National Trust

The Trends and Future of Urban Heritage

Final Report, November 2018

BOP
Consulting

Insight & Supporter Data

Credits

Cover image: flickr, IanWStokes, *Watching the waves on Hastings Pier,* October 11, 2017 (Public domain)

Executive Summary

This research report has been commissioned by the National Trust to provide evidence and insight into the current state and future trends affecting urban heritage. This includes consideration of existing data on heritage structures (with particular reference to Grade II); public attitudes to heritage; programmes and policies currently in place; and the views of experts and stakeholders in the field. The research was delivered between June and October 2018.

Urban heritage in this research is taken to refer to buildings or structures, usually but not exclusively built before 1919, in urban areas. Assets that are out of scope include: general residential use, registered parks, scheduled monuments, conservation areas, and ecclesiastical buildings. Further, this research prioritises Grade II buildings as they are subject to lower levels of formal protection. The definition of urban has been informed by the Trust's developing Urban Places Programme, which focuses on areas of highest population density as a starting point (i.e. cities), recognising that by 2030 92% of the UK population will be urban. Urban heritage as used here also encompasses both community engagement in heritage projects and the creation of public benefit.

Urban heritage at risk

There is no consistent or comprehensive formal monitoring of Grade II heritage at risk. However, this monitoring does exist for Grades I and II*. Analysis of existing data demonstrates that there is a strong relationship between all grades of listed assets. This suggests that data on Grade I and II* assets at risk can serve as a reasonable proxy for estimating the numbers of Grade II assets at risk.

0.88% of all of England's Grade I and II* heritage meets the National Trust's particular area of interest for this research (i.e. at risk, building-based, not residential or ecclesiastical, and in urban areas). Assuming that all other things are equal, extrapolating this analysis to the much larger number of Grade II assets produces an estimate of roughly 3,000 Grade II listed buildings with public value potential that are at risk in urban areas in England.

The number of heritage at risk assets as tracked by the Heritage at Risk Register remains reasonably stable over time with new additions balanced by assets coming off the list, but this research highlights that the levels of risk to urban heritage are increasing. Partly, a 'data desert' exists in relation to Grade II heritage at risk and this is part of the problem. Local authorities increasingly lack heritage expertise and resources to monitor Grade II assets as funding for heritage has been reduced. Latterly, National Lottery funding, which has also previously supported urban heritage projects, has started to decline. With a lack of investment, the conservation deficit on each asset grows such that the level of risk to urban heritage is increasing year-on-year. If no changes are made in approaches to community engagement, or in the responses of the heritage sector itself, then the risks to urban heritage will grow still more.

Community engagement

An assessment of the risks to urban heritage must take account of levels of, and barriers to, public engagement. In general, there is a huge potential for the public to engage with heritage when they can connect to it emotionally and at a local level. The diversity of urban populations is not currently well reflected in audiences most engaged with heritage; barriers to engagement appear to be perceptual, economic, or lack of awareness.

There is a growing appetite for people to become more closely involved in initiating, proposing and developing project ideas, and a positive wish for people to be involved in decision-making by heritage organisations. Priorities for heritage investment identified through public consultation are urban, diverse, at risk, in areas of socio-economic deprivation, and prioritised by communities themselves. The public see the issue less as a set of heritage buildings at risk, than as a range of socio-economic challenges for which heritage may provide some solutions: the housing crisis, lack of skills training for young people, and scarcity of community space.

Support from the heritage sector

The five key elements of any urban heritage regeneration project are identification, ownership / management, restoration, re-use, and sustainability. Community engagement and business planning are essential success factors

for each. Current resourcing (financial and expertise) from heritage organisations is very focused on restoration, though there is a lot of competition for funds and approaches are not joined up. Sustainability is least well resourced, and too little considered when planning projects; it is also hardest to address as it goes against the grain of current funding. There are, however, significant issues associated with each element of the process.

The three main threats to urban heritage identified by sector professionals are:

— Financial: shrinking public and lottery funds, inadequacy of available resources to the scale of the need, and a lack of business acumen

— Attitudinal: a dissonance between the understanding of heritage and community organisations and their view of priorities and risks

— Lack of co-ordination across the sector.

Funders, sectoral support charities, developers and local building or development trusts are exploring a wide range of opportunities to support urban heritage including new approaches to funding, new funding sources, training and support, and a range of ownership models. But it is clear that there is no one-size-fits-all solution for the multiple issues in this complex, multi-player environment.

The main topic of debate is the nature of the relationship between communities and heritage. While all agree on the importance of community engagement at headline level, there is less clarity around what this means in practice. Heritage organisations can see as problematic the lack of capacity or expertise in community organisations; community organisations see a lack of empathy or support from professional bodies. Support and training initiatives are currently inadequate to meet demand. Lack of trust between partners leads to ill-considered processes, limited outcomes, and gaps in the policy structure to support community projects.

The future of urban heritage and the National Trust

If nothing is done to transform the current landscape, sectoral experts consulted see the future for urban heritage as at best a restricted version of the status quo, more likely a worse situation. Interviewees fear that buildings will suffer decline and projects will reflect a greater geographic and social inequality. Wider negative social impacts if nothing is done include lost opportunities to contribute to place resilience; exacerbation of the 'broken window cycle'; and may contribute to increased division and anger across the country.

The scale, brand, convening power and expertise of the National Trust in commercial planning and conservation could play a huge role in transforming this vision. The urban heritage sector warmly welcomes the idea of a collaborative approach to tackling core issues and is keen to work in partnership to achieve change.

All sectoral bodies consulted were keen to address this challenge and suggested a range of required roles which might be taken on by the National Trust:

— Use the National Trust's brand and reputation to lend weight to key campaigns

— Champion a joined-up approach across the heritage sector

— Use its size and financial stability to act as a holding company or co-owner of assets, de-risking community propositions and buying time for new organisations to establish and stabilise

— Support the development of a sustainability / contingency fund and support service for urban heritage assets in their first ten years of operation, to ensure that they are not lost to public benefit due to being owned by new, small or learning organisations

— Support or deliver a new body other than local councils to support effective running of the listings and statutory protection system for Grade II; help address the lack of expertise and resource in conservation in local councils

— Deliver training, mentoring or dedicated expert support for the community sector

Introduction

This research report was commissioned from BOP Consulting in May 2018. Research was delivered between May and October.

The brief identified four key research questions, weighted to reflect the level of research time required for each:

— What evidence is there that urban heritage is facing a growing threat (both to the assets and the public benefit that can be delivered)? (Minor)

— We know heritage matters to people – but what are the key factors that prevent or restrict people or organisations from taking more of an active role in caring for it? (Research using existing sources)

— What does the future hold? If current trends in the heritage sector continue, what's the default outcome? (Major)

— What solutions / responses are in place and what are the pros and cons of each? Are those solutions commensurate with the threat? If there is a gap, what / where is that gap? (Major)

The research was carried out between May and October 2018 with a mixed-method approach including desk research, stakeholder interviews, data analysis (including case studies) and a Delphi-style consultation with an expert panel.

Over 30 sectoral experts have been formally consulted, including national heritage bodies, development trusts, developers, community organisations and support bodies and funders.

While the focus of the project has been the UK – and in particular England – the research also includes a wider perspective through five international case studies, which explore good practice in urban heritage projects in different cultural and policy contexts.

This research sits alongside the action research projects undertaken by the National Trust's Insight team (for example in Birmingham) and ongoing development of the Trust's Urban Places Programme.

Figure 1 Research process
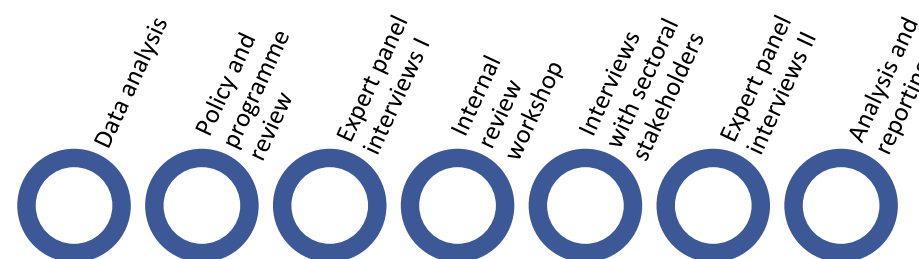
Source: BOP Consulting 2018

1. Data context

What evidence is there that urban heritage is facing a growing threat (both to the assets and the public benefit that can be delivered)?

The Trust requires an evidence base which makes clear the scope and scale of the threat to urban heritage, focusing particularly on Grade II listed structures (excluding general residential use, registered parks, scheduled monuments, conservation areas and ecclesiastical buildings).

While there are several major and updated data sources on heritage, none incorporate all three key elements of urban, Grade II, and level of threat / risk comprehensively. To create a data map of the issue we have therefore used a range of different data sets:

— The Heritage List for England, maintained by Historic England, is a database of all listed buildings or sites in England, including Grades I, II* and II, Registered Parks and Gardens, Scheduled Monuments, Battlefields, and Protected Wreck Sites

— The Heritage at Risk (HaR) register, maintained by Historic England, is a database which includes listed buildings or structures which have been assessed and found to be at risk at Grades I and II*; Grade II is excluded, with the exception of places of worship and all Grade II in London

— The Heritage Index, maintained by the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA) and Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), encompasses a wider range of heritage indicators, including community involvement in heritage. It also sets community involvement against the number of heritage assets in places to give a sense of a location's 'heritage potential'.

Some individual local authorities maintain lists of local heritage sites and the level of threat to these. While these are few in number, and sporadic and not updated on a regular basis, we have also explored these local listings to see what insight can be drawn from an area-specific approach.

Additional data has been drawn in to contextualise the findings where required.

The threat to urban heritage has therefore been explored through three, phased questions:

— What is the level of risk to urban heritage at Grade I and II*?

— What is known about Grade II listed heritage?

— What is the level of risk to Grade II listed heritage in urban settings?

1.1 Definition of urban

As a working definition, urban heritage is defined by the National Trust as buildings or structures, usually but not exclusively built before 1919, in urban areas.

The term urban covers a wide variety of different settings, from major cities where land values are high to struggling small towns. It also includes the vast majority of the UK population: by 2030, 92.2% of UK population will be urban (currently it is 82.8%).

Across government, local authorities are mapped to six different rural / urban classifications, created by Defra. The last three of these classifications are considered to be 'urban', specifically: Urban with City and Town (e.g. Middlesbrough, York, Derby, Wakefield); Urban with Minor Conurbation (e.g. Nottingham, Sheffield, Barnsley); Urban with Major Conurbation (e.g. all London boroughs, Birmingham, Newcastle, Liverpool). This definition of urban as relating to these three classifications has been followed in this data analysis.

It is important to note that this definition sits in the context of the Trust's developing Urban Places Programme which focuses on support to heritage assets other than those owned by the Trust; connecting to a diverse range of human histories; and the challenges of the current public sector environment. There is also an implicit focus on areas of greatest population density – cities, as opposed to smaller market towns. We have therefore included some

snapshot data around the eight largest English cities outside of London. In section 2.1.1, we have also provided some of the standard classifications for UK cities. This may prove a useful prioritisation tool for the Trust as well as offering a useful contextualisation of urban data.

In summary, **the National Trust's criteria for 'urban heritage' is for an initial strategic focus on identifying heritage assets where the delivery of significant public benefit is under threat. The beneficiaries are the people who live or work in, and who visit cities and towns**. For this reason, domestic and ecclesiastical buildings are currently excluded, although the aim is for any identified potential solutions that address the challenges within the sector to be applicable across the heritage sector.

The definition of 'urban' is clearly, therefore, closely allied with a recognition that 'urban heritage' is as much about people as it is about assets – and a diverse range of people. As will be examined in more depth in Chapters 3 and 4, general public and heritage sector discourse is currently phrased less about urban versus rural, and more about the need to take a more people-focused approach to heritage.

This understanding informs the research approach overall, though the analysis of the scope and scale of the threat has of necessity been conducted using statistical analysis of largely asset-based data. The Heritage Index (and HLF) does, however, bring assets and people together with its assessment of community involvement in heritage, comparing heritage assets and heritage activity, and we have used this resource where relevant.

1.1.1 Categorising the UK's urban hierarchy

The UK's urban hierarchy is dominated by London. The gap between London and the rest of the UK's cities has been a key factor in the formation of city networks in the UK. These have come together to undertake joint lobbying, advocacy and policy development to advance the cause of urban economies outside the capital. Although not completely scientific (they are self-selecting

city networks[1]), the Core and Key Cities Groups provide a useful stratification of the UK's urban economy and centres of political influence outside of London.

The first to be established was the 'Core Cities Group'.[2] This includes the 10 largest cities in Great Britain outside London: Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, and Sheffield. Between them, the Core Cities deliver 28% of the combined economic output of England, Wales and Scotland (26.5% of the UK economy) and are home to almost 19 million people, 30.7% of the combined English, Welsh and Scottish population (29.8% of the UK population).

In 2013, the 'Key Cities Group' was formed.[3] Fulfilling a similar role to the Core Cities Group but for the next tier down in the urban hierarchy, the Key Cities Group brings together 20 mid-sized city economies: Blackpool, Bournemouth, Bradford, Coventry, Derby, Doncaster, Hull, Kirklees, Newport, Norwich, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Preston, Salford, Southampton, Southend-on-Sea, Sunderland, Tees Valley, Wakefield, and Wolverhampton. Collectively the 20 Key Cities account for 10% of the UK population (5.6 million people), with a joint Gross Value Added (GVA) of £110 billion per annum.

1.2 Relevant Grade I and II* assets at risk in England: overview

As discussed in the introduction to this section, there is no consistent or comprehensive dataset that details all Grade II heritage at risk. But this does exist for Grade I and II*. Our approach is therefore to build an estimate for Grade II assets at risk by extrapolating the results obtained from an analysis of Grade I and II* urban heritage at risk, to the population of Grade II listed assets.

The vast majority of Grade I and Grade II* buildings are not at risk, as shown in Figure 2 below.

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[1] In particular, Belfast and Edinburgh (as capitals of Northern Ireland and Scotland) have chosen not to join the Core Cities Group.

[2] https://www.corecities.com/

[3] https://www.keycities.co.uk/

Figure 2 Identifying Grade I and Grade II* listed buildings at risk and of primary interest to the National Trust, as a component of all listed Grade I and II*, 2018

All Grade I and II*
31.18k

At Risk
5.2k

Building based
1.5k

639

Not domestic
or ecclesiastical

273

0.88% of all
Grade I & II*
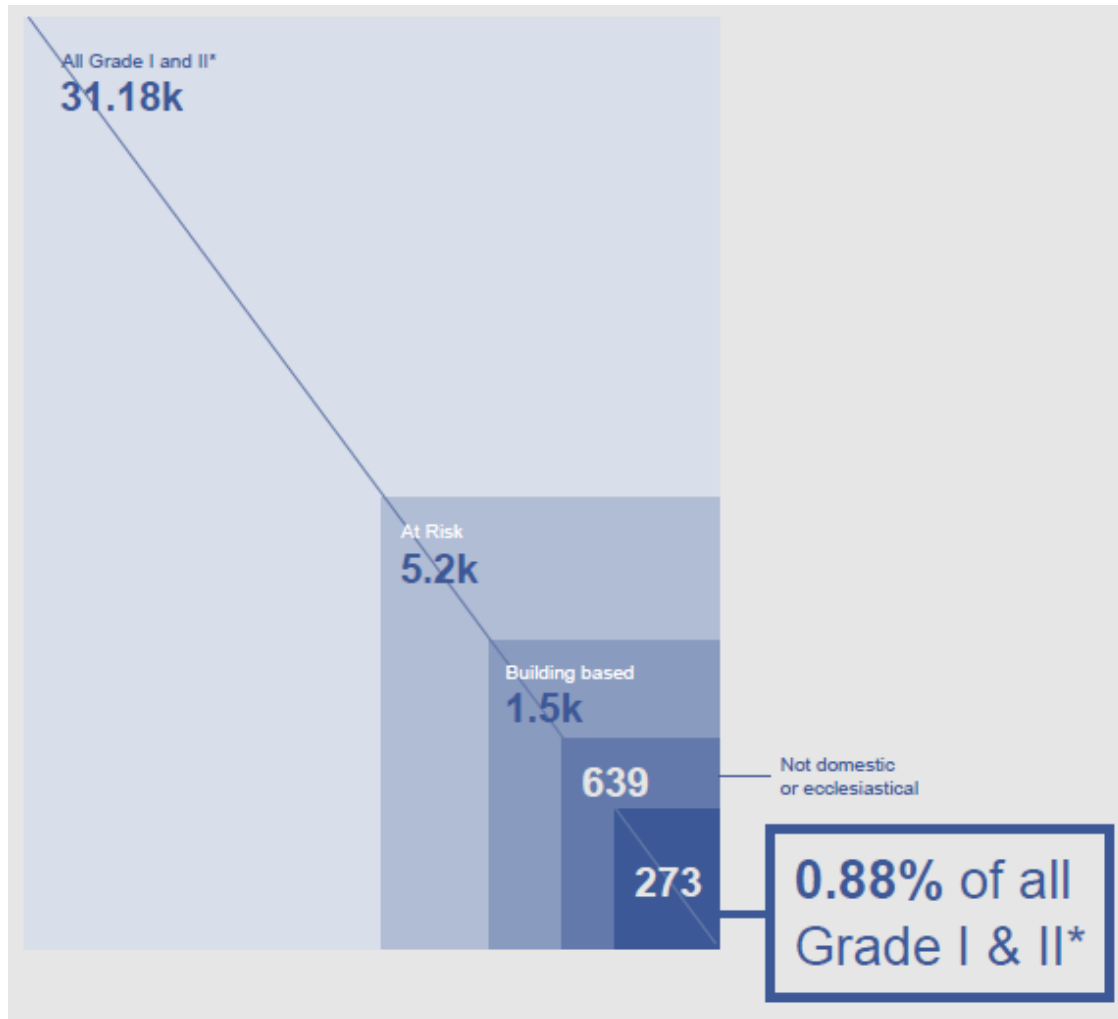
Source: Historic England / BOP Consulting (2018)

According to the Heritage at Risk Register (HaR) there **are 5,257 heritage assets at Grade I and II* at risk in England**. Of these, **1,498** are of most immediate interest to the National Trust as they **are 'Buildings or structures'.** Focusing down further on **non-domestic and non-ecclesiastical** buildings reduces the total further to **639 buildings and structures**. However, a little over half of these are in rural local authorities (57%).

Once these buildings in rural areas are removed, **there are 273 Grade I and Grade II* assets that most closely map onto the Trust's interests** in heritage buildings at risk in urban areas that are most capable of being the focus of community engagement and public benefit. **This equates to 0.88% of all Grade I and II* listed assets**. We can use this percentage to model the estimated numbers of Grade II assets that most closely map onto the National Trust's interest (see section 1.4 below).

1.2.1 Relevant Grade I and II* assets at risk in England: by occupancy and use

In addition to providing a method for estimating the number of Grade II buildings of primary interest to the National Trust that might be at risk in urban areas, the data on Grade I and II* is, of course, valuable in and of itself. The HaR provides further detail on the state and condition of these at risk Grade I and II* buildings. As Figure 3 shows, in terms of occupancy 150 (55%) are 'Vacant / not in Use'. In terms of condition, 20% are in the priority Category A of 'Immediate risk of further rapid deterioration or loss of fabric, no solution agreed'.

Of these 20%, 14 assets newly acquired this status since the last publication of the HaR, although **the longitudinal trend (as far as it can be established[4]) is for numbers of assets on the HaR to be broadly stable**.

Figure 3 Number of urban Grade I and Grade II* non-domestic, non-ecclesiastical buildings at risk in England, by occupancy / use, 2018
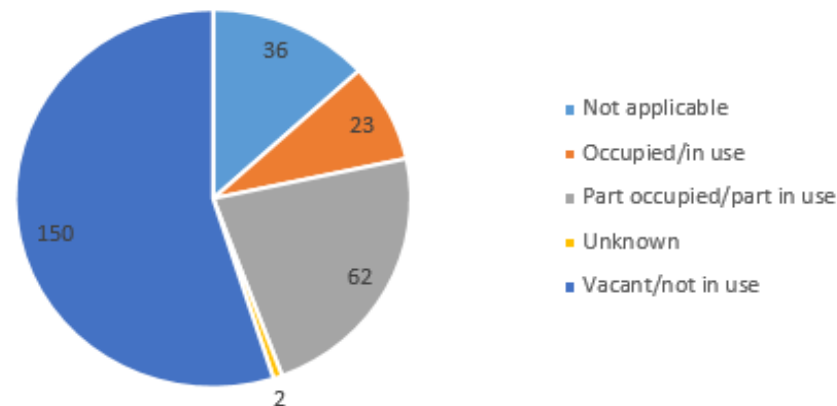
Source: Historic England / BOP Consulting (2018)

In terms of condition, Figure 4, below, shows that 124 (45%) of the relevant 273 assets are Category C 'Slow decay, no solution', and 55 assets are both 'Vacant / not in use' and are in a state of 'Slow decay, no solution'.

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[4] The format of the HaR changed after 2013 making comparison with the numbers on the Register before this time difficult. Prior to this, the trend from 2008 to 2013 was a small overall decrease in the number of assets on the

HaR, from 977 to 916, though there was an estimated increase of the conservation deficit of these assets from £343m to £423m (figures taken from English Heritage's annual *Heritage Counts* publications).

Figure 4 Number of urban Grade I and Grade II* non-domestic, non-ecclesiastical buildings or structures at risk in England, by priority / state, 2018

- A - Immediate risk of further rapid deterioration or loss of fabric; no solution agreed

- B - Immediate risk of further rapid deterioration or loss of fabric; solution agreed but not yet implemented

- C - Slow decay; no solution agreed

- D - Slow decay; solution agreed but not yet implemented

- E - Under repair or in fair to good repair, but no user identified; or under threat of vacancy with no obvious new user (applicable only to buildings capable of beneficial use)

- F - Repair scheme in progress and (where applicable) end use or user identified; or functionally redundant buildings with new use agreed but not yet implemented.

Source: Historic England / BOP Consulting (2018)

1.3 Grade I and II* assets at risk: city level

Beneath the figures given above for England as a whole, an obvious question is whether Grade I and II* at risk assets are equally distributed when the analysis focuses down onto particular cities? And if not, are there are discernible patterns that might explain an uneven distribution of Grade I and II* at risk heritage buildings?

The HaR data has therefore been analysed across urban local authorities. We look first at 'heritage need' (i.e. focusing in on places with the greatest number of at risk assets of primary interest to the National Trust). Secondly, we reverse the lens and look at the most deprived local authorities by socio-economic need.

