the basic question of attitudes to and preferences for living in cities. In many ways this too is a contradiction; rural (or at least suburban) owner-occupied single-family dwellings are understood to be the preferred housing choice for most of the population (in the UK and the USA at least). The advantage of cities is the ease of access to a wide choice of employment, shopping, leisure and other facilities. However, cities have not been widely perceived as a good place to live.

Clearly, there are exceptions to this; there has been a steady and continuing shift of population from rural areas to cities, which then reversed for several decades as population moved back to suburban areas. The new housing recently sold in UK cities has proved popular. And some inner parts of many cities have always been very attractive and sought-after residential areas. London’s inner city residential communities in Mayfair, Belgravia or the Barbican do not generally experience hardships usually understood as ‘inner city’ problems. In practice the areas of cities with the greatest concentration of problems are often on the outer fringes, not in the centre at all. The housing estates that are considered the worst are almost without exception the largest mono-use developments. One of the most frequent complaints about such housing areas (whether located in the city centres or in the outer parts of cities) is the lack of social, shopping or employment opportunities.

A further aspect of the attitudes to mixed use development relates to the nature of the residential accommodation that may be included in some schemes. These will usually be flats; although if they are in the private sector they will be called apartments, lofts, penthouses or condominiums. But in the USA – and probably in the UK too – ‘single family housing is thought to be more conducive than apartments to

attracting residents who will be responsible members of the community' (deNeufville, 1981).

However, changing patterns of household development and lifestyle choices may be playing a part in changing the potential for developing successful mixed use schemes. More single-person and single-parent households; greater numbers of students; more couples choosing to remain childless; earlier retirement ages and higher disposable incomes – all alter the pattern of housing occupation and the potential interest in occupying property in higher-density and mixed use locations.

Changing Cities

Our research suggests that cities can attract significant numbers of residents. However, these will not be 'normal' communities; they will consist of specific groups of people. They will include students, single young professionals, childless couples, and those whose children have left home. They may well include significant numbers of 'part-time' residents. These may be individuals whose work requires them to move between several different places. They may be professional people whose family lives elsewhere in the country, in the suburbs, or in another country entirely. Many of these people will contribute significantly to the local economy, as they use local restaurants, leisure facilities and entertainment more than the average. However, their attachment to the area, their social networks and involvement will clearly be far less than in other areas. How much of a 'community' these areas represent is debatable.

For residents to consider long-term occupation of these areas would clearly take significant policy initiatives in areas other than town planning. Surveys suggest that crime is perceived to be a greater problem than is actually experienced. Government policy is currently evolving, with a range of initiatives including much greater use of CCTV, which may have an effect on the perceived safety of city centres. Education is clearly a significant issue, and the quality of schools which are located near higher-density mixed use areas must be improved sufficiently to alter attitudes to the appropriateness of such areas as places to raise a family. Planning policies on provision of public open space and general environmental quality would need more attention and resources.

Some residents of UK cities have little option but to stay in the centre. There are still housing areas in the inner city with serious housing problems. These have been addressed by various policy initiatives, most recently 'City Challenge' and the 'Single Regeneration Budget'. Some commentators have argued that these have had little effect to date. There are other policy initiatives aimed at improving towns and cities throughout Britain. The government is encouraging developers and councils to revitalize the centres of cities, limiting development of edge-of-town and out-of-town facilities, including shopping centres, leisure facilities (including multi-screen cinemas) and public facilities like hospitals. City centres are seen as having a future, and part of that future is widening the range of uses and mixing the types of development. The remainder of the book examines this process in greater detail.

The Chapters:

A History of Mixed Uses

This chapter examines the history of the development of British cities, and the way in which areas of mixed use have altered over time. Initially, it has been argued, cities came to exist, and grew, because of the benefits for communication (Berry, 1973). The scale of the city was limited by the technology available at the time – initially, walking.

Mixed uses were the order of the day, with the same living space used as a home, as a base for business (both manufacturing and/or retailing), and for many other uses too. Specialist buildings existed, but these were (for the most part) located cheek by jowl with the everyday activities that carried on continuously.