By number of assets at risk

Figure 5, below, shows the first analysis: the 10 urban local authorities in England with the most Grade I and II* non-domestic, non-ecclesiastical buildings at risk. The list shows:

— a strong representation across the North, with half of the 10 being based in the North. However, it might also be a correlation that is better explained by the type of heritage, as the presence of Plymouth, Bristol and Portsmouth as well perhaps suggests that what is showing up here are places with a lot of maritime heritage.

There is also a generalised link with deprivation:

— the top four urban local authorities in terms of their Grade I and II* at risk non-ecclesiastical buildings are all in the 30% most deprived local authorities in England

— none of the top 10 are in the 50% most affluent local authorities in England.

Finally, it may be that there is a generalised link to the size of places:

— the two largest English authorities by population (Birmingham and Leeds) are also in the top three for Grade I and II* at risk non-domestic, non-ecclesiastical heritage assets

— five of the top 10 largest urban authorities are also represented in the ten local authorities in Figure 5.

Thus, it may be that large local authority areas have higher numbers of at risk Grade I and II* buildings of primary interest to the National Trust simply because of their size.

Figure 5 Top 10 English urban local authorities by total number of Grade I and Grade II* non-domestic, non-ecclesiastical buildings at risk, 2018

Local authority	HaR (I, II*)	% of HAR assets Vacant	% of all GI & II* at risk	IMD Most Deprived	IMD Decile
Leeds	13	54%	8.90%	31	2
Calderdale	12	83%	9.52%	59	3
Birmingham	10	40%	7.81%	6	1
Plymouth	9	89%	7.56%	51	3
Bristol, City of	9	78%	3.40%	55	4
Kirklees	8	88%	10.13%	95	5
Portsmouth	7	86%	15.91%	70	4
Leicester	6	50%	12.00%	23	2
Manchester	6	50%	6.25%	5	1
Newcastle upon Tyne	6	83%	2.90%	30	2

Source: Historic England / BOP Consulting (2018)

However, looking into the issue of size a little further, it is worth noting that three of the top 10 local authorities in Figure 5 (Birmingham, Leeds and Kirklees) are in the bottom four places for urban local authorities in the 'Built Environment' assets in the Heritage Index (RSA and HLF). The Built Environment Assets Index is scaled to take account of population, so the low scoring of these three local authorities means that they do not have a high density of historic Built Environment Assets, once population size is controlled for. In other words, the size of Leeds' and Birmingham's populations is not sufficient on its own to explain why they have relatively high number of assets at risk.

By urban deprivation

When we look at the issue from the starting point of socio-economic need, there are some commonalities and some differences. Six of the 10 local authorities are in the North, with three more in the Midlands and only Hastings below the Midlands. This would have been higher still had the three most deprived local authorities (Middlesbrough, Knowsley and Hull) been included, as they are all in the North but none have reported any at risk Grade I and II* assets.

Figure 6 Top 10 English urban local authorities by Indices of Multiple Deprivation ranking and with Grade I and Grade II* non-domestic, non-ecclesiastical buildings at risk, 2018

Local authority	IMD Most Deprived	HaR Assets (I, II*)	% of HaR assets Vacant	% of all GI & II* at risk
Liverpool	4	3	100%	2%
Manchester	5	6	50%	6%
Birmingham	6	10	40%	8%
Blackpool	7	2	50%	40%
Nottingham	8	1	0%	2%
Burnley	9	4	50%	22%
Bradford	11	4	50%	4%
Blackburn with Darwen	12	1	100%	6%
Hastings	13	4	25%	17%
Stoke-on-Trent	13	5	60%	28%

Source: Historic England / BOP Consulting (2018)

Birmingham and Manchester appear on both the rankings by heritage at risk and by socio-economic need. However, beyond these two local authorities, the cities and towns in Figure 6 have many fewer assets at risk than those in Figure 5.

1.4 Relevant Grade II buildings at risk in England

As noted above, aside from ecclesiastical buildings, there is no national data on Grade II buildings on the HaR. The approach taken in this research is twofold:

— to use the detailed data on Grade I and II* as a proxy to derive an estimate for Grade II assets of immediate interest to the National Trust

— to sense check the above method via an analysis of existing local studies of heritage assets and assess the relevant number of Grade II buildings at risk (non-domestic, non-ecclesiastical, in urban areas). This analysis is reported on in Appendix 1. In summary, the studies are few in number, partial and

limited. They cover a number of different years and geographies, and typically combine the use of standard listing criteria with bespoke classifications of conditions – where this has been included (which is only in half of the studies). What information can be gleaned from the studies does, however, broadly support the estimate of the number of relevant Grade II buildings at risk in urban areas that has been generated from the analysis of relevant Grade I and II* buildings at risk in urban areas.

However, before using the Grade I and II* figures we need to be reasonably sure that there is a positive relationship between these different types of listed heritage assets. To answer this question, we looked at the distribution of assets in these two groups, i.e. is there a close correlation between places which have Grade I and Grade II* buildings, and those which have Grade II buildings? If there is no correlation between the overall distribution of listed buildings, then there can be no correlation in terms of the places that are likely to have buildings at risk in these two groupings (Grade I and II*, and Grade II).

In the regression analysis in Figure 7, below, each dot is a local authority and the scatter plot shows the regression predictor line. The result indicates a coefficient of determination of over 87%, i.e. **a very high correlation** between the two. **This means that places that have high numbers of Grade I and Grade II* buildings will also have high numbers of Grade II assets, and vice versa**.

In turn, this close correlation suggests that the overall number obtained for the Grade I and Grade II* non-domestic, non-ecclesiastical buildings at risk in urban areas does provide a credible base from which to extrapolate the number of similar buildings listed as Grade II.

Figure 7 Correlation between Grade I and Grade II* buildings with Grade II buildings, by local authority
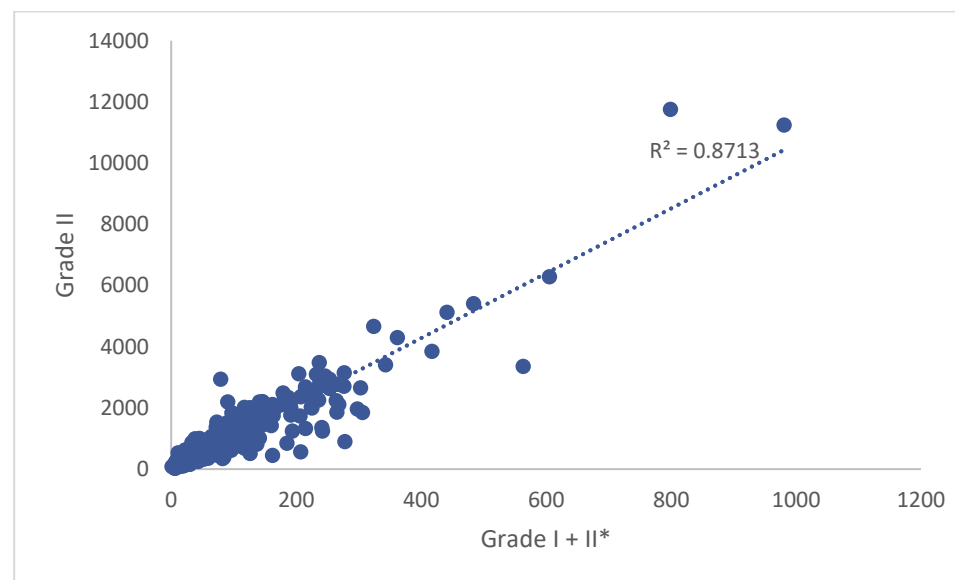
Source: Historic England / BOP Consulting (2018)

Therefore, if we assume that the percentage of relevant at risk buildings in urban areas remains broadly consistent between Grade I and Grade II*, and Grade II, we can apply the proportion obtained from the analysis of the former (0.88%), to the population of the latter. As there are 344,898 Grade II listed assets in England according to the Heritage Index, 0.88% of this total suggests that **there are somewhere in the region of 3,000 non-domestic, non-ecclesiastical Grade II buildings at risk in urban areas** (3,020 precisely). As there are 181 urban local authorities in England, this suggests an average of 16–17 of these assets per local authority.

The analysis of Grade I and Grade II* at city level (<mark>see section 1.3 above</mark>) shows that this average figure is likely to be influenced by the size of a city (even if this does not on its own account for all of the differences in the number of relevant assets that are at risk in each urban local authority). Taking both of

these results into consideration – i.e. that the average will revolve around 16–17 relevant assets at risk, but with a probability that this will be higher in larger cities and lower in smaller ones – they are broadly in line with what can be gleaned from the existing local studies (see Appendix 1 below). From the available data and information that exists, an estimate of 3,000 relevant Grade II buildings therefore seems credible.

1.5 Declining local authority resources and skills to advise on and protect heritage

As the above analysis shows, some local authorities have in the past periodically maintained their own local listings of heritage at risk. But such listings require resourcing, which is increasingly scarce. Shrinking public finances have squeezed non-statutory services across the country, and the **scarcity of local level heritage at risk data** is likely to be one result. Desk research has located such local heritage at risk listings from just five local authorities out of 158 single and upper tier authorities in England.

As a strong indicator of the decline in local authority resourcing to address heritage at risk, there have been reports for over a decade that the number of local authority conservation officers is falling – without a corresponding drop in need.

A 2004 report from English Heritage and the Institute of Historic Building Conservation into staffing, casework and resources of local authority conservation provision in England found "a lack of sufficiently comprehensive information about the historic resource" in local authorities, maintained with falling budgets, "modest" staffing levels paid at best at "modest" levels, and with growing caseloads.[5] Despite the criticisms of the state of local authority heritage staffing and resources, subsequent years and trends suggest that the former era was something of a high point.

In particular, a 2014 report from English Heritage found that the number of conservation officers employed by local councils had dropped by 35% in the preceding eight years;[6] and most recently, a 2016 report from Historic England, the Association of Local Government Association Officers and the Institute of Historic Building Conservation notes that **over the preceding 10 years**, **the number of conservation specialists has fallen by 35.8%, and the number of archaeological specialists advising local authorities in England has fallen by 33.2%.**[7]

This persistent decline in local authority capacity potentially places heritage in jeopardy, without resources to meet statutory protection requirements. While this lack of resourcing will affect all grades of heritage, the lack of other data sources listing risks to Grade II heritage means that this lack places **Grade II heritage in a 'data desert', where the lack of information increases its vulnerability**.

These recent trends in local authority staffing, capacity and expenditure, combined with insights from the expert panel, also suggest that the current protection regime for heritage in England is in danger of not working. Concern was reported that, going forward, councils will not have the willingness, nor often the ability, to adequately carry out their stewardship responsibilities towards local heritage. This point is not specifically an urban phenomenon nor is it specific to any kind of designation. However, **arguably it weakens a rationale for not focusing on Grade I or II*** (as these assets are less protected by their designation if councils are not willing to enforce the protection their designation confers).

1.6 The threat to urban heritage: conclusions

— The longitudinal data on relevant heritage at risk is sparse, though what does exist suggests that the number of relevant assets on the HaR fluctuates only gradually over time and has most likely declined slightly over the last decade.

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[5] https://www.ihbc.org.uk/recent_papers/docs/LACPreportFULL.pdf

[6] https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/fears-over-latest-fall-in-building-conservation-officers/8666519.article

[7] https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/eighth-report-la-staff-resources/eighth-report-la-staff-resources.pdf/

— Gaining an accurate, comprehensive or detailed picture of the state of Grade II listed assets **is not currently possible** using existing secondary data sources.

— Insights from **the limited local studies do suggest that**, despite the much greater abundance of Grade II listed assets, **the actual number of Grade II assets that would be immediately relevant to the National Trust are likely to be relatively small on an individual city basis**. This provides supporting evidence for the statistically derived estimate of approximately 3,000 relevant Grade II buildings at risk in England.

— Further, the local studies suggest that, **if anything, there may be proportionally fewer relevant Grade II buildings at risk than Grade I and II***. This is because of the wider range of structures that are classified under Grade II, many of which are not capable of delivering substantial public benefit of the sort that the National Trust is interested in.

— Analysis of the overall distribution of heritage assets shows **strong statistical evidence that the places that have strong concentrations of Grade I and II* heritage assets also have strong concentrations of Grade II, and vice versa**. There is, however, currently insufficient data to be able to properly test the specific hypothesis that there is also a correlation between places that have relevant Grade I and II* buildings at risk and those that have relevant Grade II buildings at risk.

1.6.1 The limitations of formal heritage at risk registers

The above analysis is based primarily on national and local heritage at risk 'registers'. It should be noted that there are limitations to these systems: in particular, they are self-selecting and the criteria for inclusion is open to interpretation. These factors may have contributed to a pattern whereby urban local authorities are almost twice as likely to report *no* Grade I and II* buildings at risk (32%) to the national HaR than rural ones (17%). Also, some members of the Expert Panel expressed concern that getting onto the HaR occurs so late in the day that if one were looking to improve the current situation, one would ideally try to support buildings and assets from entering the register in the first place.

Looking at 'opportunity' rather than a pure asset-based approach

Finally, looking at the issue of 'threat' solely through the lens of the physical fabric of buildings neglects the dimension of engagement, i.e. that an underlying threat may stem from a lack of community engagement in heritage, despite the presence of heritage assets in areas. This issue is examined within the Heritage Index, as this contains indicators related to both heritage assets and heritage activities (e.g. numbers of heritage open days and participation levels with heritage). Every local authority is ranked by both assets and activity, and an 'Opportunity Index' (OI) is produced based on the discrepancy between the two (i.e. local authorities that rank highly for assets but low for activity are ranked highly for the 'opportunity' that this presents for engagement going forward).

Figure 8, below, presents these data for the English Core Cities (data on the Core Cities in Wales and Scotland is not available (N/A) in the Index), looking only at 'Built Environment' (BE) data. What is clear is that **many of these cities rank very low in terms of assets (Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds and Manchester in particular). But these cities also rank low in terms of activity**, therefore they do not rank highly in terms of opportunity either. Perhaps more interestingly, **Bristol and Newcastle rank relatively highly in terms of the Opportunity Index**, given they rank quite highly for assets but much lower in terms of activity.

Figure 8 RSA / HLF Heritage Index Rankings for the UK's Core Cities, 2016

Core cities Group	HB OI	RSA HB Asset Rank	RSA HB Activities Rank
Leeds	295	323	161
Sheffield	255	322	229
Manchester	206	262	215
Birmingham	191	325	294
Liverpool	135	153	171
Nottingham	106	197	245
Newcastle upon Tyne	84	59	141
Bristol	72	93	204
Cardiff	N/A	N/A	N/A
Glasgow	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: RSA / HLF (2016)

When looking at the more numerous second tier of cities, the Key Cities Group, the results show much greater variety. There are a clutch of (mainly northern) cities (the top six plus Coventry) that follow the Core Cities pattern of low rankings both in terms of assets and activities (and therefore low rankings in the Opportunity Index). But from Gloucester downwards in Figure 9 there are cities which score relatively highly in terms of assets but poorly in terms of activities and therefore present potential opportunities for engagement with these assets. This seems most apparent in coastal local authorities in the south (Southend, Plymouth, Portsmouth and Southampton), suggesting a link with maritime heritage.

Figure 9 RSA / HLF Heritage Index Rankings for the UK's Core Cities, 2016

Key Cities Group	HB OI	RSA HB Asset Rank	RSA HB Activities Rank
Doncaster	285	317	179
Kirklees	282	319	187
Preston	271	267	156
Sunderland	260	308	212
Wakefield	258	310	216
Coventry	228	282	207
Salford	160	269	265
Wolverhampton	151	232	237
Norwich	113	5	43
Bradford	111	230	269
Gloucester	87	11	86
Medway	74	132	242
Blackpool	73	143	253
Bournemoth	58	87	218
Derby	51	103	243
Southampton	25	48	231
Portsmouth	19	32	239
Plymouth	15	80	229
Southend-on-sea	8	64	311
Carlisle	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hull	N/A	N/A	N/A
Newport	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tees Valley	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: RSA / HLF (2016)

2. Contextual Review of Public Engagement with Heritage

We know heritage matters to people – but what are the key factors that prevent or restrict people or organisations from taking more of an active role in caring for it?

2.1 Overview

Given that a key defining factor of the classification of areas as 'urban' is population density, and a key element of the present research is a consideration of public engagement, this chapter considers public attitudes to heritage and the challenges or opportunities that these present for stewardship of urban heritage. Two existing sources have been summarised for their relevance to this project below: the National Trust's 'Heritage Resight' work into views of its membership and of the UK population at large; and two recent public consultations by the Heritage Lottery Fund.

2.2 Key Points from 'Heritage Resight'

The Heritage Resight report stresses **the importance of 'local'** in considering all heritage; this naturally raises the significance of urban heritage, which is by definition local to a high percentage of the population:

— Local heritage has an important role to play in making local areas better places to live

— People put the emotional benefits of heritage first when considering the importance of local heritage

— People are more likely to connect primarily in emotional terms with smaller, local heritage projects.

While smaller, local sites potentially have the strongest emotional pull, there is a barrier to this emotional engagement in the form of **lack of awareness such that smaller sites and younger, shifting city populations are less likely to connect**:

— People are more aware of larger heritage sites (such as museums, parks, historic buildings, nature reserves) than they are of local activity-based heritage projects

— Who has greatest awareness of heritage? Older people, those with longer residency in the area, people living in small urban areas and people who visit more types of sites. Who has least? Poorer and ethnic minorities

— The more urban-focused heritage sites are less likely to be ranked the most important (correlating to visits)[8]

From a **visitor attractions perspective, urban sites fare poorly for public engagement**: several expert interviewees consulted for this report similarly stressed that much urban heritage has limited general appeal. There are signs, however, that interest may be broadening:

— People are visiting more types of heritage sites. A historic town / city is the most visited and valued type, followed by historic parks / gardens

Visiting heritage remains a critical element of the public engagement picture:

— People support the preservation of heritage in different ways – from taking social action to volunteering

— Visiting heritage sites is the most popular action to take to engage and preserve heritage, followed by signing a petition

The report, however, raises some important points regarding the **current profile of visitors**:

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[8] NT Consumer Insight Hypothesis Tracker 2015.

— Those who visit or volunteer in the sector are not representative of the general population. Although there have been improvements, more work is needed to encourage a more diverse audience.

This **lack of visitor diversity is despite the fact that heritage is evenly distributed**:

— There is a diversity of heritage assets in both urban and rural areas
— There is no correlation with prosperity / deprivation in terms of heritage assets and activities
— The strength of heritage activities is not reliant on the strength of heritage assets in the area

The main **barriers to engagement in heritage are not, therefore, geographic, or down to a lack of opportunity**. There is no further data to indicate what the barriers may be, but **most likely causes are lack of awareness, perceptual ('this is not for me'), or economic**. The report contains one further reference to barriers to engagement:

— 16% of UK population are not interested in heritage – too busy / don't care

This also demonstrates, however, that **84% of the population care about heritage**.

> **Heritage Resight: key conclusions**
>
> There is strong potential for urban heritage to generate active engagement where it can connect emotionally to a local audience, but the current audience base for heritage does not reflect the diversity of the general population.
>
> Visiting heritage sites, as the most frequent form of engagement, may be a pathway to more active involvement in heritage and therefore represents a good starting point for outreach work to diversify the heritage audience in line with diverse urban populations.
>
> Older people represent an engagement 'easy win', with high levels of awareness; poorer people and ethnic minorities represent a priority according to current lack of engagement. Ethnic minority groups are highly likely to live in urban areas, according to latest census figures.[9] Engaging these communities will require consideration of what local heritage may have emotional resonance and why – this may require a broadening of existing models.

2.3 Heritage Lottery Fund survey, 2018

The Heritage Lottery Fund ran two surveys on its strategic plan in the early part of 2018, with over 3,000 people responding. As well as providing strategic direction for the HLF, the survey can be read more widely as an illustration of the public's views on the role of the formal heritage sector.

2.3.1 Vision and role

"HLF should inspire, lead and resource the UK's heritage to create positive and lasting change for people and communities."

Of people responding to the survey, 82% agreed with this description of the HLF's future vision and role. **Supporting the capacity and resilience of the sector** and **advocating for the value of heritage** were seen as the most important parts of the HLF's future role beyond grant-making.

2.3.2 Priorities for heritage

The survey also found that people think the most important heritage needs or opportunities, which funding should address, are:

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[9] "The ethnic groups most likely to live in an urban location were Pakistani (99.1%), Bangladeshi (98.7%), and Black African (98.2%)." Regional ethnic diversity, Office for National Statistics, published 1 August 2018 (Census 2011).

— community and local heritage

— natural and environmental heritage

— built heritage

— supporting a diverse range of heritage

— ensuring heritage is inclusive and accessible.

Over 70% of respondents thought that the HLF should give some priority to heritage that is at risk through physical, environmental or financial challenges.

2.3.3 Access to funding

Seventy-three per cent of people think that the HLF should **address areas of the UK that experience deprivation and have received less money from the fund in the past.** The HLF's traditional operating model had prioritised equal distribution rather than prioritising areas of need; it is interesting to note that the preferred definition of 'fairness' may be shifting in public perception.

2.3.4 Strategic interventions

The survey also covered key policy areas including place-making and resilience and capacity building. Eighty per cent of respondents agreed that HLF **should focus on putting heritage at the heart of place-making** across the UK.

The top two ways the HLF could **support heritage organisations to become more sustainable** were:

— to provide funding to build fundraising capacity and skills

— funding to test new ideas.

2.4 Heritage Lottery Fund public consultation

A consultation involving public dialogues in 12 locations across the UK carried out by the HLF ahead of its next strategic framework (due 2019) provides a

more in-depth insight into current public views on heritage funding priorities and on urban heritage.[10]

2.4.1 The value of heritage

The research supported similar previous studies as to **what people consider to be heritage: principally family, and buildings and places**. There are three key reasons why heritage matters to people:

— Personal identity

— Local sense of place and community

— Conservation of what is considered to be locally important.

"Heritage, inheritance, it's what we've been given, it shapes us, it's who we are." (London)

"You feel a sense of community if you know the history of an area." (Ipswich)

"Everywhere has its own heritage – it needs to reflect that we're a multicultural country." (Pontypridd)

2.4.2 Ambitious demands for heritage funders

Consultees had ambitious demands for what they want heritage funding to achieve:

— Making use of heritage buildings and spaces **for social benefit**, including for **housing, community services and facilities**

"Use what we've got better, old buildings could be put to work. Homes, workspace, training, social place." (Bristol)

— **Education, learning, skills and broad-based training**

"You could take a street of derelict houses and bring them back to use as social housing, teaching the young kids to do the work." (Beamish)

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[10] The research was undertaken by a partnership of Resources for Change (R4C) and Hopkins Van Mil (HVM), supported by an advisory group comprising non-heritage sector people, as well as senior HLF staff.

"Call-in centres for inter-generational learning – sewing, plumbing, planting." (Huddersfield)

— **Bringing people together** and being inclusive

"Need community projects put in place to get the community together. Could be anything, i.e. allotments, litter picking. To foster community spirit." (Bury)

"Being more diverse – things that reduce segregation. Different communities talking and learning together." (Ipswich)

2.4.3 New ideas

Several new ideas were provided by research participants with relevance to this exploration of future work in urban heritage:

— **HLF taking on a post-grant role** to support project sustainability, e.g. loans, bridging support

— HLF **investing in 'heritage' businesses**, such as local food shops

— A **heritage training institution** which provides people with heritage skills

— **Social media voting**, in order to enable people / National Lottery ticket buyers to vote on what projects should receive HLF funding

— **Heritage ambassadors and champions**, so that locally based people and organisations are able to provide information about local heritage and the HLF.

"Support businesses in taking risk for their development. Help businesses that meet some of the HLF outcomes. A local butcher is heritage." (Bury)

2.4.4 The role of the heritage sector

Overall, the research team drew out five themes from the public dialogues, which they felt should inform the HLF's next steps in strategic planning:

— **Breadth of funding** – Lottery player endorsement of the HLF's current range of funding types and scale, and its benefits for inclusivity.

— **Heritage alleviating social issues** – Lottery players want to see more use of heritage buildings and spaces for social benefit, providing education, learning, skills and broad-based training; bringing people together and being inclusive; and a sense of community and place.

— **HLF being proactive** – National Lottery players want the HLF to see the community as a valuable resource, to test local needs and to seek local insights, as well as support funding applications.

— **Involving the public in decisions** – there is a clear call for more public involvement in decision-making.

— **Raising awareness** – more efforts are needed to make sure people have heard of the HLF, particularly what it funds in their area.

The three central, highlighted themes are highly relevant to potential approaches to urban heritage as defined here, i.e. projects with community engagement for public benefit.

"Why does HLF need people to come to them to make things better? Why not the other way round?" (Lincoln)

"Support – not just financial – to get community involvement started. Use heritage to build community spirit, but communities need to know where to start, how to get help and how to organise. Increase HLF staff to provide this local staff." (Bristol)

"Let the community decide on local projects, involve them." (Lincoln)

Heritage Lottery Fund survey and public consultation: key conclusions

Heritage is situated not universal; people are interested in what historic buildings mean to them and how they can be used to benefit the community, not because of any established principles of architectural or aesthetic value.

People want to see heritage used to address the social issues that they see as pressing in their local area. Though heritage assets are

valued and important in creating a sense of place and identity, the research clearly found that the public wants funded projects to do much more than conserve or improve these assets. They must have a social purpose as well.

Furthermore, the research indicates a growing appetite and interest within communities to become much more closely involved in initiating, proposing and developing project ideas. Communities do not wish to see projects 'parachuted in' to their area, or even to rely on local heritage and cultural organisations to take forward projects on behalf of the community. This can be seen as a manifestation of the 'nothing about us without us' ethic of the equal rights movement.

The same sentiment comes through in the fourth finding, that openness and transparency in decision-making is necessary but not sufficient. People want to see more effort taken to involve local representation in decision-making.

Much of the research can be seen as hugely ambitious and demanding, and resource constraints will always be a limiting factor. However, the implication of the research is that people believe that much more can and should be done by national organisations like the HLF and the National Trust to be locally representative in how they support heritage projects, than has been achieved to date.

This consultation gives clear direction that the public priorities for heritage investment are:

— urban, among other types

— diverse

— at risk

— in deprived areas

— prioritised by communities themselves.

Reading against the grain, the key factors currently preventing people and organisations taking an active role in caring for heritage are:

— people aren't asked or sufficiently involved

— lack of capacity in organisations, especially around fundraising.

People are very clear about what they want to happen with heritage – social housing, inclusive community spaces, learning centres – but are these the outcomes on offer (i.e. supported at policy level and/or financially viable)?

3. Five Elements of Urban Heritage Regeneration Projects

What solutions / responses are in place and what are the pros and cons of each? Are those solutions commensurate with the threat? If there is a gap, what / where is that gap?

3.1 The 'Five Elements'

The progress for each heritage asset from risk to sustainability is different, often non-linear, and highly complex. Many factors are highly site- or locally specific, and chance, good or ill fortune can play a huge role. There is no single end-point, but often a series of small goals (wind and waterproofing, bringing a specific section of a building back into reuse) with the ongoing work of restoration, community engagement and business planning. There are different – and contested – starting points.

While acknowledging this complexity, however, it is nonetheless possible to identify five key elements of the process with which, in some way or another, at some time or another, each project must engage. These are:

Identification	Asset at risk identified for action by heritage sector / local authority / community group
	OR
	Need identified by local community which heritage can potentially fulfil

Ownership / Management	Establishment of appropriate ownership / management model
Restoration	Asset made physically fit for purpose
Reuse	New use evolved for building
Sustainability	Asset's future secured

This schema was presented to the expert panel convened for this project for review. All panellists confirmed that at headline level, this schematisation is an appropriate reflection of the urban heritage regeneration process and provides both a useful framework within which to discuss urban heritage and to assist in prioritising future approaches.

"When a group of different organisations have a shared framework this is useful – and times when it's a bit stifling. But good to make it easy to discuss."

Panellists also made some suggestions for other important inclusions within the schema:

"An understanding of geographical inequalities needs to be layered over any staging of elements."

"Community engagement should be core."

Panellists also expanded on specific aspects of the elements:

"There is an element between 'identify' and 'restore' where a project needs to 'develop', and plans need to be worked up for the typical components of a HLF R1 application – capital work, architectural design, conservation, community activities, long-term business plan and sustainability."

Many comments reflected the point that this process is non-linear, continuous, and with a range of ideal or possible starting points.

A headline mapping of these elements, showing the key success factors, levels of supporting policies and programmes, and level of issues and challenges drawn from across the research is given below.

The schema is then used to structure the sectoral overviews (chapters 4 and 5) and the learnings from each case study (chapter 6).

3.2 Overview

Successful heritage regeneration projects with any level of public benefit typically require high levels of capacity, expertise, media attention and commitment – *'hearts and heads'.* These are needed in large quantities across every element; it is therefore critical to begin the process with the identification of this key element, i.e. with a social value rather than an asset-led approach to prioritisation.

It is equally vital to begin a project, not just with the identification of the social value / need and the asset, but with a plan for sustainability. All three elements – hearts, heads, and business planning – need to be present from the start and will need ongoing review and renewal.

Of the five elements, restoration is considered by the expert panel to be currently best supported, with sustainability the least.

Figure 10 Expert panel view on most and least well supported elements

Panellist	Most supported	Least supported
Heeley Development Trust	None	**Sustainability**
Great Yarmouth Preservation Trust	**Restoration**	**Sustainability**
Heart of Hastings	/	Ownership / Management, **Sustainability**
Locality	**Restoration**, Reuse	**Sustainability**, Ownership / Management
Big Lottery Fund	**Restoration**, Reuse	Identification, **Sustainability**
Architectural Heritage Fund	**Restoration**	**Sustainability**
Historic England	**Restoration**	**Sustainability**
Heritage Lottery Fund	Identification	**Sustainability**

Source: BOP Consulting 2018

Restoration is the only area currently adequately served by expertise and resourcing, albeit in a competitive and poorly connected environment. This element is further supported by a positive emerging model of local training schemes that upskill volunteers or apprentices in restoration skills.

For each of the other elements, however, there are significant issues and gaps in support, which diminish the likelihood of success for urban heritage projects:

— Current approaches prioritise the immediate needs of restoration above longer-term business planning for **sustainability**

— Better bridging is needed between asset-based and community-based **identification** and prioritisation of heritage opportunities

— There is a gap between the experience and expectation of the heritage sector and the wishes of the community sector in defining **reuse**, coupled to a lack of support and limited funding

— All **community groups** are different. None have the requisite skills and resources to carry through every element; all will require external support at some (or several) stages

— **Community Asset Transfer** as a key vehicle for ownership is not yet a perfect system, and the current model works against the likelihood of success for community groups

— Current funding models are biased against long-term support and there is a major gap around **sustainability**

— **Sustainability** is also threatened by lack of commercial acumen, risky business and ownership models, and the shrinking public sector

Figure 11, below, presents an overview of the key success factors, supporting policies and programmes, and the level of issues / challenges across the five identified journey elements. This is based on insights gained from across all research areas for this project.

Figure 11 Headline map of the Urban Heritage Journey

Stage	IDENTIFICATION	OWNERSHIP/ MANAGEMENT	RESTORATION	REUSE	SUSTAINABILITY
Definition	Asset at risk identified for action by heritage sector / local authority / community group OR Need identified by local community which heritage can potentially fulfil	Establishment of appropriate ownership/ management model	Asset made physically fit for purpose	New use for building	Asset's future secured
Success factors	_____Community engagement_____ _____Commercial planning _____				
	Timing: conservation gap grows if identification not made early enough; Heritage and professional expertise; Local authority support; Media campaign	Public benefit approach of existing owners; Good governance, including committed and skilful board / trustees	Approach balancing urgent needs with available resourcing; Fundraising expertise	Flexibility of building; local land values sufficiently low to encourage social reuse (although this can hamper sustainability if income-reliant)	Support in the long term from established organisations, including local authorities; Operational, fundraising and business expertise
Supporting policies and programmes?	Asset identification has statutory support but faces limitations, especially around Grade II; Little support for community organisations who identify a need that could be filled by heritage	Assets of Community Value and Community Asset Transfer are key processes but currently under-supported and operationally flawed; Informal schemes for expertise and best practice sharing; Little funding support to community organisations before ownership of asset confirmed	Well-established policies and programmes across the heritage sector and emerging programme models for local upskilling in conservation work, e.g. Portland Works.	Some support available in determining feasible options from across heritage sector	Long-term support programmes go against the grain of public funding structures and are not in place
Level of issues/ challenges	Medium Community view of need poorly connected with that of heritage sector	Medium / High Complex processes require extensive professional skills; high level of capital required in tight timeframe. Ownership brings very high level of responsibility and risk not always suited to volunteer groups	Low / Medium Increased funding, reduced VAT on building projects and professional support / training in fundraising would add further strength. Fundraising very competitive	Medium Local authority cuts increase pressure on need; Aspirations of heritage sector and community owners may not coincide; Extensive skillsets required	High Difficulties of achieving public benefit and commercial model in non-commercial space high Very little support for often vulnerable, volunteer-led organisations

Source: BOP Consulting 2018

3.3 Identification

"Identification is too narrowly defined if only about the asset. Identification of place also needs to be part of this element – which places to work in / where to concentrate resources? Resources are scarce and need to be concentrated on places of social and economic need. This is crucial. And identifying the community group(s) to work with is part of this element too. Identification = place + community + asset." (Expert panellist)

Issues

— Need for prioritisation around areas of greatest socio-economic need

— Key question: Social- versus asset-led approach to identification

— Local authorities face pressure between recognition of assets and need to cut down on expenditure / *"make a quick buck"* (expert panellist)

— Community valuation of assets not reflected in the statutory listings process

— Rogue owners destroy / damage assets to evade listings and restrictions

— Data desert around Grade IIs

— Historic England is not required to address Grade II other than at the point of potential demolition

— The level of community emotional engagement / strength of the heritage story determines the size of the opportunity

Policies and programmes

— Listing gives statutory protection – though chiefly for Grades I and II; Grade II has very limited protection, and are not within the statutory remit of Historic England

— Local listing attempts to bridge the gap between an architectural / asset-based approach and a ground-up / community-led approach

— Assets of Community Value process allows communities to protect what is important to them; support is available from Locality for this process – but only works where there is a precedent for community use of a building, not where a community sees potential for community use (e.g. in Sheffield, Heeley Development Trust)

— Historic England's 'Enrich the List' scheme – limited success with pilots, reliant on high quality training for committed volunteers[11]

— Preservation Trusts increasingly becoming Development Trusts, i.e. not just identifying issues with assets but moving into ownership / management, reuse and sustainability; supported by the Heritage Trust Network (200 members)

— Grants available to support community groups and trusts from the Architectural Heritage Fund (AHF) and Big Lottery Fund

— Historic England's Heritage Action Zones (HAZ) programme includes support for identification, restoration and reuse

— Locality and MHCLG's[12] Neighbourhood Planning Support Programme

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[11] Comment from Duncan McCallum, Policy Director: *"There is an evaluation report of the pilot (not in public domain) suggesting volunteer assessment of GII would be a good thing if volunteers are properly trained."* The link below gives a write up of the pilot, in the 2013 Heritage at Risk report. https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/har-2013-national-summary/HAR-2013-national-summary.pdf/

[12] Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (formerly the DCLG).

3.4 Ownership / management

Issues

— Land banking and delinquent owners: owners have no interest in maintaining or developing properties (chiefly outside London, land values too high in London to leave sites undeveloped)

— High risk for community organisations to take on liability for either / both ownership/management

— Local authority resources are limited and shrinking

— Limited will or resources to use Compulsory Purchase Orders, i.e. regulatory system let down in practice

— Owners don't take community bids seriously

Policies and programmes

— Community Asset Transfer intended to enable communities to keep ownership of valued (heritage) assets, but this is largely held to be not working. The time period is too short for community organisations to raise capital and gather the necessary knowledge and expertise; capital required is generally too high for a community organisation to raise in a short time period. Would be better phased, or even better done with support of a holding organisation.

— Forthcoming 'Protecting Community Assets Enquiry', led by Practical Governance with support from Power to Change[13]

— Locality have sector support programme for local authorities, and around community asset transfer

— AHF's team of regional support officers and grants for project viability and project development

— Community Share schemes are increasingly being used to help capitalise projects – but require higher level of financial acumen, and may simply delay financial difficulties where repayment is required (see Portland Works)

— 'The Heritage Mortgage' (AHF); available early in a scheme to spread cost of loan over longer term. New scheme (introduced 2017)

— Heritage Lottery Fund's 'Resilient Heritage' supports ownership / management, regeneration and sustainability

— Power to Change (originated and part-funded by Big Lottery Fund) supports ownership / management, restoration and sustainability – though is not purely focused on urban heritage

— Homes England's Community Housing Fund has potential to be used to support ownership, restoration and reuse in an urban heritage context

3.5 Restoration

"Funding for restoration is not adequate or organised in the most efficient way, but it is better resourced than the other elements." (Expert panellist)

"Striking that there is a lot of support for restoration – and while that's not the whole picture that is very heartening. Across a number of different sectors,

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[13] Details are not yet in the public domain; enquiries can be sent to Jess Steele, Heart of Hastings Trust.

where funding crisis is acute, the fundamentals aren't there – so this is good." (Funder)

Issues
— Funders aren't joined up in their approach or offer

— Restoration need (the 'conservation deficit') increases over time; longer periods of neglect make conservation issues more expensive to address

— Over the long-term, full restoration rather than a rolling programme of repairs is the cheaper option.[14] For community owners, the ability to move fast to establish reuse of the building is paramount for operational success

— Tension between professional conservation standards and the opportunistic approach required / preferred by community owners looking to move to reuse

— High competition for funds; standards of bid-writing and governance are sometimes too high for many organisations to reach

— Need to balance heritage and community views regarding the 'right' period to which a structure should be restored

— Modern requirements (e.g. wiring, disability access) can conflict with heritage needs

— VAT not applied to building work for new builds but does apply to restoration projects.

Policies and programmes
— Historic England grant schemes and expertise are widely available

— 2018 'Risky Business: Investing in Heritage at Risk' report from Historic England demonstrates how investment in heritage at risk can deliver an

unrivalled richness of regeneration outcome in 10 case studies from across London

— HLF funding supports all stages of capital restoration, alongside interpretation and engagement work – major administrative burden; highly competitive; cash flow can be difficult as it is paid in arrears

— Skills and training schemes for local volunteers to deliver conservation work are proving successful, with strong ongoing demand for these. This culture has been strongly supported by HLF, both through specific skills training schemes (e.g. 'Skills for the Future') and through their ongoing emphasis within grant programmes on using and training volunteers. Projects where the volunteer leadership bring technical skills (e.g. Underfall Boatyard, Portland Works) seem most likely to deliver conservation work through this route; this also emerged as a priority for heritage work within the HLF's public consultation.

— Historic England's Heritage Action Zones (HAZ) programme includes support for identification, restoration and reuse

— Power to Change (originated and part-funded by Big Lottery Fund) supports ownership / management, restoration and sustainability

— Homes England's Community Housing Fund has potential to be used to support ownership, restoration and reuse in an urban heritage context

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[14] BOP Consulting's report for the Churches Conservation Trust: "The research revealed that: Investment in a building to achieve a sound building in good repair, rather than an ad hoc repair approach, results in savings being made on expenditure within 9 years of investment and a 53% saving being made within a 30-year period."
https://research.historicengland.org.uk/Report.aspx?i=15748

3.6 Reuse

Issues
— Listing can make buildings inflexible when considering new uses; modern requirements (e.g. wiring, disability access) can conflict with heritage needs

— Reuse potential depends on land values: significant divide between north and south, rural and urban

— Service Level Agreements (SLA) for new Community Asset Transfers are not an easy fit with what communities wish to / can do

— Heritage organisations have default expectations of seeing visitor attractions, rather than alternative uses such as social housing or studios

— Prince's Foundation used to run lots of training which they've now stopped, and AHF and Churches Conservation Trust can't currently deliver enough to match demand

Policies and programmes
— HLF Enterprise Fund: time-limited, small numbers

— AHF / Locality support to Building Preservation / Development Trusts: critical networking and knowledge sharing

— Historic England's Heritage Action Zones (HAZ) programme includes support for identification, restoration and reuse

— Heritage Lottery Fund's 'Resilient Heritage' supports ownership / management, regeneration and sustainability

3.7 Sustainability
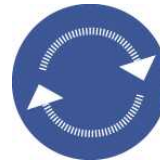
"Important to stress that sustainability should be considered right from the beginning – so turning the restoration problem 'on its head'. If a plan for long-term sustainability can be worked out then restoration will follow. Doing a restoration and only then thinking about sustainability is a mistake made on many projects." (Expert panellist)

"A growing set of heritage building restorations are reaching the stage, a decade or more post-project, of needing to 'renew'. […] Sustainability is not a final end-point, the need to adapt and evolve is continuous." (Expert panellist)

"Funding and support is geared to discrete, time-limited, capital restoration projects. Support in working up bids and keeping going afterwards is thin." (Expert panellist)

"Funders don't like funding core costs because of the open-ended commitment it entails. This is understandable to an extent – it is a big issue and carries its own risk of creating a well-funded set of core funded organisations while limiting the spread of funding." (Expert panellist)

"How do you price the first five years of running an asset? What are sensible assumptions? What to do when working capital is exhausted? A lot less experience there." (Expert panellist)

Issues
— Root problem is often sustainability – i.e. building couldn't be made to work financially given costs of conservation work and lack of suitable operating model. A 'big ask' is for this to be fixed

— Significant difficulties are tracked for local authorities and community / social organisations; less is known about private sector

— Austerity – neither financial support nor basic contact / advice / support resources available from local authorities

— Commercial organisations often fail, and this is expected and valued as a development or learning process; community projects are judged by harsher standards

— Heritage body interest goes on securing the asset, rather than securing the public benefit

— If the operational side of a (community) organisation fails, this also puts the heritage asset at risk if both are under same ownership (see Hastings Pier)

— Lack of the wide-ranging expertise and resources required for successful operation in many community organisations

— On-the-ground organisations want long-term support; heritage organisations don't want to risk long-term commitments

— Small, new organisations with limited reserves have very limited resilience

Policies and programmes

— HLF Heritage Resilience: time-limited, small numbers

— HLF Catalyst: time-limited, small numbers

— 'The Heritage Mortgage' (AHF): allows organisations delivering social impact to repay capital loans for listed heritage assets over the long term. New scheme (2017)

— Heritage Lottery Fund's 'Resilient Heritage' supports ownership / management, regeneration and sustainability

— AHF's Community Support Fund also addresses sustainability; Power to Change also aims to operate in this area

— The 'Heritage 2020' initiative brings together key players from the heritage sector (including the National Trust) *"in order to sustain and promote the historic environment of England, encourage access and broaden knowledge for a variety of audiences."*

4. Threats, Opportunities and the Future: Views from the Urban Heritage Sector

A wide range of sector stakeholders has been consulted on their views on the threats, opportunities and possible futures for urban heritage. Interviewees were selected in collaboration with the National Trust and were asked to share organisational and personal views on urban heritage policies, programmes, trends, opportunities and challenges, gaps in current support and potential approaches to addressing these.

Six sector stakeholders – including specialist heritage organisations and developers – were invited to participate in the research in a single, semi-structured interview. Eight further interviewees were asked to participate in a two-stage 'expert panel' process, which in addition to the semi-structured interview involved commentary on the research findings. Panellists included sectoral bodies and grant-makers (Heritage Lottery Fund, Historic England, Architectural Heritage Fund, Big Lottery Fund), community-focused organisations (Locality), and grassroots projects (Heeley Development Trust, Great Yarmouth Preservation Trust, Heart of Hastings).

The responses from across all interviews are summarised below.

4.1 The urban heritage landscape

4.1.1 Definitions

There is no definitive definition of 'urban heritage' in use across the sector, but all interviewees were comfortable with the term and assumed this involved community engagement and public benefit as well as geography.

Use of the term 'heritage' was more varied: while all interviewees referenced the listings system, all stressed a wider definition involving emotional connections, story and community value.

"If there's something already there, whether its officially heritage or just something that has character or relevance to the place, it's probably worth taking a bit of time thinking about it. The listings system is incidental – where there are buildings of character, whether or not they're listed, that's what matters." (Developer)

"Whatever communities define as what matters to them." (Funder)

Interviewees also suggested that the definition should be broader than just structures and should include intangible heritage of place (including our universal heritage as humans), green spaces or a connected ecosystem.

"You can't make a resilience neighbourhood by just doing a park; have to do it by linking people and businesses and green park and make it one big place-based approach." (Development Trust)

4.1.2 Priorities

For Heritage Lottery Fund as a national funder with a responsibility to represent lottery players, rural heritage is a greater concern than urban heritage as their funding is distributed by head of population, which has disadvantaged rural areas. In general, however, urban areas were a natural priority for interviewees based on the higher level of community and commercial opportunity in areas of greater population density.

"You can't do much to create a sustainable business model with a church in a field surrounded by five houses." (Charity)

"The company has come out of an urban task force ethos, i.e. the idea that our cites need to be rebuilt from the inside out." (Developer)

All also shared a core belief that projects should be local, and meaningful to local people. While this may be differently assessed by national funders, developers and locally focused development trusts, this is a commonly expressed priority.