The rise in trade and commerce led to the creation of purpose-built office buildings, often among areas of housing. In the larger cities, as these areas grew rapidly, they displaced residential areas and became commercial business districts, mixed with a range of shops, pubs and other related services. In London though, as elsewhere, remarkably, throughout these centuries of sustained growth little change occurred to the city's boundaries. Instead, population density increased steadily until the mid nineteenth century.

The development of the railways led to a dramatic expansion of the city centres (Mumford, 1961). Before this the cities were limited by the need to move around on foot or by horse-drawn bus. The development of public health legislation in the nineteenth century and newly introduced town planning laws changed the way in which housing and industry was mixed. Across Europe and in the USA 'zoning' was developed –



Figure 1.6
Herbal Hill Gardens,
Farringdon, London.
The redevelopment of a site
intended for offices, com-
pleted to framework level
before the receivership of the
developer. Now developed as
flats over shops.

albeit less consciously in Britain. Here the removal of non-conforming uses (whether housing in industrial areas or industries from residential areas) led to single, or much simpler, patterns of land use.

The changes in manufacturing industry, which saw increasing specialization, led to greater travel between towns and a greater reliance on the private car, which, once purchased, also came to be relied on for shopping and leisure trips. By the 1950s, 1960s and into the 1970s 'slum' clearance continued, prompting the clearance of huge areas of Victorian housing and the creation of massive new areas of housing. These often omitted other uses, were isolated from industrial areas, and were frequently built with system-construction techniques with high-rise blocks as part of the development. Some of the cleared areas were used to increase industrial development, but many of the city centre sites



Figure 1.7
St John Street, Clerkenwell,
London.
Conversion of industrial
premises to residential uses
on the city fringe.

were developed as huge enclosed shopping malls, often with multi-storey parking.

The commercial centres of cities, which were still expanding, also continued to spill into and displace surrounding residential areas. This was the era of 'comprehensive development areas' (CDAs) – both in the USA and in the UK. There were questions raised about the nature of these developments – particularly about their effect on vitality, safety and traditional community networks (Jacobs, 1961). More recent changes in attitude and policy are based on the realization of the environmental problems caused by car use, and the need to revitalize towns and cities. This has led to a new set of policies and advice to encourage mixed use development.

Mixed Use Development as an agent of Sustainability

This new planning advice follows a series of important reports from the late 1980s. Helen Walker identifies these, and draws out the relevant material that relates to mixed use development. In practice, the debate on sustainability is one that has been based on limited evidence or research. Moreover, where that research has been carried out it has not always shown the results that policymakers would like.

More recent policy changes have been based on the increasing environmental concerns that arose in the 1970s, together with the issues of revitalizing the inner cities, which had experienced particular problems. The adoption of council planning policies and government statements (and even possible legislation) on mixed use development can be seen as a result of all these developments. The hope is that more mixed use areas and more residential development in cities will reduce the need for car use. Shorter journeys and more multipurpose trips would reduce car use, and so emissions. More city centre residents with access to good public transport would be willing to use this method of going to work or out in the evening, rather than using their car.

Work has been undertaken which shows that these hopes have only a small chance of being met. Increasing the density of existing centres may make these areas less attractive and therefore may increase commuting, often from greater distances (Breheny, 1992).

Mixed use development is thought to reduce the demand for car use. This is based on studies of density and transport use, which show a clear relationship in that people living in higher-density residential areas have a lower use of private cars.

However, studies show that, in general, car use (in terms of both journey length and frequency) is increasing (DoT, 1995). New research has been undertaken that for the first time looks at the car use associated with mixed use and centrally located residential development. This shows that city centre residents do use public transport more and their car less than the national average, or in comparison with residents in more suburban locations. However, it also shows that many of the new city centre developments are not occupied full time, with a significant proportion being for short-term rental, company homes or weekday *pieds à terre*.