London was explicitly de-prioritised by several interviewees, either due to what was seen as historic over-investment, or the differences caused by high land values, i.e. there is likely to be a commercial solution for at risk buildings that

will take precedence over a public value-based response. It also brings its own specific difficulties:

"London is very complex! You have three layers: national policies; mayoral policies; local policies – these never quite align, not quite the same priorities, so it's bloody hard in London particularly. Cities other than London are quite often a joy to work in – their first question is 'you want to invest money, how can we help?'" (Developer)

In considering the priorities for urban heritage, more than one interviewee reframed the issue as being about wider social priorities. Urban heritage regeneration thus becomes an achievable, local approach to effecting wider change.

"The national zeitgeist is that the free market is the test – that if the free market can't support it can't be doable, but this isn't right. It's all a bit bleak. The question that is not getting asked – we're not learning the lessons that our historic infrastructure teaches us, that is what sort of places do we want to live in? What makes a place feel nice? It's having a proper mix up, new and old, good and gaps and green – that's what makes a place feel nice." (Local trust)

4.1.3 Headline approaches by national organisations

Key programmes and policies relevant to urban heritage are listed and explored in detail in the next chapter. Interviewees from national organisations were asked to give a brief summary of their headline approach and activity around urban heritage; these are given in <mark>Figure 11, below</mark>.

4.2 Opportunities and innovations

While there was a great deal of coherence across interviews regarding the overall urban heritage landscape, there was more variety around where people saw opportunity, great practice or innovation. The variety of these different ideas suggests that a mixed-model approach will be required to meet the many needs of this complex environment.

Two points were however universal:

— the need to look beyond the visitor attraction model

— an appreciation of the work of development trusts.

The work of development trusts to bring assets into community ownership and tackle a variety of socio-economic needs, e.g. *"putting a brake on gentrification"*, providing affordable housing and affordable workspace, was generally admired and seen as a source of opportunity for focusing support. Building preservation trusts are also moving in a similar direction, away from their traditional model of raising money, restoring and selling on to becoming social enterprise property developers; instead they are retaining ownership and earning income from the lease.

4.2.1 Housing and workspace

Housing is an important part of the reuse picture:

"*Housing is one of the most frequent ways that building restoration projects stack up financially"* (Charity)

"[It can] solve the heritage crisis and the housing crisis at the same time" (Funder)

"Housing is a good option due to rental yields" (Local trust)

Linked to this is provision of workspace for the *"enormous groundswell of little businesses"* (Local trust), a feature of many development trust operations (see case studies).

Both housing and workspace-reuse options come with a warning that these are not automatically for public benefit, which depends on the model and context.

4.2.2 Approaches to grant-making

Though acknowledged as a significant new part of the landscape, opinions contrasted sharply on the success of Historic England's Heritage Action Zones scheme:

"Heritage Action Zones are already proving successful in bringing people together, engaging communities and leveraging funding and investment across public and private sectors." (Funder)

"HAZs are more of an approach to heritage in place, rather than about getting projects going. And they are OK if you're in a zone, not much if you are not!" (Sectoral body)

Other grant schemes were singled out as of interest: Arts Council England and HLF's Great Place scheme as an indicator of the growing trend for supporting place-making and for co-ordinated approaches; HLF's schemes for their longevity, such that there was now a discernible impact.

4.2.3 New sources of funding

Three new potential funding sources for urban heritage projects were identified at strategic level:

— Dormant assets in bank accounts; there are many billions still not earmarked, even after the establishment of Big Society Capital

— Social investment; a tax break was introduced for this two years ago; in essence, it offers new opportunities for loans but with potential to forge longer-term relationships with specific investors and leverage wider community benefit

— Tax incentives; some (non-heritage) buildings have recently been able to bridge the gap in funding by using the business premises renovation allowance tax scheme (the Watson building in Liverpool, and Glasgow sculpture studies); this scheme, however, ended in 2017

There were no examples, however, of any of these new potential funding sources being accessed in an urban heritage context – they are on the radar, rather than in current use.

Community share schemes, however, were mentioned frequently as an important new approach to fundraising.[15] These have been used successfully in

a number of recent success stories, including Portland Works and Hastings Pier in the case studies (below).

4.2.4 New funding structures

Many interviewees looked beyond new grant schemes to new funding structures or approaches. Two interviewees prioritised a shift in funding priority from a 'most needy' to a 'most likely to succeed' approach:

"In this area, they talk about how to spend money according to how poor / deprived they are – and they never say 'look what they've done there, that's amazing' – they never back the winners! It's not business or creative thinking, it's well-meaning but impractical and patronising. There are winners all over the place and we should back them." (Local trust)

Attitudinal shifts were suggested across the board, for funders and community organisations:

"Community organisations need to be more willing to consider collaborations with the private sector, and funders need to broaden their willingness to fund reuses that will make projects sustainable, such as housing." (Charity)

One suggestion is of a sectoral consortium, developed through a phased approach over a number of years:

"One area which I think is interesting is the extent to which the ability to access both capital and follow-on revenue funding could be made easier, e.g. by signposting or bringing funders together; how can that process be as simple as possible? This is in the interests of funders! Good role for the National Trust as champion of a joined-up funding ecology. Will funders be up for this? It varies. Where it works well, it starts off being quite soft – just about having space for intelligence sharing without any specific commitments, gives time to build up trust and for people to get to know each other. If it goes straight in with 'we want to create a joint pooled fund' [it] can be more challenging. The key thing for funders is what makes it worth them being part of that wider approach or group. If they can see something valuable but are only up for funding one bit of it but

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[15] https://communitysharesbooster.org.uk/how-it-works

can call on a wider group then that's great – can lead to a wider vision." (Funder)

A new approach to risk could unlock potential:

"One of the biggest lessons / issues: funders won't fund unless there is prospect of ownership. Lots of groups try to get buildings from delinquent owners, who don't maintain or insure it but there are almost no funding sources for this to help groups in those early years so you need enormous persistence and determination. Funders need to take risks in grant funding – only requires small amounts at the beginning to support the early stages. That way maybe not all buildings will be saved, but you'll save some of the buildings! You can't make progress if you can't do anything!" (Local trust)

Another suggestion focuses on de-risking the shaky early years of small organisations newly running heritage projects. Such new organisations typically do not have the reserves required to deal with contingencies, and can be put out of operation by relatively minor cash flow issues requiring relatively minor amounts of money. The sums involved are often tiny – especially when compared with the millions invested in the asset. In a break with the prevalent project funding model, one or more funders could approach the issue with a preventative goal:

"Big orgs could say that 'come what may, you won't go bust in the next 5 years for not having reserves'. This will require a turnaround in thinking. Should have people thinking not, how do I get through the next month? but what's my 3–5 year goal? Many forms this could take, but one model would be a reasonably well-capitalised fund on which you can draw simply and pay back when things are a bit better. Especially if access to that fund came with other conditions e.g. experts, part of a wider support package; could sign people up before they get into difficulties." (Funder)

As an alternative approach to smaller, risky enterprises, another suggestion was that rather than simply put money into an organisation or asset, it would be

possible to shore up risky or ailing ventures by merging them with larger, stronger organisations:

"There is an issue of whether having lots and lots of these little enterprises is the right one, or is a better solution a merger or being part of an umbrella? An example is Catch 22 and Community Links, a well-regarded community organisation in East London; its funding was £11 million a year and now down to £1.5 million with cuts in public sector, still sustainable but with a big change to accommodate; Catch 22 had bigger reserves. [Sectoral bodies and funders] supported a merger to allow for longer-term survival. Could that larger organisation be the National Trust or other organisation in the sector, that is ready to merge when needed – and could then spin the smaller bodies back out again?" (Funder)

"Bigger organisations shouldn't step in and take ownership – I wouldn't want to give our assets away, they're our assets – but would be very happy to work alongside and explore different models, co-ownership etc." (Local trust)

On a related note, the riskiness of community-led heritage organisations can be over-emphasised. Of all new businesses, 66% fail within their first 10 years.[16] Expecting otherwise from urban heritage projects is not necessarily realistic, though failing urban heritage projects may take with them significant amounts of public investment (see Hastings Pier, the story that haunts the sector.) Accepting and acting on this insight is a key recommendation from one local trust:

"There are beacons all over the UK of projects that have worked. Companies go bump all the time – it's part of the learning process – and they come back from this. And we are not judged fairly." (Local trust)

4.2.5 Other suggested initiatives

— A project initiation toolkit focusing on sustainability: *"There is quite a lot of wider knowledge about how it's possible to engage widely and explore different options, and particularly shift the mindset from the thinking about*

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[16] Small Business Association figures, 2016.

the building / asset to what's going to happen as a result. Could turn that into a relatively simple set of questions that people can work through with their community." (Funder)

— *"Peer to peer support is a very powerful tool – would be good to start the identification process with someone who's been through that."* (Funder)

— New statutory powers / body to protect Grade II listed assets: *"We're never going to get back to that situation again where councils have the funds and expertise to support the legal process to save buildings owned by delinquent owners. So it may require another organisation to step in and take over that role, empowered by government to be able to intervene through enforcement powers or ability to prosecute owners. Historic England is largely interested in Grade I and II* but support is needed particularly for Grade II."* (Local trust)

— Specific administrative process for community assets: *"The law gives administrators enormous power. There is a separate administration process for social housing, as the idea that it would all go into private ownership is nerve-racking. Something similar is needed for community assets that have received public / community funds"* (Local trust)

4.3 Threats and challenges

Understanding of the key threats and challenges facing urban heritage was markedly coherent.

4.3.1 Financial

Two major financial threats resonated across all interviews:

— The decrease in public finances, in particular the resultant loss of finance, resource and expertise in local authorities;

— The issue of the 'conservation deficit' which increases with time, raising the risk that heritage assets will pass beyond the point at which they can be regenerated.

"Previously, local councils had the money, expertise and legal framework to step in to save buildings (e.g. through their enforcement powers and ability to pay small amounts of money early on). But thanks to austerity the funding no longer exists and the expertise is eroding. So austerity has had an impact that makes a whole area of law dysfunctional." (Local trust)

Financial resources were noted as shrinking in three different areas: local authorities, European funding schemes and lottery funding (including HLF)[17]. Reduced budgets at Historic England were also referenced. Added to this, there are only a very limited number of potential funding sources to approach:

— The only likely funders are HLF and AHF

— Big Lottery does not see itself as a core funder of capital projects in the future

— HE puts some funding into HAZs, but otherwise focuses on advice / support

Overall, these funding responses are seen as inadequate to the size of the need.

A third financial threat was mentioned frequently as a major issue: that of lack of sustainability support or proper business planning.

"What would help? Being more robust about business plans, testing assumptions and giving plans genuine scrutiny. There needs to be a greater concentration of financial skills, and whole life costing. The sector should seek more professional, commercial assistance – more involvement of property market professionals." (Charity)

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[17] In the 12 months to March 2017, income for good causes fell by 15% to £1.63 billion at the same time as Lottery sales fell by 9% to £6.93 billion. Camelot has predicted a further fall in ticket sales and income for good causes in 2017–18. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmpubacc/898/898.pdf

4.3.2 Clash of approaches within the sector

Different organisations highlighted the need for a change in approaches across the sector as a major issue: in essence that top-down approaches needed to be replaced by an approach centred on understanding of community perspectives. Current failure to work with this understanding results in a number of negative outcomes:

— Lack of mutual understanding: *"I'd like the decision makers to get out of London and come and walk round. Get out of the London bubble!"* (Local trust)

— Ill-considered processes: *"Decision makers don't work enough with community groups and don't know that even simple requirements present a lot of complexity for which they don't have the time, or can't cut through the complexity to work out what is required."* (Charity)

— Limited outcomes*: "The problem is not so much particular programmes but where the priorities are those of the funder and not people's aspirations – sets them up to fail, as things won't have the kinds of support needed to make a success of it. This can involve spending millions on restoration with no real understanding of what's going to* happen after that." (Funder)

— Gaps in the policy structure: *"There is clearly no appetite for legislation to make citizen-led ownership / management of assets easier"* (Local trust)

Interviewees suggested a range of initiatives to equip funders and large organisations with genuine understanding of the groups with which they work, including spending time, training, dedicated in-house teams, and working with community champions.

4.3.3 Sectoral coordination

A general issue highlighted as a threat is the lack of sectoral coordination exacerbated by (competitiveness for) shrinking pots of funding.

"The existing support and advice services are all very good and vitally important, but there is not enough of it and it is not well co-ordinated." (Charity)

"The issue is as much about joint working as particular programmes. We need more resources but also better co-ordination and joint awareness across organisations involved in historic building restorations." (Charity)

Related to this lack of coordination is the importance of harnessing existing knowledge and skills from the sector as the priority.

"As a general point – anything new that an organisation looks to do has to be based on a mapping exercise and a good understanding of what is happening already." (Charity)

Lack of trust between potential partners was highlighted by local and national, commercial and public organisations as a mindset issue made acute by lack of resourcing:

"I just see this burgeoning crisis: sustainability not looked after at all, reuse is by accident rather than plan, the finance is not there; ownership, partnership structures and trust to get things done are missing." (Local trust)

"Quite a lot of these matters are better taken forward if there's an element of trust between people; trust takes a bit of time; if people don't have much time, they naturally tend to distrust." (Developer)

This lack of trust needs to change if funding structures are to reflect sectoral need:

"A lot of the potential benefits to be had from collaboration and partnership are missed, as most stakeholders are too wary of being left 'holding the baby' (i.e. the asset), so they don't even get involved." (Local trust)

4.3.4 Specific processes

Five specific areas or processes were highlighted as needing attention: listing, early planning, assessment, Community Asset Transfer and sustainability.

The current listings process was felt to have limitations:

"There is a broader requirement to understand heritage 'need' than is currently provided through the Heritage at Risk registers and local lists. On Grade II at risk the priority now is to work with communities to actively identify local heritage

at risk. This can be seen as an extension of local lists, but ideally needs to go further in a way that helps to create a national picture of priority assets at risk. Ideally there would be good local lists and a national Grade II register, but as it stands, continuing to build up better local pictures is the only realistic prospect to improve on the current position." (Funder)

The importance of statutory protection / listing was clear (though as above, this is in the context of a wider understanding of assessing heritage significance). This is clearly seen in the neat summing up by a developer of the major risks to urban heritage in terms of their listed status:

"For assets that do not have statutory protection or listing:

— *Viability and land value are usually maximised by demolition*

— *'Administrative convenience': risk aversion among local authorities / investors to take on a heritage project, but also the belief that a cleared site is more attractive*

For assets that have statutory protection or listing:

— *Either you try and put in the 'highest value use', which does not necessarily imply that it will serve the community*

— *Or you try to get grants, but availability of grants is very limited."* (Developer)

Many pointed to the lack of support and funding for new, smaller and inexperienced organisations to work up plans for the buildings they want to restore, before they approach any funders for support. This work is time consuming, complicated and costly – architects fees, business planning, community consultation. AHF are attempting to fill some of the gap with project viability grants; Big Lottery Fund cover the community consultation angle; the consultancy arm of the Churches Conservation Trust receive the majority of their requests for support in this area.

While Community Asset Transfer (CAT) was, overall, strongly welcomed as a important tool, many pointed to difficulties with its execution. The timeline is too short for communities to work up bids to take on assets; owners don't take community bids seriously; the 'recent past' clause (which states that an asset

must recently have been used for community benefit) is a major obstacle in enabling heritage assets to benefit from the CAT process.

One interviewee felt there was a lack of political will to support the CAT initiative; others felt it was well supported but still had teething troubles. A new enquiry is being established which will investigate issues around CAT. Heritage England has a new report on asset transfer collaboration that will be published soon. Locality is prioritising supporting local councils with CAT in their next 3–5-year strategy. The Heritage 2020 initiative's working group on Constructive Conservation for Sustainability has created a theory of change for asset transfer as a priority task, preparatory to delivering more support work in this area.

"Sustainability tends not to be the immediate concern of community groups that want to save or restore a building under threat, to deal with the immediate problem." (Funder)

"I feel there is a real lesson for funders: lots of community assets have had public investment and we need to get better at ensuring their long-term sustainability." (Charity)

Figure 12 Summary of national heritage bodies' strategic approaches to urban heritage

Organisation	Core purpose	Summary of strategic approach to urban heritage
Big Lottery Fund	National lottery distributor for community	Three main criteria across all their funding: Early action, i.e. preventative; strengthening relationships, within and between communities; supporting shared and sustainable places and spaces. They then apply three further criteria: strengths based (as opposed to the traditional 'misery memoir' approach; people-led (i.e. people have designed their own service); and connected (how does this fit within the bigger picture?) They typically fund early place-shaping community engagement, i.e. the consultation work before funding is put into a heritage asset. Focus is on the activity, not the asset.
Heritage Lottery Fund	National Lottery distributor for heritage	New strategy in January 2019, moving away from priority programmes towards more open programmes, and will continue to identify areas which need extra help. Very interested in further strategic alliances, as formed around parks.
Historic England (HE)	Public body with statutory responsibility for caring for listed heritage and helping people to care for and celebrate it	Work in urban areas over the coming years will be determined by its new 'Place making' strategy, which will set out the organisation's aspirations for making better places, with heritage the delivery vehicle for public benefits. The strategy is due to be published in December 2018 and will address how HE can best deploy its services to achieve meaningful and positive change in historic places. It will interpret and develop the notion of 'good growth', explaining the potential for heritage to positively contribute to social, cultural, economic and environmental change through area-based initiatives, such as Heritage Action Zones.

The Places Strategy itself sits within HE's new Public Value framework – everything HE does will in future have to go through this framework as a mechanism for maximising the public benefit HE delivers. The main activity in urban areas will be to build up the capacity of local organisations, so they can have greater involvement in managing heritage. HE will seek to facilitate this expanded role of communities, by encouraging local authorities to support community ownership and management of heritage assets. It will work with partner organisations with the same, shared vision of community empowerment. This work will be carried out by local HE teams in 'priority areas'. |
| **Architectural Heritage Fund (AHF)** | Charity providing social investment and capacity building to support sustainable reuse of historic buildings for the benefit of communities across UK | AHF's main investment over the next three years will be through the Heritage Impact Fund (£5m from HE / HLF / HES - Historic Environment Scotland + £2m to come from social investor, all added to its existing endowment). As well as money it would like to see shared priorities across these organisations on the impact the funding is intended to deliver. Ambitiously Matthew Mckeague would like to see the fund grow so that it could create regional versions e.g. a Liverpool fund. |
| **Prince's Foundation (PF)** | Charity with aim of creating harmonious communities | The Prince's Foundation merged with Prince's Regeneration Trust (PRT) and the Prince's Foundation for Building Community in 2016, in an attempt to simplify the Prince's support for built environment work. The merger has meant a significant change to former PRT operations with an end to its advice, training and community support work outside of the physical building restoration projects it takes on. There has also been a major reorientation in the way it now supports restoration projects. The key criteria for PF involvement is now 'control' – the Foundation must have project management control and the freedom to make decisions on design, procurement and end use. It will not play a subsidiary support role as previously. |

Churches Conservation Trust (CCT)	Charity core funded by Church of England and Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) to conserve Anglican churches	Take on one / two new projects per year, almost exclusively Grade I or II*, with priority given to those on the at risk register. In selecting, they look either for potential for a sustainable operating model, ideally in which the building is leased to another operator, or for an opportunity to make a small investment (e.g. a heating system) which opens up significant community benefit (e.g. church can become community centre for the elderly). The CCT also run an income-generating consultancy that works with community organisations looking to regeneration of heritage buildings (including but by no means limited to churches). Roughly 25% of the consultancy requests concern Grade II listed heritage assets.
Locality	National membership network for community organisations	Growing membership by recruiting more place-based organisations; campaigning and influencing especially around community assets and community commissioning. Neighbourhood planning, influencing social investors and promoting community shares will continue to be areas of activity.

Source: BOP Consulting 2018

4.4 Working with communities

At the heart of all discussions around urban heritage is a debate about how communities should be involved, the strengths and weaknesses of a community-led approach and the strengths and weaknesses of support for communities. The issue is a practical one but also profoundly ideological: who owns heritage and who has the power to determine its future? As one interviewee explained, local authorities are often the current custodians of heritage assets but they don't *own* them, they are simply stewards on behalf of local people.

From this perspective, the *"sale of the family silver"* (Local trust) underway in local authorities is illegitimate. While not everyone shares this view, all interviewees – commercial, community, national and local – recognised that local people should have active involvement at the heart of projects and that organisational approaches will need to adapt to reflect this. There are, however, interesting differences in the detail of what this means.

"Projects which do not win community backing will not succeed." (Funder)

4.4.1 What is a community?

The catch-all term 'community' has a variety of different meanings, including local people; local people with a specific stake in a project; or special interest groups, e.g. in heritage, types of asset or ethnicity. Such groups can have profoundly different needs, approaches and experiences which may be concealed by shared use of the 'community' term.

There are also differences between community groups in terms of experience and capacity, often depending on location. Some campaign groups (such as that for Hornsey Town Hall) have a great deal of professional capacity, e.g. in legal, financial and management; others may need support with professional skills but may have strength in numbers, practical skills or local networks.

"Within some communities there are abundant professional skills – and it may be that the expertise is more about 'making this for everyone'. In other communities, the technical and professional skills may be harder to access (e.g. in smaller towns, charities struggle to get someone to act as their treasurer), or the business skills for how to balance public benefit and break even with a surplus. Different skills are needed at different times, and it's unrealistic for any community group to have all those skills at once." (Funder)

"As a generalisation, building preservation trusts tend to have construction professionals and architects involved and so are stronger on delivering capital works on restoration projects." (Funder)

It is important to note that 'community' is not a synonym for 'representative'. The case of Easington School neatly illustrates this point. A Grade II listed building, this dominates the local skyline but has fallen into disrepair and despite a number of professional feasibility studies, no sustainable use has been found

for it. A local 'community group' of those with strong feelings about heritage is opposing the building's demolition – while the local 'community', who no longer wish to live with an eyesore, are keen to see it go.[18] Both groups occupy the 'community' space in the discussion but with opposing interests.

4.4.2 Challenges in approach

Most projects for funders, local trusts and charities start with an approach from a local community group with an interest in protecting a heritage asset. But there is also a shortage of community organisations in some areas:

*"In many areas, delivery organisations do not exist – AHF has been tasked to create more but this is a big ask" (*Funder)

"In some cases, we may need to wait for an interested community organisation to form" (Charity)

The three key issues are then capacity (does the group have time and energy), motivation (to continue over the long term) and expertise.