Cities, Tourism and Mixed Uses

Robert Maitland examines the way in which increasing tourism, art and cultural activity and conferences are changing cities, and how these changes relate to mixed use developments. The increased leisure activities of the population are creating a demand for facilities that are being located in cities. In many cases these are being included in mixed use schemes. And new city centre leisure uses may well include other uses within their developments. New planning policies (DoE, 1996) are increasingly encouraging these leisure projects to be located (as with retailing) in the centre of existing towns and cities.

The chapter examines the changing city economy and the role that cultural and leisure activities play in this change. It examines the various different types of tourist and leisure facilities and the buildings they occupy, and assesses how these types of development relate to area regeneration strategies and policies that seek to increase mixed use development.

Importantly, the chapter also examines the potential and actual problems that these new developments may bring. The future planning policies for mixed use will have to understand and build on the experience of developing more vibrant city centres. The chapter looks at a number of detailed examples of these attempts.

Mixed Use Development and the Property Market

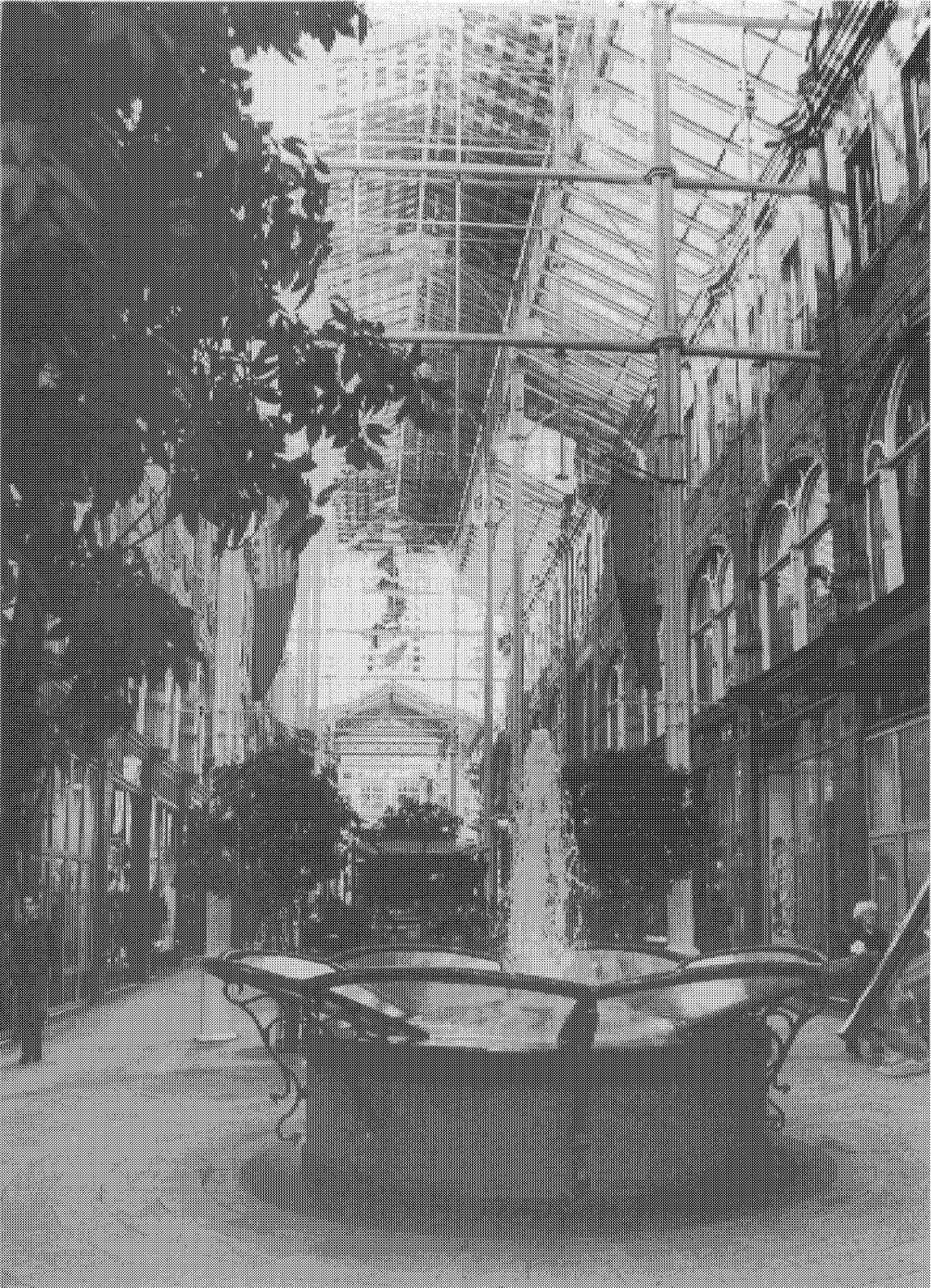
Chris Marsh examines the attitudes of property developers and funding agencies to mixed use development. While there remain significant parts of our towns and cities that are mixed in character, the property industry has for many years avoided creating buildings or even whole developments with more than one use. The chapter examines this traditional antipathy of investment institutions, looking at the reasons for these attitudes and explaining the structure of the property development industry, which reinforces these views.