"Small community organisations don't know how to do this and they need help" (Local trust)

"Community groups want to do things but are utterly lacking the skills and capacity for something complicated" (Funder)

"Community organisations are left exposed with too little experience, capacity and knowledge to take on the responsibilities required" (Funder)

There is no debate as to whether limitations exist within community groups working on urban heritage projects, but the meaning of these limitations is contested. Are these needs or problems? Does it disqualify community groups from involvement or limit what they should be expected to take on? Does it suggest that other types of organisation would do better? Many argue strongly against what they feel to be a creeping tendency to downplay or downgrade community capacity:

"All the elements should happen in partnership. It shouldn't particularly matter who leads an element so long as all the relevant people and organisations are involved." (Charity)

"Nobody trusts us to do it – and they should. We are a partner and an anchor in the economy just like the NHS and education and stuff. We are the community anchors: development trusts, settlements, housing associations – the organised community infrastructure, voluntary sector, CBS led, might be Locality lead. Not cohesive and always squabbling for limited resources but with a bit of empowerment it could be really powerful." (Local trust)

The Prince's Foundation's new strategic approach – that it will only take on projects where it can have project 'control', although ultimate ownership and management responsibility rest long-term with the community owners. This shift has streamlined the organisation's operations but, as they acknowledge, has also left a significant gap in the sector:

"This end of the Prince's Foundation's advice and support function has dramatically altered the heritage scene, leaving a big gap in the help that is available for community groups wanting to take on buildings. Although AHF is doing some of this work, it cannot meet the demand and does not do it in the same highly engaged 'learn, do and teach' way that PRT used to. PRT's 'Brick' programme was designed to support community groups seeking to rescue historic buildings and bring them back into sustainable use. Over the four years it ran, demand was not alleviated, but actually grew." (Charity)

The change in strategy at the Prince's Foundation stands out particularly against the more generally held view that what is required is less urgently a particular scheme or model than an approach from the sector that is long-term, flexible, and supportive.

"Overall what community groups need is for funders and other large partner organisation, like the NT, to 'de-risk' projects for them. The specific risks will vary across projects. De-risking does not only mean providing funding or investment – also about specialist advice. But the key here must always be to

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[18] See also https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-tyne-34198069

provide support – empower groups to do for themselves, not do for them."
(Funder)

"Picking people with right mindset is really key." (Funder)

The tension between professional control and community empowerment is a significant issue for the heritage sector in practice, though in theory all subscribe to an empowerment model. In this context it would be interesting for the heritage sector to explore in further detail of the work of the Power to Change Trust, set up by Big Lottery. This is effectively a long-term pilot of an end-to-end support approach and offers interesting learnings about how this can be accomplished.

4.4.3 Lack of support and training

There is a current lack of support for community groups to develop the necessary knowledge and structures at present.

"HLF is too distant from many of the projects it funds; HE doesn't really having the community business skills; and AHF has limited capacity" (Funder)

— Funders need to offer early stage support to those taking on heritage assets, but these groups need support over the longer term as well

— Locality is not able to grow its role as administrator of small grants on behalf of community organisations. Many national grant funding programmes for community organisations ended some years ago and not been replaced.

— Historic England will work in urban areas in future to build the capacity of local organisations in taking ownership via Community Asset Transfer and / or taking on management of heritage.

The Churches Conservation Trust have now built an income-generating business to support their charitable work out of the high level of demand for community training. This has been picked up at strategic level, and in response to the Bernard Taylor Review and subsequent White Paper on English churches. CCT are delivering training workshops as part of a major pilot

scheme around reuse of church buildings in Manchester and Suffolk. This training is at a very specific, often entry level (e.g. 'What is a listed building?'), and very different from the best-known training in the sector, the Historic Environment Local Management (HELM) training programme run by Historic England.[19]

The urgent need for investing in upskilling local community organisations – through training, peer support, mentoring and giving them time to learn – was a common thread across many interviews:

"Communities' involvement in the whole process is bloody important as they need to live the experience and hold the memory of it and build the skills." (Local trust)

"The expectation is that community groups can just get on with business planning and running assets post-restoration – and that doesn't work. More effective ways need to be found of long-term assistance for groups, without disempowering them. So this has to be about advice and support and mentoring. At the moment this simply does not exist, aside from the small amount of excellent work that AHF does." (Funder)

All funders and charities interviewed had elements of capacity building in their work – but no-one felt these approaches to be enough.

4.5 What is the future of urban heritage?

If no changes are made to the current landscape, the future for urban heritage is one of irrevocable decline and geographic and social inequality.

"Increasing numbers of important historic buildings will fall into decay, creating a spiral of decline for the places where they are located. This impact will be felt first and to a greater degree in the poorest areas, exacerbating inequality." (Funder)

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[19] https://historicengland.org.uk/services-skills/training-skills/helmtraining/

"The only places where projects will happen will be in those that are economically self-sufficient, meaning that huge swathes of the country will be left out." (Local trust)

This future for urban heritage then implies wider negative social impacts of lost opportunities to contribute to place resilience, exacerbation of the 'broken window cycle' and *"even more anger, further division and acrimony across the country"* (Charity).

For the heritage sector, if nothing changes then this will demonstrate a "loss of leadership" (Charity) and a stifling of innovation.

"There will continue to be individual projects on urban sites because people will be very resourceful at finding their way through the current disjointed funding environment, but it will be concentrated in some places not others, and there will continue to be examples of where lots of money is put in but there's still no long term future for that asset – and also cases where innovative ideas won't find routes to funding or happening." (Funder)

Interviewees' assessments of the severity of the crisis varied between "absolutely bleak" and a more sanguine *"it's not that nothing will happen"*. Optimism depends on a view on the likelihood of current initiatives being replaced, and the potential for a more coordinated approach to compensate for shrinking funds.

5. Policy and Programmes

This chapter outlines the current approaches to urban heritage in the heritage (and associated) sector(s), drawing on two sources:

— A review of relevant programmes and policies, focusing on select key organisations and then taking a cascade approach, following links and suggestions from across the research process

— Interviews with an expert panel of key stakeholders in the urban heritage sector.

Across both processes, the research has sought to identify the risks, opportunities and barriers to engagement with urban heritage; the models and tools currently available to support urban heritage projects; the prioritisation criteria used by other organisations in relation to urban heritage; and any potential gaps / weaknesses that could or should be addressed.

5.1 Risks, opportunities and barriers to engagement around urban heritage

This section identified the following themes:

— An existing focus on the material value of tangible heritage rather than more personal or locally significant meanings

— The role of heritage in this could be strengthened by encouraging active citizenship and participation

— In addition to encouraging greater civic engagement, heritage projects can also do more to deliver social and economic outcomes for people

— Specifically, it has been demonstrated that historic buildings deliver higher economic benefits than other property types, when in active commercial use

— Private sector efforts to bring historic buildings back into use tend to hit barriers in the form of high up-front costs and long return cycles

— Community efforts to do so tend to hit barriers in the form of lack of policy support, financing and access to expert advice

The cultural importance of the built environment has focused on physical assets, neglecting historic meaning and narrative.

"*The historic environment has the potential to contribute to the future success of our towns and cities, for it provides people with a sense of belonging to somewhere distinctive and special. It is an essential component of place making, for identity derives largely from history, and especially from its material evidence.*"

Historic England (2010): A Thematic Research Strategy for the urban historic environment

"*The cultural importance of the built environment has tended to focus on its tangible historic heritage. Even then, the meanings of the buildings and streetscapes for the inhabitants of a town or district are neglected in the evaluation of projects, where wellbeing, aesthetic considerations and economic benefits are the focus (Reeve & Shipley, 2013).*"

Crossick, G and Kaszynska, P (2016): Understanding the value of arts & culture, The AHRC Cultural Value Project

Fostering relationships with local communities is an under-developed aspect of place making.

"*A clear characteristic of failed regeneration projects seems to be **lack of connection with local cultural institutions, artists or communities […]**. A result of this, alongside distrust and disengagement is that, rather than reinforcing the distinctiveness of cities, the homogenizing effects of global architectural imprints, along with global retail and consumption offers, tends to weaken any sense of place, ironically reducing their appeal to the 'discerning' tourist, who is the intended market, but more importantly undermining local understandings.*"

Oakley, K (2015) Creating Space: A re-evaluation of the role of culture in regeneration

"**Fostering citizenship is an under-developed aspect** of the combination of activities now commonly described as place-making[….] This is a critical omission, and one **which heritage can and must contribute** to addressing. In this environment, the role for heritage pivots on two related roles: the stewardship of assets with fundamental value, alongside an instrumental role, animating local activity which produces valuable social outcomes and economic dividends."

RSA (2016) Networked Heritage https://medium.com/networked-heritage/networked-heritage-f89130ee643f

The potential role of heritage includes broader and deeper civic engagement, attracting investment and visitor spend, and achieving social outcomes in heritage settings.

RSA (2016) Networked Heritage https://medium.com/networked-heritage/networked-heritage-f89130ee643f

There are great opportunities to putting heritage assets back into use:

— Altering local perceptions ('cycle of blight' or windows theory) and nurturing local pride

— Economic benefits from optimised use of space and job creation

— Social benefits such as new social facilities, training opportunities or educational programmes.

— Cultural benefits such as new cultural destinations

To secure these benefits, it is **important that long-term financial self-sufficiency is secured** after restoration, as in many cases the physical deterioration of assets was the manifestation of wider financial issues. Financially sustainable new uses can at the same time be an opportunity for local small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).

Historic England (2018): Risky Business? Investing in Heritage at Risk

The Mayor of London's vision *A City for all Londoners* (2016) states his intention to develop the city according to the principles of good growth. Heritage is fundamental to good growth because:

— Heritage is at the heart of 'London-ness' (successful place making) and Londoners' identity (communities participating in and celebrating their heritage)

— Heritage is an inherent part of successful change in London: **Heritage needs to inform the planning process from the outset** and a range of options needs to be considered during scheme development. A supportive planning framework, which recognises the vital role heritage plays in place making, can guide successful developments. A strong leader or advocate for the project, who recognises that heritage is fundamental to good growth, is a common denominator in the case studies.

Historic England (2017): Translating Good Growth for London's Historic Environment

Bringing heritage into productive use also potentially brings direct economic benefits. Businesses based in listed buildings are highly productive, generating GVA per year 4.4% higher than the average.

The reason for this is the **greater proportion of professional services and creative and cultural businesses in historic buildings** (in HLF's research sample) – the types of business that generate the highest GVA.

Businesses choose to be located in historic areas for their ambience; 45% say this is very important and 38% say it's important, particularly for leisure, and food and drink businesses. Historic features of buildings are also important, particularly for bars (60%) and fashion boutiques (40%).

The combination of small space, suiting occupiers that only need small spaces, affordable rent, presence of like-minded businesses serving like-minded customers, and ambience, both of the building itself and the area, is likely to be the mix which most affects occupation of listed buildings in urban centres.

HLF (2013) New Ideas Need Old Buildings

High up-front costs and long return cycles are barriers to private sector efforts to bring historic buildings back into use.

"The development of our historic built environment can drive wider regeneration, job creation, business growth and prosperity. However, some developers regard these projects as too risky to take on, because of their heritage status. Historic England has a key role in **ensuring that developers and local authorities have the confidence to transform their historic places**, ensuring that new development supports and enhances what is distinct and special about them."

DCMS (2016): The Culture White Paper

Key barriers to investment in heritage in an advanced state of disrepair are that the **long-term returns of conservation and heritage-led regeneration can be less visible or immediately tangible** compared with short-term economic gains of new development. Return cycles expected, for example, by owners or developers, can act as a disincentive to long-term investment particularly where there are significant upfront costs and investors may have to accept a lower initial rate of return. Additionally, successful projects also require political leadership and effective multi-agency partnerships, which can be difficult to secure or put in place.

Historic England (2018): Risky Business? Investing in Heritage at Risk

Access to funding and professional expertise, as well as lack of local-level policy, are barriers to community-led efforts to bring historic buildings back into use.

Local communities, entrepreneurs or third sector groups wanting to take on the ownership of valued heritage buildings may **lack the capacity, finance and some of the skills required to take on the challenge** of reinventing, repairing and then managing these properties.

DCMS (2016): The Culture White Paper

Community ownership is an alternative to private or public ownership and allows community organisations to take on a building or space to create a place that benefits local people. Community ownership can reinvigorate local economies, help bring additional funding that councils can't access and create services for

local people that are rooted in local knowledge and passion for the issues facing a community. It can also support local community organisations to create a sustainable income and financial stability.

However, **barriers to community ownership** include:

— Funding to access **expertise**: Advice on technical issues to do with acquisition or the physical building itself, help setting up a new organisation, writing a business plan and undertaking consultation

— **Capital funding**: To make the purchase pay for development, make refurbishments or make changes to a building

— **Time**: Only six months is available to prepare everything necessary to make a credible offer to the owner of an asset, and often this is the first time completing such a process.

— **Clear local level policy**: Most councils do not have a Community Asset Transfer policy, which means there is no clear process for a community organisation or the council itself to follow.

Locality, Save our Spaces Campaign https://locality.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/The-Great-British-Sell-Off-FINAL.pdf

Promote public participation through co-curation and co-production. **New skills and partnerships are needed among heritage organisations** to overcome the engagement and participation gap which follows familiar lines of class and ethnicity.

To fully realise the value of heritage **requires independent and well-networked intermediaries to act as motivators, advocates and critical friends** to heritage citizens, volunteer groups and emerging social entrepreneurs. This could take the form of an organisation of approachable, knowledgeable and well-connected individuals who bridge heritage and other civic and economic worlds.

RSA (2016) Networked Heritage https://medium.com/networked-heritage/networked-heritage-f89130ee643f

5.2 Role of current policies and programmes

This section here only provides a brief overview of available policies and programmes; more detail on each of these policies and programmes, including which element of the journey the latter support, can be found in Appendix II.

It should, however, be noted that while the section endeavours to include the most important policies and programmes available, there are two qualifying comments to make. Firstly, the list should not be taken as fully comprehensive but rather indicative; secondly, it presents policies and programmes only, rather than trying to analyse their effectiveness or take-up in any way.

Policies
— Heritage at Risk

— Local Heritage Listing

— Community Asset Transfer

— Community Rights: Localism Act 2011

— Neighbourhood Planning: Localism Act 2011

— Sale of Local Authority Assets

— Social Investment Tax Relief (SITR)

Programmes

Figure 13 Overview of active programmes

	Identification	Ownership/ Management	Restoration	Reuse	Sustainability
Programmes directly related to heritage	Heritage Action Zones (2017 - present)		Heritage Action Zones (2017 - present)		
		Resilient Heritage grant funding programme (2016 - 2019)		Resilient Heritage grant funding programme (2016 - 2019)	Resilient Heritage grant funding programme (2016 - 2019)
			Heritage Enterprise grant funding programme (2013-2018)	Heritage Enterprise grant funding programme (2013-2018)	
		Community Heritage Support Fund (dates not given)			Community Heritage Support Fund (dates not given)
			Cultural Development Fund (2019 and 2022)	Cultural Development Fund (2019 and 2022)	
Programmes indirectly related to heritage	Neighbourhood Planning Support (2018 – 2022)	Power to Change funding programmes	Power to Change funding programmes		Power to Change funding programmes
		Community Housing Fund (July 2018 and March 2020)	Community Housing Fund (July 2018 and March 2020)	Community Housing Fund (July 2018 and March 2020)	

Source: BOP Consulting 2018

5.3 Prioritisation criteria

Previous work by English Heritage prioritised the vulnerability of the heritage in question, in the face of anticipated change.

Identification of significance and knowledge of values allow better decision-making in protection, conservation and management, and the presentation of new research findings is a powerful way of drawing in a wide audience to a better appreciation of the historic environment. The underlying principle at work in the identification of research priorities for the urban historic environment is the consideration of the vulnerability of different aspects of the resource in the face of anticipated change (e.g. regeneration, flooding, long-term decay, major policy shifts)

Proposals for research will be assessed against the following criteria:

— Is the resource at risk? If so, how vulnerable is it?

— Is the resource of high significance?

— Does existing information and knowledge provide a sufficient basis for protection and the effective management of change?

— How will the proposed research assist protection and deliver management and conservation benefits?

— Is there potential to widen appreciation of the significance of the resource?

— Will the proposed research help to build skills and capacity in the heritage sector?

— Does the proposal offer opportunities for the development of new approaches or methodologies which will enhance our appreciation of the urban historic environment?

Historic England (2010): A Thematic Research Strategy for the urban historic environment

At present, several heritage sector bodies prioritise investment in heritage that can make a difference for places with high socio-economic need and in so doing deliver social benefit.

Prioritise heritage initiatives unambiguously focused on social purpose for local communities today. It will be for heritage citizens to realise the value of their tangible and intangible heritage assets and foster the heritage activities that drive community wellbeing.

RSA (2016) Networked Heritage https://medium.com/networked-heritage/networked-heritage-f89130ee643f

Some 49% of the assets on the register are in the most deprived 30% of neighbourhoods in England with one in eight in the most deprived 10%. Focusing heritage-led regeneration on sites most at risk is at the same time likely to target areas and communities in greatest need.

Investing in clusters of heritage assets could serve to maximise the range of benefits, e.g. a number of projects together producing complimentary benefits, or several projects contributing to place making.

Historic England (2018): Risky Business? Investing in Heritage at Risk

Historic England future strategy aspires to make better places, with heritage as a delivery vehicle for public benefit. Work will be carried out in priority areas. Historic England is still developing the method for identifying and selecting these, however socio-economic need will be primary in the selection, supplemented by the potential of heritage to contribute to alleviating social and economic need.

Interview with Historic England, carried out by BOP Consulting as part of this research

The AHF is currently developing an evidence base to prioritise places for investment. The aim is for AHF investment to focus on places with socio-economic challenges, where investment is needed at scale.

Interview with AHF, carried out by BOP Consulting as part of this research

Consultation regarding HLF future strategy revealed five themes to inform their next steps in the strategic planning process. This included more public involvement in decision-making, with HLF not just hearing people's views about their heritage, but also proactively finding out what local people want for their heritage and providing support for those who want to do heritage-related work and apply for HLF funding. Connected to this, another major theme was heritage alleviating social issues, with vulnerable people seen as important beneficiaries and heritage for social benefit viewed as important, in particular housing and community use. This theme breaks down into:

— Making use of heritage buildings and spaces for social benefit (location for community facilities, improved look / feel / safety to boost local pride, conservation process and skills development)

— Providing education, learning, skills and broad-based training

— Bringing people together and being inclusive (disadvantaged, vulnerable, multi-cultural)

— A sense of community and place (buildings, spaces, shared activities / interests).

HLF (2018) Planning for the Future

6. Case Studies

Fifteen case studies were selected for this project with the aim of providing in-depth information and insights on 10 UK-based and five international urban heritage regeneration projects. Each study:

— contains one or more examples of built heritage, in the centre of a town or city, that has been 'rescued' / sustained (successfully or unsuccessfully)

— demonstrates an innovative approach, e.g. to funding, partnership, project design or public engagement with heritage

— reviews a project that has run for sufficient time for it to have a clear outcome, with time for the model to be tested and adapted

Selected from a long list of case studies (see Appendix V), the UK-based case studies are:

— Shoreditch Town Hall, London

— Ancoats Dispensary, Manchester

— Portland Works, Sheffield

— Underfall Boatyard, Bristol

— Hornsey Town Hall, London

— Anchor Mill, Oldham

— Hastings Pier, Hastings

— Toffee Factory, Newcastle

— Arnos Vale Cemetery, Bristol

— Far Gosford Street, Coventry (TBC)[20]

The international case studies are:

— Gängeviertel, Hamburg (Germany)

— Merdeka Stadium, Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia)

— Dashilan Renewal, Beijing (China)

— Evergreen Brick Works, Toronto (Canada)

— Mercado de Santa Caterina, Barcelona (Spain)

Further details of case studies can be found in Appendix I.

For each case study, extensive desk research was supplemented by one or more interviews with key personnel involved in the project (see Appendix VI for full list of interviewees). While the case studies follow the same basic structure for ease of comparison – summary of the project basics; details on the five elements of the project journey; and reflections on the impact, success and problem factors of the project – they vary considerably in length. This reflects the level of detail and information received from interviewees (with some being significantly more open to discussing their project than others), as well as the project's individual journeys, with some journeys being considerably more straightforward than others (due to either relative ease or in fact, failure).

To provide an overview of the main findings across all case studies, BOP Consulting also undertook a mapping of the key success and problem factors evident in each case study with regard to the five journey elements: identification, ownership / management, restoration, reuse and sustainability. The full mapping is provided as a separate document, but a summary is presented in Figure 13, below. Roughly, the factors listed under each journey element are presented in order of their frequency across all case studies. However, this should not be taken as conclusive, as the mapping focuses on identifying the most relevant success and problem factors for each individual case study, rather than all that might apply. In other words, for example, 'location of asset' may be mentioned as a success factor in only a small number of case studies, but may in fact have had a secondary bearing on the success of case studies, too.

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[20] Note that this case study remains outstanding as it was not possible to arrange an interviewee in time.

The 15 case studies and the mapping exercise reveal some immediate high-level findings: some success and problem factors are mentioned particularly frequently across all case studies (e.g. the importance of volunteer support, funding, relevant expertise and council support); many of these, moreover, show themselves like red threads across different journey elements. In terms of success factors, available funding, available expertise, volunteer enthusiasm and careful financial / long-term planning repeatedly come up across the journey elements. In terms of problem factors, lack of council support, lack of funding, lack of expertise / careful management and conflicts among stakeholders as to the best way to proceed repeatedly crop up across the journey elements.

Nevertheless, reading the case studies also highlights that – while similar success or problem factors crop up again and again, and similar events and actions take place repeatedly within each journey element – the journey from identification to sustainability is rarely a linear one and that individual elements take on larger or smaller relevance in different projects (i.e. in some projects 'ownership' may present the biggest challenge, while in others this element may be dealt with easily, but restoration becomes a particular problem). In other words, while each of the five elements present themselves in all case studies and provide a useful way of analysing the project journey, there is no one-size-fits-all template when it comes to the support of urban heritage at risk.

Figure 14 Case Study success and problem factors mapped across the five journey elements (summary table)

	Identification	Ownership/ Management	Restoration	Reuse	Sustainability
Key success factors	Dedicated campaigners	Support from Council	Step-by-step restoration to manage costs/ create iterative income sources	Commercially viable plan for end use	Ongoing interest from prospective tenants/ hirers
	Local enthusiasm and support	Skilled support from established core volunteer group	Funding support	Ongoing interest from prospective tenants/ hirers	Successful public space that draws in visitors
	'Heart & Head' - campaigners with skills and knowledge	Negotiating 'tentative steps' towards ownership/ management	Determination, network, vision of leading individuals	Creation of successful public space that draws in visitors	Careful financial management & risk assessment
	External factors (that could not be influenced)	Building up of political and/or people power	Available expertise	Ongoing volunteer support	External factors - regeneration of surrounding area
	Sector/ Expert support	Sector/ Expert pressure	Inherent characteristics of the building	Sufficient funding/ income to pay for professional staff team	
	Inclusion of asset on Heritage at Risk register	External factors (that could not be influenced)	Volunteers/ tenants active in restoration work	Ability to undertake outreach work/ raise awareness of project	Regular/ long-term funding support
	Alignment with/ inclusion in city development plans	Long-term planning from the start	Being strategic about sources of funding	External factors - regeneration of surrounding area	Ongoing investment in asset
					Mixed-income model
	Commercial interest in asset	Gaining funders' trust	Creative approach to restoration reducing costs	Careful management of governance transition	An ambitious vision
	Location of asset	Receiving funding pre-ownership	Collaboration between Council and campaigners	Accessible location	Public-private partnership to secure investment
		Joint investment arranged for purchase	Independent, objective oversight over restoration process	Local Council allowing flexibility re heritage to enable new life for building	
		Government support adapting regulations to enable project to go ahead		Stakeholders working in partnership	
		Listing status to protect building		Ability to demonstrate demand and viability	
				Media attention raises awareness of site	

	Identification	Ownership/ Management	Restoration	Reuse	Sustainability
Key problems, gaps, restrictions	Financial risk aversion among/ liability for stakeholders	Private owner unwilling to sell	Unexpected costs during restoration	Economic challenges of local area (low land value)	Lack of engagement from Council (Council budget cuts)
	Lack of commercial viability	Protracted ownership negotiations requiring huge amount of volunteer time & financial outlay	Need to balance heritage requirements with financial viability	Vision not commercially viable/ lack of vision	Ensuring active engagement of shareholders, board members, volunteers
	Lack of Council support	Lack of available funding support before ownership resolved	Modern building legislation impacting on heritage restoration	Disagreement among stakeholders/ public on appropriate regeneration	Limited interest from local population
	Criticism at previous approaches to regeneration	Bringing together sufficient funds for purchase & getting mortgage for 'risky' venture	Time constraints of HLF funding application	Difficulty in making the regeneration stack up financially	Competition for/ high demands in getting heritage funding
	Unprepossessing building	Assets further deteriorate	Raising sufficient funds for costly restoration	Initial regeneration plans not fully implemented	Ongoing financial demands
	Structural problems to building	Identifying current owners/ tenants	Need for capacity-building among campaign group/ new owners		Ongoing uncertainty of physical works required
	Conflicts over best approach to regeneration among stakeholders	Project doesn't deliver to government strategic aims	Lack of available expertise		Finding suitable management staff
	Difficulty in reaching out to private owner		Disagreement among stakeholders on restoration process		Reliance on government non-financial priorities to override commercial interests
			Delay due to protest from (other) interest groups		Reliance on financial liquidity of commercial operator
					Requires acknowledgement of value as community asset
					Management decisions putting asset at risk

7. Conclusion

This research asked four questions about urban heritage:

— What evidence is there that urban heritage is facing a growing threat (both to the assets and the public benefit that can be delivered)?

— We know heritage matters to people – but what are the key factors that prevent or restrict people or organisations from taking more of an active role in caring for it?

— What does the future hold? If current trends in the heritage sector continue, what's the default outcome?

— What solutions / responses are in place and what are the pros and cons of each? Are those solutions commensurate with the threat? If there is a gap, what / where is that gap?

There is also one further, implicit question: what could the National Trust's role be in addressing the challenges that urban heritage faces?

This chapter summarises the research conclusions on each of these questions and adds reflections from interviews on the potential role of the Trust.

7.1 Growing threat to urban heritage

Asset-based evidence for the risks faced by Grade II heritage at risk is minimal, but contextual analysis of data around Grade I and II* indicates that while overall numbers are not huge, there are significant numbers of Grade II heritage structures at risk in urban areas. Only a small proportion of these will be suitable for delivering public benefit, depending on scale (i.e. needs to be a building of a certain size, not a structure such as a wall or telephone kiosk). It is possible to identify priority areas by socio-economic need, population density, level of risk faced by Grade I and II*, or gap between levels of activity and levels of heritage at risk. There are no towns or cities which appear as priorities across all of these criteria however.

There is no evidence to suggest that the number of Grade II heritage at risk assets is growing, but there is nonetheless a clear and growing threat from shrinking public finance, with the resulting loss of resources and expertise in local authorities, including loss of monitoring of Grade II assets. As time progresses and nothing is done, the growing conservation deficit raises the threat level still higher: buildings will pass beyond a state of viability as repair costs start to outweigh any possible capital investment or reuse revenues.

7.2 Barriers to engagement

There is a significant public appetite to take an active role in caring for heritage, but also significant barriers that prevent them doing so, especially in urban areas. For individuals, there are four main barriers:

— Lack of awareness, both of the heritage itself and of ways in which they could get involved in protecting it

— Lack of diversity in the existing heritage support base

— Lack of inclusivity from decision-makers in the heritage sector

— Economic barriers to participation

For community organisations, while there are strong networks supported by organisations such as Locality and good structures in local building / preservation trusts, there remain strong difficulties:

— Lack of capacity and expertise across all the many elements required to regenerate a heritage building – and lack of time or support to develop these

— Lack of empathy and trust from heritage and other relevant bodies

— Complexity and competitiveness of the funding environment

— Lack of join-up from funders, and reluctance to invest in success

— Issues with the current Community Asset Transfer and Assets of Community Value processes

— Existing resources focused on restoration

— Insufficient support for the long-term and creation of sustainable projects

7.3 Default future outcome

If current trends continue:

— the heritage sector continues to be disjointed

— there is no growth in trust with community organisations

— no shift is affected from restoration to sustainability, from project funding to an end-to-end support approach

and no new sources of funds are found to replace lost public and Lottery finance then the future is one of inequality and demolition. Whatever resources remain will be concentrated on a small number of projects, leaving the majority of assets and areas to fall into further decline. For the heritage sector, this will represent a failure of leadership. More worryingly, this will have a wider socio-economic impact, contributing to broken-window syndrome and rising levels of public anger; it will also represent a missed opportunity for heritage to address socio-economic challenges. The public are clear that this is a solution to a local community need that they most value – heritage; not to deliver on this therefore also represents a loss of public mandate for heritage bodies.

7.4 Current solutions and gaps

There are five elements to each urban heritage regeneration process: identification, ownership / management, restoration, reuse and sustainability. The heritage sector currently has good support for the restoration element (though funding is insufficient and there is a lack of sectoral coordination), but very poor support for sustainability which, for many, should be the priority. Some initiatives exist in this area, for example AHF's Heritage Mortgages, but too few; larger organisations need to work together to fill this gap.

Specific problems exist around each of the other elements also – lack of data for Grade II; need to improve Community Asset Transfer – which would best be addressed through a coordinated, cross-sectoral approach.

Key to success will be an attitudinal shift that creates greater trust and dialogue between heritage and community organisations. From this other gaps in the current system should be addressed, particularly around training and support for community groups for which demand currently far outstrips supply.

The funding gap is not an easy one to bridge, and there is already a conservation deficit built up by the shrinking budgets of recent years. But the sector is starting to identify both new sources of funds and new approaches to funding to provide solutions. Again, a coordinated approach from the sector is required for this to have effect.

In summary, this equates to four key challenges for the sector:

— Coordinate an approach to urban heritage

— Dedicate time and resource to understanding the community sector and working with it empathetically

— Prioritise sustainability, including funding long-term, taking a consortium approach to investing in projects, delivering end-to-end support, and using strengths of larger organisations (including the heritage bodies) to de-risk the smaller ones (i.e. community-led organisations)

7.5 Potential role for National Trust

Interviewees concurred on the four core strengths that the National Trust brings to this area of work: its brand / reputation, its convening power, its size and its heritage expertise. Interviewees noted some weaknesses – less well-known outside its rural visitor attraction model, lack of diversity in membership, low levels of current expertise in community engagement – but as areas for consideration rather than barriers. There was a general awareness of the difficulties that the Trust might face in becoming an actor in urban heritage situations: that other organisations may step back and leave the Trust to it, putting complex problems in the hands of a notably secure and sizeable organisation but risking a lack of long-term solutions when other players are absent / disempowered.

Many ideas were suggested in the course of the research for roles that were required within the urban heritage sector, and which the Trust might be able to fill. These can be summarised as:

— Use the Trust's brand and reputation to lend weight to key campaigns, e.g. to revise Community Asset Transfer

— Champion a joined-up approach across the heritage sector

— Use its size and financial stability to act as a holding company or co-owner of assets, de-risking community propositions and buying time for new organisations to establish and stabilise

— Support the development of a sustainability / contingency fund and support service for urban heritage assets in their first 10 years of operation to ensure that they are not lost to public benefit due to being owned by new, small or learning organisations

— Support or deliver a new body other than local councils to support effective running of the listings and statutory protection system for Grade II; help address the lack of expertise and resource in conservation in local councils

— Deliver training, mentoring or dedicated expert support for the community sector

That the National Trust might be able to fill some of the burgeoning funding crisis was of course suggested; that this is an unlikely and short-term approach was understood.

Overall, the idea that the National Trust would become a bigger player in the urban heritage arena was very warmly welcomed. There is huge potential for the Trust to work with willing collaborators to effect change.

8. Appendix I: Analysis of Existing Local Heritage Studies

As mentioned in the main body of the research, the HaR does not contain national data on Grade II buildings that are of immediate interest to the National Trust's current interest in urban heritage. In order to try and address this data desert, we have researched and reviewed a number of local heritage studies. These local studies can be analysed to establish whether they provide any supporting – or counter – evidence for the estimates of relevant Grade II buildings at risk produced above in section 1.4.

Figure 15, below, presents an overview of the key data that it is possible to extract from the local studies that have been identified and reviewed for the study. What should be immediately apparent is that **half of the local studies do not contain information on the condition of assets**. Of the five studies that do, **different categories are used to describe the condition of assets, making direct comparison and aggregation difficult**.

In terms of the numbers of assets, the numbers of Grade I and II* assets are much higher than might be expected on the basis of Historic England's figures that 92% of all built heritage is Grade II. For instance, in Norwich and across the North East region, Grade I and II* accounts for 38% and 28% of all assets on their local lists. Similarly, there is, therefore, less discrepancy between these two groupings in terms of buildings at risk. For instance, there are 69 Grade I and II* assets at risk in the North East, but only 34 Grade II. **In percentage terms across the five areas with information on condition, Grade I and II* are slightly more likely to be at risk than Grade II**.

Further, the wider variety of structures that get classified under Grade II may also mean that the numbers of Grade II assets contained in the figures presented in Figure 15 may overestimate the numbers of assets that a) are at risk and b) are in scope and relevant to this study. In Leicester, for example, 38

Grade II listed buildings are included on the local authority's published list of heritage at risk.[21] Of these:

— At least 10 are not of immediate interest to the National Trust given their type (domestic residence or church).[22] This leaves 28 buildings of potential interest to the National Trust (20 of which are within Conservation Areas or Registered Parks and Gardens)

— Of the remaining 28, 14 are in 'fair' condition – i.e. not at physical risk, 12 are marked 'poor' and two 'very bad'.

In this Leicester example, only 14 out of 38 Grade II listed buildings / structures in this particular area require consideration, given the National Trust's immediate interest. However, two of these seven – a telephone kiosk and an iron gate – are actually also unlikely to meet the Trust's criteria as their structures present little opportunity for heritage engagement and activity. This leaves only **12 Grade II buildings in Leicester of potential interest to the National Trust** according to a tight definition of urban heritage at risk. In **Worcester, there are no Grade II buildings which meet the National Trust's criteria**;[23] in **South Tyneside, three.**[24]

Looking at a much bigger local authority area, in Leeds:

Of the heritage at risk assets identified in a study from 2012, 81 of the 92 were Grade-II listed

Of these, three were in fair condition, leaving 78 assets at real risk

Of these 23 were ecclesiastical buildings or domestic residences, and a further 18 were assets that are likely to be of a structure that would not generate engagement from local people (e.g. weir sluice gates, boundary walls, memorials)

This still leaves many more Grade II buildings at risk in Leeds that are potentially of interest to the Trust (37) than in the other local studies noted

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[21] https://www.leicester.gov.uk/media/184084/heritage-at-risk-register-october-2017.pdf

[22] Note that this is an estimation; 'domestic residences' are not immediately identifiable from the list.

[23] https://www.worcester.gov.uk/documents/10499/4570609/HERITAGE+AT+RISK+REGISTER+2016.pdf/423e87a9-f36c-c826-37b2-4c402f584d1b

[24] file:///C:/Users/David/Downloads/LPARegister1.pdf

above. But equally – and in addition to its much greater size – it should also be noted that **Leeds also has the highest number of relevant at risk Grade I and II* assets of all local authorities in England (13)**. This provides further evidence that using the number of relevant Grade I and II* at risk buildings is a credible proxy for establishing the number of relevant Grade II buildings at risk in urban areas.

Outside of the very largest urban local authorities, the local examples above suggest that the number of potentially engaging Grade II buildings at risk in urban areas may be small. If true, this would again echo the local authority analysis of Grade I and Grade II* assets listed on the HaR.

These local studies can, however, only provide small snapshots of the much larger picture and their use is also complicated by their non-comparability. That is, **each local listing that we have reviewed incorporates some different data and utilises some different categorisations**, meaning that it is not possible to compare these local studies in detail nor aggregate across them.[25] This makes the lack of national data on non-ecclesiastical buildings outside London on Historic England's HaR all the more challenging.

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[25] Appendix 1 below provides a snapshot of the availability and coverage of local studies on heritage buildings in the eight largest English cities. Local authority studies are very patchy and often local newspaper lists are more available, albeit typically lacking information on designation and other technical details.

Figure 15 Key data on heritage assets taken from local heritage / local heritage at risk studies

Area	Total # of assets on List	GRADE I and II*				GRADE II				Note on 'Condition'
		Designation		Condition		Designation		Condition		
		No of Grade I and II*	% Grade I and II* (of Total List)	No of Grade I and II* in poor condition	% of Grade I and II* in poor condition (of all Grade I and II*)	No of Grade II	% Grade II (of Total List)	No of Grade II in poor condition	% of Grade II in poor condition (of all Grade II)	
Essex	224	33	15%	25	76%	164	73%	126	77%	*includes poor, poor but stable, very bad and very poor*
Leicester	68	15	22%	8	53%	38	56%	22	58%	*includes poor, very bad*
North East	290	82	28%	69	84%	43	15%	34	79%	*includes poor, very bad, generally unsatisfactory with major localised problems*
Worcester	20	2	10%	2	100%	12	60%	7	58%	*includes poor, very bad*
South Tyneside	13	0	0%			13	100%	13	100%	*includes poor, very bad*
Bolsover	43	3	7%			13	30%			*information on Condition not available*
East Herts	86	0	0%			71	83%			*information on Condition not available*
Gloucester	44	9	20%			34	77%			*information on Condition not available*
Norwich	29	11	38%			16	55%			*information on Condition not available*
Milton Keynes	38	4	11%			24	63%			*information on Condition not available*

Note on 'Designation'

Note that designation categories differ a lot across all area lists. Several have a wide variety of designation categories, many of which are unclear (e.g. as they include several designation categories in one row). For this table, we have included in the 'Grade I', 'Grade II' and 'Grade II' figures all entries that include any reference to these Grades in order to provide as comprehensive a picture of 'heritage at risk' as possible. Where several Grades are mentioned for one list entry, we have inlcuded it as whichever Grade is mentioned first.*

Source: BOP Consulting (2018)

9. Appendix II: Case Studies

9.1 Shoreditch Town Hall, London

Shoreditch Town Hall was opened in 1866 and was known as one of the grandest vestry halls of its time. The building has a rich history. Until the 1960s, the Town Hall operated as the centre of local democracy and civic life in the borough of Shoreditch. It also played an important role in East End working class culture, first as a music hall in the late 19th and early 20th century, and as a boxing venue from 1955 to 1975. A major fire in 1904 destroyed the Assembly Hall and the roof, following which it was repaired. A major extension of the building, including the addition of the tower, was completed in the same year. However, neglect in the 1980s and 1990s led to its inclusion on English Heritage's Buildings at Risk register in 1996.

In response, Shoreditch Town Hall Trust was formed to save the building, in 1997. Over the following years, the Trust carried out a series of essential repairs and reopened the building to the public as community and events space in 2004. In 2012, a new team was appointed and a more dynamic vision adopted to transform the building into a thriving arts destination, live events venue and community space.

1865	1904	1996	1997
Original vestry hall built	Fire destroys hall Major extension including tower	Inclusion on EH Heritage at Risk Register	Shoreditch Town Hall Trust formed to save the building

2002	2001–04	2012	
99-year lease granted by London Borough of Hackney	Initial phase of restoration works and reopening as community space	Second phase of refurbishment works Reopening with new vision as destination live arts and events venue	

9.1.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

While during the1980s and 90s, Shoreditch Town Hall had fallen into disuse, the costs of repairs, as well as the challenges faced by the local council – judged as underperforming – at the time, meant that the building was simply not a priority and was closed to the public until further notice. The inclusion on the English Heritage Buildings at Risk Register was a key factor in starting the regeneration of Shoreditch Town Hall, as it put pressure on the local council to act on the bad state the building was in and it began to explore selling the building for commercial development.

At the same time, there was a strong movement within the local community who were opposed to seeing Shoreditch Town Hall lost. Its prominent physical presence within the local area, as well as the role it had played in the community over the years, meant that many local people had a strong sense of ownership, pride and historical connection towards it. This prompted the emergence of a number of – sometimes competing – community initiatives in pursuit of saving the Town Hall. Eventually, Shoreditch Town Hall Trust was founded by key local activists representing a range of local interests including historic building preservation, environmental protection and social enterprise. Together they came up with an initial vision for the building as a centre for local business, community and cultural use and, following the most pressing restoration works, the building reopened to the public in 2004.

However, the building operated at just 15% of its available capacity and the Trust came to the conclusion that a fresh and more ambitious vision was required. This resulted in the appointment of new Director Nick Giles in 2012, who recognised the un-used potential of the building, but also the opportunities presented by its location at the heart of East London – an area that was concurrently undergoing significant change and development (including of other local heritage assets).

Element 2: Ownership / management

Considering the big portfolio of capital assets that the Borough of Hackney owned, as well as the costs associated with maintaining it, the then Liberal Democrats-led council was in favour of handing over the responsibility of the Shoreditch Town Hall to a community group. In 2002, the local authority granted a 99-year lease on the whole site to the Trust. While stopping short of transferring ownership, the agreement meant that the Trust took on full responsibility for the building. As part of the deal it was agreed that the Trust could sell long-term leases on both the annex building and adjacent car park at the rear of the building.[26] The local council also worked constructively with the Trust to sell the leases for these pieces of land. Due to the high demand of the area at the time, the income from these sales enabled them to raise the bulk of the funds (£2.85m) necessary to carry out the most pressing repairs and restoration in the first phase of development (with the remaining £650,000 coming in the form of a grant from the Heritage Lottery Foundation).

The second phase of £2.3m of capital investment in 2012 was financed through a loan from London Borough of Hackney, as well as £1m funding from the Backstage Trust, alongside a number of smaller grants from Arts Council England and other trusts and foundations.

Element 3: Restoration

The initial phase of refurbishment in the early 2000s focused on essential repairs and stabilisation works (including repairs of the roof); however, the building did not physically progress beyond this. In contrast, the second phase saw some significant changes to the asset. Most importantly, the main hall was returned to its original purpose of a public theatre auditorium, by adding seating in the stalls, power distribution and production infrastructure, as well as addressing lighting and acoustic issues. Other spaces were further refurbished to make them suitable for the new uses as office spaces for a range of creative industry companies, bars, rehearsal space and a world-class restaurant. In preparation for these works, a structural survey was commissioned and a feasibility study was carried out in-house, with minimal advice from external consultants.

In addition to the physical changes, the new director of the Trust oversaw a range of changes to the governance that enabled him to deliver the new vision, while new appointments of staff helped to build the skill base necessary to raise the required funding for it.

Elements 4 & 5: Reuse and sustainability

Up until the appointment of the new director and his team, the Trust's main focus had been on the saving of and maintenance of the heritage asset. While Nick Giles' vision was equally concerned about caring for the heritage building, he also wanted to ensure that it was being used.[27] Thus, he developed a strategy for delivering a distinctive contemporary arts programme that would firmly establish the Town Hall as a vital and unique space on the London cultural map. With this in mind, alongside major works revealed in the structural survey, a key emphasis on the beginning was to make the building suitable to obtain an entertainment license.

Today, the venue welcomes audiences of more than 28,000 people annually for the arts programme and another 50,000 for commercial events. It also offers a sophisticated education and learning programme with local schools and community groups. The building houses office space occupied by a range of creative industry companies, bars, rehearsal space and a world-class restaurant, The Clove Club. At the same time, some spaces were made available to members of the community for free or for cheaper rents, thus ensuring continued involvement with the local community.

The current operations of Shoreditch Town Hall Trust are financed through earnings from rent and events. The venue's turnover has increased from an average of £350,000 in 2012 to £1.7m in 2015–16.[28] The existing budget allows for ongoing, basic maintenance works of around £20,000–30,000 a year.

[26] Shoreditch Town Hall Trust (2017) *150 Years of Shoreditch Town Hall.* Available at http://history.shoreditchtownhall.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/STH-History-Book-150th-Anniversary.pdf

[27] According to the interviewee.

[28] Shoreditch Town Hall (2016) *Annual Report 2015/16.* Available at https://shoreditchtownhall.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Shoreditch-Annual-Report-2015-16-LR-Spreads.pdf

However, any bigger maintenance projects (for instance, the replacement of old windows) are subject to specific, additional fundraising campaigns.

9.1.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

The restoration and revival of Shoreditch Town Hall has had a range of impacts. Firstly, it has played its part in the regeneration of this part of Shoreditch. Due to the Town Hall being located at the intersection between Shoreditch and the more deprived area of Hackney, the building's surroundings always felt *"a bit shabby"*.[29] In conjunction with two other heritage assets that were redeveloped by private developers, the restoration of the Town Hall has *"helped to make it look like there is life in the area."*[30]

Secondly, the revived Shoreditch Town Hall has made an impact on the local community, by offering high-quality cultural opportunities and sophisticated education and learning programmes. Out of the more than 28,000 audiences that the venue attracts each year, a significant proportion is from the local area.[31] While in its early years of activity, the Trust's main focus was on making the building available to local people, it was actually used less than currently. This is because *"you have to give people a reason to come in. It's not a museum, so it needs to do something different…how we are going to be of value to local people."*[32] Furthermore, the education and learning programme engages more than 4,000 local children annually through a range of shows, workshops, dance groups or writing projects for children excluded from school. And although many arts organisations are doing high-quality work in this area, a key achievement of Shoreditch Town Hall is to deliver such programmes with a minimal budget. This is also possible due to the work of 75 volunteers engaged at the venue.[33]

Key success factors and restrictions

As these achievements demonstrate, the restoration of Shoreditch Town Hall is a success story in many ways. Key to the project coming off the ground were the listing on the English Heritage Buildings at Risk register and the strong community engagement that raised awareness of the importance of saving the heritage asset in the early years. The initial campaign was further helped by political support and constructive collaboration with the local authority to agree the long-term lease and to develop an innovative plan to raise finance for the initial restoration work by selling leases for the annexe building and car park.