The chapter includes a detailed look at the current state of the property development industry, and the current attitudes of agents, developers and funding institutions to mixed use development and to government and local authority policies designed to encourage a greater mix of uses. It looks at the prevailing circumstances that are leading to a greater diversity of land uses in areas where up to now a mono-culture has existed, and looks forward to possible future models of mixed use property development.

Figure 1.8 (opposite)
The Victoria Quarter, Leeds.
A successful attempt to transform the heart of the shopping centre by glazing over a street to create comfortable year-round shopping facilities.

Mixed Uses and Urban Design

Marion Roberts and Tony Lloyd-Jones examine the design issues that relate to mixed use development. There is no automatic relationship between mixed use development and a well-designed environment. The chapter examines the design issues that have to be addressed to create successful mixed use areas and good design.



It examines issues of scale and the crucial importance of accessibility, both within a development and through transport links within an area. The chapter examines many of the ideas presented by Jane Jacobs, and their continuing relevance to the current debate on mixed uses. It puts forward the critical importance of ground floor uses, and examines MacCormac's notion of internal and external transactions, helpful in assessing vitality of uses.

Through presenting a number of examples the chapter also assesses problems that can arise, including potential conflict between users, and the ways in which good design can address these successfully.

Crime and Mixed Use Development

Geraldine Pettersson examines the link between built form and crime. She surveys the research and literature on the subject, and examines how mixed uses affect perceptions of safety as well as the actual level of crime. Other crime prevention policies are reviewed, including CCTV, and the relationship between these policies and attempts to revitalise city centres is explored.

She examines the crucial difference between actual levels of crime and perceptions of how safe an area is. She too examines the views of Jane Jacobs and their continuing relevance to the debate about making cities safer and more attractive places to live.

In addition to this the chapter examines the direct evidence from research into the experience of city centre residents in mixed use schemes. This research also examines perceptions of safe environments, and what initiatives could or should be taken to make cities safer places to live in, including the role of mixed use developments in meeting this aim.

Local Policy and Mixed Uses

In this, and the following chapter, Andy Coupland outlines the changing government policy on mixed use development and the ways in which local authority planning departments are responding to these policy initiatives. Through examining a series of case studies and examples the chapters identify attempts to create a greater mix of uses in different towns and cities, and the problems which have been found in trying to implement policies to encourage such a mix.

The chapter also identifies examples of where mixed use developments have been unsuccessful; either because certain uses have failed to be developed in accordance with their original plans, or because different uses have not attracted occupants and have subsequently changed.

Why Developers Build Mixed Use Schemes

This chapter links closely to the earlier one concerned with the views of the property market. It examines the motivation of different types of developer who have, despite the prevailing attitudes, created mixed use developments. It looks at the progress of a number of development