However, although these were crucial components, they alone were not sufficient to turn Shoreditch Town Hall into the thriving venue it is today. A range of favourable circumstances came together, including the prominent location of the building which not only made it accessible and visible to future audiences, but also ensured that there were a range of businesses in the 'catchment' area – all of which contributed to making the vision viable. At the same time, the Town Hall was at the centre of an area that was undergoing significant development and gentrification. This was crucial as they *"could ride this wave. It was the right building, in the right location, at the right time. However, if you had put the building on roller skates and moved it half a mile down Hackney, the whole model wouldn't have worked."*[34]

In addition to these wider circumstances, the appointment of Nick Giles as director of the Trust in 2012 also was an important success factor. In particular, he showed great determination to deliver his vision. Despite facing opposition and hostility against his plans, he made necessary changes to the governance and management team. He also brought together a team with the necessary skills, experience and network to raise funds, and to develop and manage the restoration project. This included being very strategic about the sources of funding. For instance, other than for a small oral history project marking the 150th anniversary of the building, the team steered away from applying for

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[29] According to the interviewee.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Shoreditch Town Hall (2017) *Annual Report 2016/17*. Available at: https://shoreditchtownhall.com/about/annual-reports.html; According to the interviewee.

[32] According to the interviewee.

[33] Shoreditch Town Hall (2017) *Annual Report 2016/17*. Available at: https://shoreditchtownhall.com/about/annual-reports.html

[34] According to the interviewee.

Heritage Lottery Fund funding, since the administrative requirements were considered too burdensome. Instead, they used a more entrepreneurial approach and negotiated a capital investment loan from the local authority to fund a large part of the required works in the second phase.

Given the limited sources of public funding, they were also clear that the vision needed to ensure long-term commercial viability: *"it needed to work as a business".*[35] In line with this, the decision was made to include a high-end restaurant, rather than a café for a local audience, and that audiences should be attracted by high-quality cultural opportunities, rather than purely a space for community events. All of this was based on an honest risk assessment at the start that helped to establish the long-term sustainability of the business case.

The project also benefited from an understanding by local conservation officers that heritage buildings need to find new purposes in order to survive. This collaborative approach helped them to navigate some of the restrictions that are often placed on heritage assets.

Inevitably, the project also had to overcome a number of barriers. In the early stages, tensions between different visions among community groups locally (and within the Trust) had to be navigated. The initial group forming the Trust were also inexperienced and did not fully realise the size and challenge of taking on responsibility for the heritage asset when they signed the 99-year lease with the local authority. This included the challenge of raising money for older, Grade listed buildings that are expensive to renovate, maintain and develop new uses for. Their lack of vision and pro-activeness also prevented the building from realising its full potential.

Long-term, the main challenges arise from the uncertainty around any potential costs that could arise from future necessary works on the heritage building. Also, the interest and repayments of the loan from the local council that part-financed the second stage restoration adds additional, ongoing financial pressure, compared to other grant funding that does not need repayment. Thus, unsurprisingly, the biggest learning point for Nick Giles throughout the project was to underestimate the maintenance required: *"They break all the time!*

Things are going on and you have to respond to it, which requires a lot of money and time. The old buildings are even more of a nightmare to deal with than you might think."[36]

9.2 Ancoats Dispensary, Manchester

Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary was built between 1872 and 1874 to provide medicine to the Ancoats community. It is located within a small area just outside Manchester City Centre, known as the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, and received Grade II listing in 1974. The area still features a number of mills and other heritage sites from the late 18th and early 19th century, some of which have been saved as part of the heritage-led Ancoats Urban Village regeneration scheme to the north-west of the site in the early 2000s.

In 1989, the hospital was closed after 117 years of service. In subsequent years, the Ancoats Dispensary deteriorated and by 2011, the Victorian Society had placed it on a list of the ten most at risk heritage buildings nationwide. Demolition was proposed in the same year by Manchester City Council. In opposition to the plans, the Ancoats Dispensary Trust was founded to save the building with a vision to turn it into a community hub.

9.2.1 The project journey

In 2001, private developer Urban Splash purchased the asset and received planning permission to redevelop the landmark into housing as part of a major regeneration project of the surrounding area. Located in an area with high socio-economic deprivation, commercial viability of the project was limited and within the context of the financial

crash and public sector cuts, the experienced developer failed to secure private investment or grant funding. Deemed as 'unsustainable' for development and at a time when local authority decisions demonstrated little appreciation of, or

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[35] According to the interviewee.

[36] According to the interviewee

1872–4	1974	2001	2011
Built	Grade II listing	Private Developer purchases asset but fails to raise funds for re-development	Save Ancoats Dispensary Group formed to prevent proposed demolition
2014	**2015**	**2017**	**2018**
Partnership formed between Ancoats Dispensary Trust and igloo Regeneration	Stage 1 HLF Heritage Enterprise funding secured	Stage 2 HLF Heritage Enterprise funding bid rejected	Site handed back to Manchester City Council New plans for developing site into affordable housing with retention of historic façade

interest in, the city's heritage, Manchester City Council proposed demolition in 2011.

However, many community members had a great emotional investment in the iconic building of the Dispensary itself, as well as in local health services more generally, and believed that "*the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary is no ordinary building…it physically healed people and transformed their lives both medically and psychologically.*"[37] As a result, a reactionary, grassroots movement was born *"within a heartbeat"*[38] of demolition proposals being brought forward in 2011.

With limited resources, the group mounted a campaign that included petitions, daily vigils, press and TV appearances, a public consultation of 430+ residents, commissioning an independent structural survey, as well as gaining the influential support of the then president of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Angela Brady. While the demolition consent was approved by Manchester City Council in 2012, a stay of execution was secured by the campaign soon after. They subsequently reached an agreement with Urban

Splash, that ownership of the Dispensary would be transferred to the Trust once they had successfully raised enough funding to complete restoration.

In the following years, the community group tried to develop a vision and strategy for redevelopment. However, this was slowed down by internal differences, lack of capacity and experience, as well as the challenge of moving from a campaign group united in their opposition against a cause into a well-functioning development partner. Eventually, the Trust took the decision to look for professional advice and support, and an innovative development partnership with igloo Regeneration, a purpose-driven, responsible real estate specialist, was agreed. Together they secured Stage 1 'Heritage Enterprise' funding of £770,000 from the Heritage Lottery Fund, enabling the Trust to work towards immediate stabilisation works of Ancoats Dispensary, to develop their plans for a full restoration and to work towards a Stage 2 funding application of £4.5m.

The Trust employed a full-time chief executive, as well as other paid support staff and restructured their board of trustees. A vision was developed for the full refurbishment of the Dispensary to be used as community hub, including space for a café, fitness classes and a small community museum. However, the Trust fell short of raising the full amount of match funding required within the two-year development period. As a result, the Stage 2 application was rejected and the campaign came to an end.

In early 2018, the free-hold owner, Manchester City Council, took the building back and is now drawing up plans for affordable housing on the site with social landlord Great Places, with an ambition to maintain "as much of the fabric of the remaining building as possible."[39]

9.2.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

The envisaged refurbishment of the Dispensary and its transformation into a community hub were hoped to deliver a substantial positive impact on the

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[37] http://www.ancoatsdispensarytrust.co.uk/thestory-2.html

[38] Ibid.

[39] *Big Issue North* (2018) "Ancoats Dispensary: affordable housing plan". 13 February 2018. Available at https://www.bigissuenorth.com/news/2018/02/ancoats-dispensary-transformed-affordable-housing-seven-year-battle/

community and on the neighbourhood. Given this, and the large amount of time and money invested, disappointment was great among the project partners that it did not proceed. Nonetheless, there are a number of positive impacts that were achieved.

In terms of the heritage site, while it is now unlikely that the whole building will be saved, the current plans for development into affordable housing include the retention of the building's historic façade – which would have been demolished by the initial developer. Having raised the awareness of the heritage value of the site and its importance to the community, the retention of any such historic features can be credited to the work of the Trust and its partners.

During the course of the five-year campaign, capacity was built among community members, and the relationships between community and Manchester City Council improved and became more professional over time. Both of these may benefit other local projects in the future. Development partner igloo Regeneration also "*learnt a lot that we have taken into other aspects of our community led development work.*"[40]

While the project failure may be seen as supporting a narrative whereby community-led development is risky, the community partnership got closer to successful delivery than the previous private sector developer, despite their additional challenges of wanting to save the heritage asset. This has demonstrated the positive potential of community-led development, thus providing an argument for similar future projects.

Factors of success and key restrictions
Despite the eventual failure of the project, the campaign made great strides towards the successful redevelopment of the Ancoats Dispensary. A key success factor in their progress was the strong interest, dedication and emotional investment of local residents. This strong community concern, coupled with gaining strategic support from influential individuals in the heritage sector secured the stay of execution of the demolition, as well as an agreement with Urban Splash that ownership would be transferred once restoration funding

was secured – both of which were key requirements for any redevelopment plans. The innovative development partnership with igloo Regeneration (which was also a first for the business) provided them with professional support to secure initial funding to develop the project.

These achievements are significant, considering the context and restrictions within which the project evolved. The economic recession following the financial crash and public sector cuts had played a large part in the failure of the earlier private developer to raise sufficient funds. A general lack of interest in heritage preservation by the local authority, combined with risk aversion by the council and developers alike (who considered a cleared site more attractive and viable than an existing heritage asset fraught with potential problems) had led the council to approve the demolition of a listed building.

In addition to the lack of political support, the project was based in a socio-economically deprived area with low property values which meant that the planned end-uses built around a community vision were not going to be commercially viable. Filling this 'conservation gap' – between the costs of bringing back to use a heritage building and the value that can be generated from it – was a major challenge, since there are very few sources to provide such gap funding. Within such a competitive field, securing the Stage 2 HLF Heritage Enterprise funding proved too difficult for the community group. In particular, the two-year time limit to secure the required match funding was not sufficient. According to Chris Brown, executive chair and founder of igloo Regeneration, as with many other community groups, capacity-building takes time and the Ancoats Dispensary Trust only slowly transformed from a campaign group united in their opposition against the building's demolition into an organisation with a clear vision and fundraising strategy. However, the Trust eventually recruited a new chief executive officer as well as paid staff tasked with raising the match funding – who were unable to do so within the restricted timeframe. As Chris Brown argues, this demonstrates that successfully managing complex and multiple funding applications is a rare skill; not only among community groups, but also among professionals. Appreciating the importance of this barrier was a major learning point for him and his team at

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[40] According to the interviewee.

igloo Regeneration, too: "*I'd like to think that faced with similar circumstances we would again pursue the project but perhaps with a bigger focus on supporting the community group with its fundraising."*[41]

9.3 Portland Works, Sheffield

Portland Works, built in 1879, is a former cutlery works in the 'steel city' of Sheffield. It was the first in the world to manufacture commercial stainless steel in the early 20th century, and continued to do so until 1968. Over the next forty years, the site continued to be let by successive landlords for a variety of uses while gradually falling into disrepair.

Surveyed by English Heritage in 1995, Portland Works still retained many original features and, on the basis of its completeness and uniqueness as an example of Sheffield's manufacturing heritage, was given Grade II* listing.[42] Since 2013, Portland Works has been owned by a community benefit society which saved the Works from conversion into residential use, and is bringing it back to life as a hub for small craft and manufacturing businesses. The site sits in the 'John Street Triangle', an industrial heritage conservation area, in the inner city district of Highfield.

1879	1968	1995	2009
Built	Original building closes. Building let to multiple tenants.	Grade II* listing	Planning application for residential use & formation of "Save Portland Works" campaign

2011	2013	2015	2018
Formation of Industrial Provident Society (community benefit) & launch of fundraising campaign	Community Benefit Society takes over ownership of the building & renovation commences	Friends of Portland Works charity constituted to support fundraising	Full occupancy of existing workspaces

9.3.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

"Ravaged by half a century of neglect", in 2009 a planning application was submitted by the then landlord[43] for Portland Works to be converted into residential flats. In response, a group of tenants, activists and locals came together to oppose the plans. A first public meeting drew a substantial number of people to discuss *"what Portland meant to them and their city… and what they felt might be lost".*[44] The site meant many things to many people: livelihood, heritage, community, affordable creative space. Two issues were seen as overriding: practically, the remaining tenants of Portland Works who still used the machinery on site would not be able to simply move their work elsewhere, and were in danger of going out of business; emotionally, there was a real interest in preserving Sheffield's stainless steel heritage.

The resulting 'Save Portland Works' campaign group aimed to keep the factory as a place of work. It garnered early support from some local councillors and

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[41] According to the interviewee.

[42] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1271036

[43] A local businessman, *"one of a chain of owners over the previous fifty years who were (I believe), property speculators",* according to one of the interviewees

[44] http://www.portlandworks.co.uk/the-campaign-to-save-portland-works/

MPs. The group realised that, beyond opposing the conversion into residential use, they needed to offer a viable alternative. Given the site's dilapidated state, there were few legal grounds to oppose the planning application, and – given the landlord was still making an income from the site – if it were turned down, *"[he] would probably seek to raise rents and […] offer little in return"* .[45] It was decided to work towards buying the Works outright, converting it into a hub for small-scale manufacturing, thereby ensuring the survival of traditional skills and encouraging new businesses. A Steering Group of around 20 people – tenants and members of the local community – was set up to meet fortnightly and lead the campaign *"in a cooperative spirit"*.

Element 2: Ownership / management

To get the ball rolling, the group undertook an audit of Portland Works to gain a current picture of the site's usage, finding that *"far from being under-used, […] the Works was contributing positively to the local economy".* A website was also set up to keep the public up-to-date and enable the campaign group to be contacted. Support from the local art scene helped raise the profile of the campaign, followed by gradual press attention and acknowledgement from the City Council. A business plan was developed for the Works' purchase, management and renovation.[46] The Council provided some early small amounts of grant funding to support start-up costs and building surveys etc.; further small funds were received from Sheffield Town Trust and the South Yorkshire Community Foundation for admin costs and to support organised open days.

In parallel, the group was in negotiation with the landlord and in 2011 an 'offer in principle' to buy the Works was secured. The decision was taken to form an Industrial Provident Society (community benefit) – Portland Works Little Sheffield Ltd (PWLS) – to purchase the property with funds raised through a mixed-model approach, via share sales as well as through grants and donations; *"we would never have raised £250,000 through donations. Asking for*

£100 per shareholding was a good move".[47] Interestingly, shareholders knew that *"the shares are effectively a donation – […] each shareholder gets one vote regardless of the number of shares bought; we are not expecting a dividend. That was made pretty clear".* Loans were negotiated with the Architectural Heritage Fund[48] and Key Fund; small grants were received from a range of sources to fund small repairs, an environmental survey, and to develop a plan of works.[49] The share sale launched to raise £200,000 through the sale of shares to the community by January 2012. This deadline had to be extended, but the campaign received a boost through Portland Works being featured nationally on BBC's *Heritage Heroes.* A further £100,000 was borrowed informally from supporters.

Throughout this time, PWLS found itself in ongoing negotiations with Portland Works' owners to agree the final sale price. Agreement was finally reached in 2012 on the basis of a staged purchase over three years. This required a further £100,000 to be urgently raised – a *"gamble"* that successfully paid off: the funds were raised through further shares sales, boosted by a bond offer to shareholders. In February 2013, Portland Works officially changed ownership in one of the largest community purchases in the UK to date.[50]

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[45] Ibid.

[46] With help of the local Cooperative Enterprise Hub. University of Sheffield students also mapped potential uses of the building.

[47] Average shareholding is actually around £500 across 500 individuals.

[48] According to one of the interviewees, *"AHF particularly were priceless with help and cash".*

[49] From J.G. Graves Trust, Freshgate Foundation, SCC Area Assembly and EH/AHF Cold Spots, Key Fund (*Sources of Grant Funding 2009–2014*, provided by Mark Pickering, Chairman of the Friends of Portland Works).

[50] Image credit: http://www.friendsofportlandworks.org/

Elements 3 & 4: Restoration & reuse

A part-time manager was employed by PWLS to manage the running and restoration of the Works, and the most urgent repair works begun. An up-to-date business plan was developed (2014) and a programme of renovations is now ongoing in a phased process as further funding is secured.[51] This aims to restore the Works into *"decent low-cost workspace where we can promote creativity and small-scale manufacturing by skilled craftspeople, and provide opportunities for young people to become the craftspeople of tomorrow"*.[52] Further surveys have been undertaken throughout the years to better understand the historic significance of the building, its condition and challenges.[53]

Restoration work on the original showroom and adjacent offices were completed first, making space for a large artists' studio and four small workshops; following this, three further workshops were brought back into use. Most recently, a larger space was refurbished as a space to rent out. No 'big changes' have been made to the building or are planned. Building works predominantly consist of gradually renovating the entire building, focusing on those areas that are most in need – e.g. windows, repointing brick walls – and waiting for further work spaces to become free (e.g. a tenant moving out) before bringing these up to contemporary standard (e.g. decoration, fit out, fire regulations, rewiring, insulation etc.). By Spring 2019, PWLS had completed a HLF-funded project to replace five roofs.[54] Other specific elements of the renovation – e.g. replacing guttering and pipe work, repairing wall sections – have been funded by a range of donors, including local rotary clubs, Sheffield Town Trust, charitable trusts and individual donations.[55]

Restoration works are largely undertaken by a team of 20+ dedicated volunteers, including a retired builder and surveyor. The builder and surveyor assess and manage the projects and *"take a view as to whether a professional*

contractor is needed".[56] The presence of two volunteers with relevant professional backgrounds has helped make the best use of the volunteers, and *"has made a terrific difference to [their] confidence".* Similarly, one volunteer who used to work for English Heritage can advise on listed building consent etc.

In 2015, The Friends of Portland Works was formed as a registered charity specifically to raise funds for the ongoing renovation works. The Friends work towards attracting donations from commercial companies, charitable organisations and individuals through grant applications and fundraising events. This frees up time for the PWLS directors to focus on the ongoing management of the Work, as well as opening up access to such trusts and foundations as will only fund charities. Four local charities have been particularly supportive, and thanks also to many personal donations, FOPW has already paid for projects worth £25,000.

Element 5: Sustainability

Portland Works is now owned by more than 500 community shareholders and continues to be managed by the Community Benefit Society. The site has been reborn as a hub for small manufacturing, independent artists and craftspeople. Around 45 diverse businesses are located across 2600 square metres of floorspace, including knife makers, jewellers, cabinetmakers, artists, guitar makers, photographers, a gin distillery and a high-tech Computer Numerical Control (CNC) manufacturer.[57] Some of the metal trade businesses at the Works continue to use original machinery and tools located at the site.

A small display room about Portland Works has been created for use during tours,[58] as well as a large community / education space, The Makerspace. Supported by a grant from the Foyle Foundation for its equipment, the latter is now available for hire for a variety of activities including education (e.g. lectures, exhibitions, receptions, meetings, etc.). While this space could have been

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[51] Portland Works Conservation Statement (http://kmc7m3umgf42govt6lmcil8u.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Portland-Works-%E2%80%93-Conservation-Statement.pdf)

[52] http://www.portlandworks.co.uk/what-we-do/

[53] Including a Conservation Management Plan carried out by Wessex Architecture in 2014.

[54] Update provided by interviewee in April 2019. The HLF Grant application was written by the PWLS, following an unsuccessful bid for a larger HLF grant three years ago.

[55] Donations and grants tend to be for specific physical projects (e.g. replace guttering, repair windows etc.)

[56] According to one of the interviewees.

[57] PWLS deliberately focuses on manufacturing, craft and metal workers.

[58] This is not open to the public but is used as part of tours, during open days etc.

profitably turned into three rented workshops instead, the PWLS always aimed to provide an educational offer and sees The Makerspace as a key part in reaching this aim. PWLS also collaborates with a range of universities in Sheffield, the UK and across Europe, developing mutually beneficial research projects.[59] The Works is not generally publicly accessible, except for monthly tours, and bi-annual events also aim to *"invite shareholders, neighbours and the public inside to learn about the history of the building and see the progress [being made] to preserve it"*.[60] In September 2018, for example, Portland Works took part in the national 'Heritage Open Days', welcoming more than 320 people. About 1,000 members of the public visited the works in 2018.

PWLS continues to be predominantly run by a team of unpaid volunteers, headed by a board of 12 elected volunteer directors. The directors come from a wide range of backgrounds, including current tenants as well as those with relevant specialisms (e.g. finance, communications, marketing), and are elected at an AGM every three years. They are supported by the now full-time salaried site manager, financed through rental income and donations. Working on the basis of policies determined by the directors, the site manager *"holds everything together"*: looking after tenants, volunteers and contractors; sourcing building material; liaising with outside stakeholders. The current HLF grant is also financing a part-time outreach officer for two years to help raise awareness of the Works, connect with universities and schools, and raise engagement with the local population. Management is supported by 25 volunteers with tasks across administration, event planning, etc.[61]

The site takes a mixed-financing approach. Income is generated primarily through the tenants – the workshops currently operate at full occupancy and PWLS gets frequent inquiries about available space – supplemented by hire of *The Makerspace* and event income (e.g. open days, volunteer-led tours).[62] Income now exceeds the Works' operating costs, heading towards £90,000 this year. At the same time, shares can still be bought, and donations and grants

continue to be sought with the help of the Friends and by the PWLS directly to finance ongoing restoration – as Derek Morton says, *"the key factor restricting us is cash – we can never get enough!"*.[63]

9.3.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

The primary impact of the project has been the PWLS's achievement to retain working space for new and existing businesses, and to preserve a piece of Sheffield's industrial heritage. There is now more space available for businesses than previously, and Portland Works can offer businesses attractive workspaces rather than the dilapidated *"rubbish stores"* volunteers first encountered on site. Overall, PWLS has proven that such activity, with a focus on heritage restoration alongside manufacturing and craft skills, can be turned into a financially viable business.

There is also an important social impact through volunteering: many volunteers are retired and enjoy being part of a working environment together with like-minded people. Volunteers feel that their work is worthwhile – restoration is enhancing the local street scape as well as preserving a piece of local history and *"we can see progress being made physically and financially"*.[64]

Key success and problem factors throughout the journey

Despite various challenges, Portland Works has had a relatively smooth journey from the initial start of the campaign group to today.

The key challenge was the heritage asset itself: an *"unprepossessing-looking building"* with structural problems, which might well have *"overwhelmed a volunteer organisation with little finance"*. The building was still in private ownership, although generating a very low income in the expectation of it being developed. It offered the potential of increased returns through sale as living

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[59] For example, live Projects with postgraduate students, such as hosting Masters in Architecture and architectural design Ssudents for a live project to help develop Makerspace.

[60] According to one of the interviewees.

[61] While numbers have remained relatively stable, PWLS and the Friends are continuously seeking further volunteers for both regular and occasional work.

[62] Tours are charged at £4 or £5 per head and include a talk, presentation, viewing tenants / workshops and light refreshments.

[63] In the last 18 months, grants totalling around £14,000 have been raised (e.g. ERDF funding, J. Paul Getty Jr. Trust)

[64] According to one of the interviewees.

space – in other words, a financial asset for the owners, rather than a liability they would have been keen to offload. This resulted in long and protracted negotiations to agree a sale price. However, the evolving buzz generated across Sheffield, *"which is small enough for that to happen, [with] many local people with relatives in the cutlery industry"* helped the group to find an agreement with the landlord as *"it could have been embarrassing for him to pursue his plan to evict the tenants and convert the place into residential units"*.

The campaign group's process of getting press and media attention, acknowledgement from the Council as to the site's heritage value, as well as the gradual development of a sound business plan for the purchase, management and restoration of the building, is furthermore described as *"long and grinding"*,[65] clearly taking huge commitment and dedication from a core group of volunteers.

And this is what is felt to be the project's key success factor: *"a fantastic amount of determination and hard-headed enthusiasm"*. This latter was particularly crucial: well-qualified people got involved in the campaign from the start, providing relevant expertise, experience and knowledge (e.g. architects, fundraisers, heritage experts).[66] Further expertise was actively generated, e.g. through organising a conference / workshop by the Knowledge Transfer Partnership on *"how the campaign group's priorities would be translated into how the place should be owned and managed"*.[67] Critically, *"heads were involved, not just hearts"*, and real consideration was given to the project's viability and long-term sustainability. This is much to the credit of the board, who combined clarity of vision with financial caution, inspiring trust in lenders, tenants and funders.

Key success and problem factors for ongoing sustainability

A key factor in PWLS's ongoing success will be the popularity of its workshops – so far, Portland Works appears *"in a stable situation financially and in terms of its concept – offering low-cost workshops for small manufacturing businesses"*. Similarly, ongoing fundraising success will be crucial – the £100k HLF grant has

provided significant support, but there is need for substantial further sums (around £500k). Good budgetary control is also vital – the company has now built up some reserves, which help safeguard PWLS against the eventuality that current bond holders will demand pay-out at a future date. A substantial part of PWLS' income comes from rents, and there is a clear limit to the rate at which these can be increased without threatening the viability of existing businesses and taking into account both the market and the quality of the workspace on offer.

These elements rely on PWLS to be able to rely on a good team with relevant expertise to lead the company. Ongoing enthusiasm from volunteers across all areas is no less important: at present, the 'restoration' volunteers come one day a week – a significant time and skills requirement.

Interestingly, an additional challenge for the PWLS lies in getting together the shareholders for the annual AGM. Shareholders are based across the country, and with many buying their shares in effect as a donation to Portland Works, *"what is the attraction in going [to the AGM] when everything is going well?"* The AGMs are however a legal requirement and PWLS could face legal issues if missing the required number of attendees.

Lastly, Portland Works continues to struggle to engage with its immediate community – relatively deprived and ethnically diverse – with turn-out to events targeted at local people so far less successful than hoped. While not an immediate threat to its sustainability (volunteers come from all over the city), local engagement is a key aim. Similarly, Portland Works is finding that engaging with local schools can be difficult due to the restrictive nature of school budgets. Both these gaps are within the outreach officer's remit, and it is hoped that dedicated outreach and events will encourage more interest in future.

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[65] http://www.portlandworks.co.uk/the-campaign-to-save-portland-works/

[66] As one of the interviewees described the early days, *"there was amazing energy around the project. Experts kept turning up at the right time with free advice...there seemed to be a unstoppability about the work"*.

[67] This resulted in the decision to form the Industrial Provident Society (Community Benefit) as preferred model of purchase.

9.4 Underfall Boatyard, Bristol

Underfall Boatyard, built between 1880 and 1890 to support the maintenance of Bristol Docks and service the dock machinery, is located in central Bristol on the river Avon, in the heart of Bristol's historic harbour area. It is home to a range of Victorian buildings, including a patented slipway, dock buildings, pump house, workshops, as well as original dockland machinery.

With large parts of the yard falling into disuse since the 1970s, the mission to rescue it from dereliction or development was first launched in the late 1990s. Today, it is a Scheduled Ancient Monument,[68] and has been re-invented as a thriving centre of maritime industry and visitor attraction.

1880–90	From 1970s	1997	2012
Construction of Boatyard begins	Parts of the Boatyard fall into disuse and dereliction	Underfall Yard Trust formed to rescue Boatyard from dereliction Parts of Boatyard leased by Council to Trust	Endangered by overall dock improvement scheme

2014–18	2016	2018
HLF Project to preserve the Boatyard, improve public access and engagement and ensure Boatyard's long-term viability Entire yard leased by Council to Trust	Visitor centre and café opened to the public	Full tenancy of workshops and offices

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[68] https://www.nationalhistoricships.org.uk/page/shipshape/underfall-boat-yard-shipshape-bristol-channel-project

[69] According to the interviewee.

9.4.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

"A wonderful bit of Victorian dock buildings and slipway",[69] the City Council-owned Underfall Boatyard gradually fell into disuse and dereliction from the late 1970s, although it continued to house the Council's Harbourmaster function. In the late 1990s, local architect and boat enthusiast Simon Clark took an interest in the yard and joined forces with then Harbourmaster Richard Smith. Both were concerned that the empty buildings at the yard may be turned into 'yuppy flats', as was happening elsewhere following introduction of a policy supporting the conversion of buildings into residential use. Their incentive to save Underfall from redevelopment was two-fold: while Simon Clark was keen to preserve it as an important part of Bristol's maritime heritage, Richard Smith aimed to avoid any residential space being built in the middle of a working harbour area operating 24 hours a day. The two formed Underfall Yard Trust in 1997, initially with the primary aim of restoring the slipway, main shed and blacksmiths, and bringing them back into use for maritime businesses.

At that point, several external factors helped raise awareness of and support the Trust's aim. At the other end of the harbour area, a replica of John Cabot's *The Matthew* was being built to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the voyage.[70] This *"attracted a group of young enthusiastic boat builders to the area, [which] gave impetus to the idea of creating a home to wooden boat building at Underfall"*. In addition, the school curriculum strongly encouraged involvement with local history and infrastructure. At the same time, there was a movement to link up the harbour walk-way and connect the harbour area with the city, thereby bringing together much of the disconnected harbourside heritage. SS Great Britain and the Clifton Suspension Bridge were going through a HLF Project, M-Shed, the Arnolfini and Watershed were being restored. On a wider level, the city's overall transport links were being revamped to address congestion problems and introduce a new bus system. *"All these factors aligned with Underfall for it to become more important than its size dictates".*[71].

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[70] Sailed by John Cabot in 1497 from Bristol to North America.

[71] According to the interviewee.

Element 2: Ownership / management

Underfall Boatyard Trust was initially set up by Simon and Richard as a vehicle through which they would be able to apply for grants. In establishing the Trust and initiating the project, the two were supported by the owners of the Boatyard, Bristol City Council, and received pro-bono advice (e.g. legal advice from the Bristol office of legal practice Osborne Clarke).[72] The Council saw the value of retaining the yard, but was keen to transfer responsibility for the upkeep and restoration of the disued parts. It gave the Trust a 50-year lease of these buildings, supported it with the required legal procedures, and provided financial support to the Trust's early renovating activity. Two further buildings, Shed 95 and J Block, were subsequently also leased to the Trust when they fell out of use.[73]

Following this initial spurt of activity, the Trust *"went to sleep"* for the next decade, and the two founding members moved on. Then in 2012, new developments catalysed a re-activation of the Trust. The dock infrastructure – up till then powered by Victorian hydraulic pumps – was electrified, resulting in a reduced need for engineers and machinery at the yard. This coincided with the onset of austerity, resulting in a significant reduction to the harbourmaster functions, and the Council thus requiring less space at the Yard. With the Trust keen to take over the newly vacated buildings, plans were set in motion to lease the entire yard to the Trust.

This meant that the Trust was able to significantly ramp up their ambitions for Underfall Boatyard, and priority was therefore given to securing an HLF grant. Preparing the bid took a significant amount of time and energy. It was written jointly by some of the trustees and professional support – *"we speculated some trust money on professional help to write the HLF application"*. Further support was received pro-bono, for example from Osborne Clarke, who provided invaluable legal advice on issues such as leasing, regulations, VAT and accounting. The advice was counted as match funding in the HLF bid.[74]

Following receipt of the HLF grant in 2014, the old leases between the Trust and Council were annulled and the Trust was given a new 50-year lease of the entire Underfall Yard.[75] While this was officially granted through a Community Asset Transfer (CAT), it was somewhat of a *'pragmatic fudge'* to get the lease into place. The nature of CAT Service Level Agreements (SLA), with requirements to make space available for community activity, did not fully fit the activities and aims of the Trust, with the result that the SLA was *'very watered down'* and the final lease is now not a CAT lease. A tenancy agreement was put in place by which the Council rents back part of the yard from the Trust (e.g. for ongoing harbourmaster activity), thereby producing a basic income for the Trust. It was planned from the start that the Council's requirements in the yard would gradually diminish, giving the Trust time to bring in other tenants. The lease was *"very supportive for the Trust – within the first five years, the Council could bring their occupation of the Yard to an end, but was required to continue paying rent for up to a year until another tenant was found"*. Given the interest the Trust is seeing from prospective tenants, they are now keen for this process to move ahead more quickly.

Elements 3 & 4: Restoration & reuse

With the Trust gradually taking over more and more parts of Underfall Boatyard between 1997 and 2014, restoration and regeneration has also taken place in an iterative way. In the first stage, the Trust negotiated a variety of grants to help bring the main shed, slipway and blacksmiths back into use. Restoration of

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[72] Current chairman Ian Wilkinson, who came on board in 1999, is a partner at the firm.

[73] Image credit: http://www.3sixtyrealestate.co.uk/news/news-03-2018-reinstatement-cost-assessment-underfall-yard.htm

[74] Worth around £150,000 – the interviewee pointed to the benefit of a direct connection with the senior management team at the legal practice. Without the personal connection, the practice would not necessarily have gotten *"quite so involved"*.

[75] From the Cumberland Road car park to Nova Scotia Place, including A, C, D and E Blocks, the pump and power houses, the slipway, and the knuckle quay.

the slipway has meant a small steady income for the Trust since then.[76] At the same time, the Trust got the relevant buildings listed as Protected Ancient Monuments to protect them from any potential future change of use. The Trust's take over of successive buildings meant that it could restore these, too. New tenants were brought in, supporting the Trust's aim to gradually return the yard into a thriving and sustainable working boatyard and home to maritime enterprises. At the same time, some buildings continued to be occupied by the Council's harbour management.

The developments in 2012 represented a watershed moment for the Trust. With the *"active support and encouragement of the City Council"*,[77] it developed a new strategy to determine the best use of the entire site. The resulting £4m masterplan focused on the ambition to transform the yard into a 'Maritime Centre of Excellence', by preserving the historic buildings and machinery; providing new workshops and studio offices; bringing in further maritime jobs and traditional skills; creating a visitor centre *"to encourage people to learn about the history and operation of Bristol Docks"*; improving the yard's infrastructure; and ensuring its financial viability. A significant part of the funding for these goals was covered by the HLF grant in 2014, which funded three years of capital works and funded activity, with (financial) match funding received from a range of trusts and foundations[78] as well as individuals. Once the first round of funding came through, the Trust was able to put in place a full professional team; including a fundraiser.

In terms of restoring the Boatyard, the Trust's goals for the HLF project firstly included the restoration of the historic buildings and machinery, and improvement of public access. In this, it aimed to *"retain the unique character of the Underfall Yard, keeping it as a working and productive place, not a […] museum"*.[79] Building works – delivered through contractors – were therefore kept as light touch as possible to retain the site's purpose as a professional

working yard. In line with this, a further goal of the HLF project was the nurturing and supporting of maritime skills, through provision of workshops, training and learning. The Trust thus set out the rule that tenants should have maritime links wherever possible, to feed into the Trust's objective of supporting maritime skills and retain the yard's maritime heritage as well as *"create a bit of a hub"*. To date, tenants include a number of enterprises – from wooden boat building, to marine engineering, metal working, training provision,[80] to a film production company that, e.g., worked on post-production for BBC's Blue Planet. The Council harbourmaster and dock engineer also continue to be based at the yard.

Nevertheless, alongside the key aim to retain the working life of the yard, the Trust's aim (and further goal of the HLF grant) was also always to improve engagement and understanding of the yard and its heritage among the public. Prior to the HLF project, *"engagement with the local community was very ad hoc and word of mouth"*. To address this element, a new visitor centre was built at the yard, alongside an education space and café which opened in March 2016.[81]

Element 5: Sustainability

Underlying all HLF project goals set out above, the final specified goal was that of enhancing the yard's sustainability to ensure its long-term viability. Having now come to the end of the HLF-funded activity, the Trust feels *"pretty optimistic about the Yard being economically sustainable"*. With income from the tenants at the yard, the Trust is now operating at a small surplus of £20,000–30,000 per year. Additional income is generated through the slipway and the café on site, which pays a rent to the Trust as well as 5% of its turnover.[82] All income goes back into the maintenance of the yard and buildings as well as to support staff costs.

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[76] Boat owners are charged a fee for the use of the slipway when they have boats mended.

[77] http://www.bristol-business.net/scheme-launched-to-give-historic-bristol-boatyard-site-new-lease-of-life/

[78] For example, Pilgrim Trust, Sainsbury Trust, Getty Foundation.

[79] http://www.underfallyard.co.uk/about/the-trust/

[80] For example, Bristol Maritime Academy; Avon Scout Sailing Section; outdoor pursuits at Bristol harbour.

[81] Funding for the visitor centre came from the HLF project as well as AIM Biffa Award, National Heritage Landmark Partnership Scheme, Wolfson Foundation, Garfield Weston Foundation, Headley Trust, Pilgrim Trust, J Paul Getty Foundation and others.

[82] The decision to sublet the café was a pragmatic one due to lack of capacity to operate the café within the Trust; however, according to the interviewee *"this decision is continually under review"*.

As a significant step up from the early days in which the yard was managed by trustees supported by one part-time yard manager, the HLF-project allowed the Trust to take on four full-time staff, who are now funded by yard income. These include a director, community, learning & volunteer manager, finance & admin coordinator and site & machinery coordinator. In addition to addressing the *"need for more management"* that has come with the yard's increased cashflow, turnover and rent roll, these staff have allowed the yard to take on more public activity, run an education programme for schools and communities, and recruit a larger number of volunteers. To support this, the Trust now has a fully developed activity and outreach plan as well as a recruitment programme for volunteers. Demonstrating its success, the number of volunteers has increased substantially, from a handful at the beginning to around 180 at present, most of whom are local residents. The volunteers play a key role in the day-to-day running of the yard and the public activities on offer by doing guided tours, helping with restoration work, operating machinery or designing educational activity. Public activities include the yard's visitor centre and café, as well as its education offer and participation in other visitor events such as Heritage Weekends. The education activity on offer is proving very successful, with high demand from local schools and organisations such as South Bristol Youth.

Going forwards, the aim is for Underfall Boatyard to move from a funded environment to an 'income environment', with all income derived from the yard's activities. Some plans to support this are already underway. New office-style space has been created on the upper floors of the yard buildings. The Trust is in talks with a marine robotics business to take over some of this space and is keen to let further spaces to a marine architect, to create a 'one stop shop' at the yard, where boats can be designed, built and operated. While the yard's education activity does not at present bring in an income, plans are in place to launch a skills development programme with paid courses. The Trust is also considering applying for another HLF project to further enhance the yard's sustainability through additional boatbuilding activity and to create a better education space.[83] This may require the Trust to take on new assets, by

rebuilding a building which was destroyed in the World War II and transforming it into a state-of-the-art education space.

9.4.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

Overall, the project's impact is felt to have been highly positive. Historically valuable buildings have been saved from underuse and dereliction and given a new, and appropriate, economic use. Around 20 new jobs have been brought to the yard (through the Trust's own activity as well as its tenancies) and (traditional) maritime skills are being supported through the creation of this new hub. For the wider public, the yard now offers attractive volunteering activities for over 100 volunteers, and a popular new visitor destination at that end of the Bristol harbour. The yard has had around 180,000 visitors since the HLF project, and the Trust *"has been surprised by the volunteer and footfall numbers"*.

Key success and problem factors throughout the journey

A number of elements were particularly important in guaranteeing the success of the journey from identification to regeneration. From the beginning, enthusiasts came together, who had different reasons for saving the yard but agreed on a future for the yard as a regenerated hub of maritime industry. Strong external support played an invaluable supporting role: from the Council recognising the yard's value and transferring the lease at favourable conditions; to funders such as HLF providing the necessary funds to transform the yard; to experts providing ongoing pro-bono advice. The latter was crucial: *"just bits of advice here and there would not have been enough"*.

However, a number of uncontrollable external factors also played into the Trust's hands: expensive dilapidated buildings coupled with shrinking functions and austerity meant that the Council was keen to rid itself of financial liabilities, thereby providing an opportunity for the Trust. This was further supported by the government's 'Big Society' agenda, which supported a shift from government to

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[83] The current one is described by the interviewee as *"dark, cold and tucked away"*.

local organisations. Beneficial developments in the surrounding area helped raise the yard's profile.

On top of this, the funding received from HLF and other funders was instrumental in making it all happen. However, here also lay one of the key problems faced: the limited amount of time and experience among trustees in dealing with an HLF application and project. According to Ian, developing the application itself is so time-consuming that charities are *"exhausted by getting the funding",* and they found some trustees / volunteers left as they had simply *"had enough".* Lack of experience also meant that errors were made in the effort to see through the funding application: the Trust found that their initial costings during round one of the application came in significantly higher than planned. As a result, it went through a cost-cutting exercise by cutting the costs of some of the finishes in the restoration process. The subsequent tendering phase however resulted in lower costs than anticipated after all. Ultimately, this has meant that more money now needs to be invested to bring the renovated offices spaces up to a high enough standard to rent them out – the Trust had not realised at the time the *"difference in requirements between boat builders and office tenants".* In retrospect, *"we should have […] suggested to the HLF that we would look at cost savings only once the building works had been tendered"*.[84] All of this highlights that *"project experience is really important".* The issue also highlights a second fundamental difficulty in caring for such assets: the balance required in restoration works between heritage requirements (e.g. traditional high-quality fittings) and the requirements to create contemporary usable space – all on a budget.

Key success and problem factors for ongoing sustainability

Three factors are particularly crucial to ensuring Underfall Boatyard's ongoing sustainability. First and foremost is ongoing interest from existing and new tenants to rent space at the yard. While *"losing three tenants at once would cause difficulty",* the Trust so far has had no problems in finding new tenants

and is keen to start a new project to generate further lettable space. Coupled with this comes careful financial management – with income carefully re-invested into the yard: *"actively managing the tenants and controlling the costs will be essential".* While the ultimate goal is to move towards an 'income environment', having an experienced fundraiser on board has been a huge bonus. While initially sceptical, staff would now recommend it to others in a similar position and see it as an important investment by the yard to retain this skill.[85] Lastly, the high level of community interest that the yard is experiencing is helping to raise its profile making it a more active and bustling environment as well as bringing in an income through the café and paid activities and enhancing its attraction for funders.

On the other hand, the yard has some ongoing issues to face, with two standing out: the competition for heritage funding, and the difficulty in finding dedicated trustees who can give a substantial amount of time to the yard. Both issues are strongly interlinked. Given the competition for heritage funding, funders tend to *"require perfection",* which often includes questions around broad diversity. While they are keen to do better in this area, it is proving very difficult – simply finding suitable candidates willing to become a trustee is difficult enough. While the yard has had no trouble recruiting volunteers, it is a consistent challenge to find and retain eight trustees, as their role requires more time as well as a high level of responsibility and liability, which *"scares people off".*[86] Those who do volunteer for the role tend to be retired, middle class, white, and more often male than female.[87] While Ian thinks the gender imbalance may naturally rectify itself over time, it is a constant struggle to get younger people involved – very few people in their 30s and 40s "*have the time and inclination to give their limited free time to work on a trust".* Company Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes also tend to be unsuitable to providing such long-term support as is required for the role of trustees, as they are more likely to support individual projects on an annual basis. However, the Trust is trying to *"push the message that employees could gain valuable skills by being a trustee".*

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[84] According to the interviewee.

[85] Because *"professional fundraisers have relationships and understand grantees' drivers, which you don't get by just going through an application form".*

[86] The interviewee feels he has been chairman for *"longer than he should be"* but continues in the role due to the difficulties in finding a successor.

[87] While there is currently a gender balance, the "*engineering heritage of the yard means it is easier to attract male trustees"* at present.

This presents a '*chicken-and-egg*' situation: it is felt that getting funding for a new project in the first place would be an important step in creating added interest and bringing more diversity into the trustee body, as *"to attract a diverse range of people and funding, you constantly need to find a new project"*. Not least, this requires more time for forward planning from the yard's director, who at present is still finding much of her time taken over by finishing the past HLF project.

Lastly, a further difficulty faced by the yard lies in the reduced support from an initially very supportive City Council. Growing budgetary pressure at the Council means not only that it is no longer able to financially support the yard, but also that the yard has lost its access to supportive council officers and politicians. Staff shortage and high turnover has meant that it is increasingly difficult to find anyone to engage in the yard's core business when required (e.g. sort out parking issues at the yard, unpaid rents).

9.5 Hornsey Town Hall, London

The local government of Hornsey purchased a piece of land in Crouch End in 1920 to establish a new municipal centre for the area. In 1933, Hornsey launched an architectural competition to encourage new design ideas for the building which would veer away from traditional Victorian and Edwardian styles.[88] The winning design by a New Zealand-based architect drew on the Dutch modernist architecture and Art Deco design movements.[89] Between 1935 and the 1960s Hornsey Town Hall was a key political, cultural and social hub of North London. But in 1965, with the consolidation of London's boroughs, Hornsey was folded into Haringey Council which relocated its civic functions to Wood Green, leaving the building largely underused aside from a few functions.

1935	1981	2000	2004	2012–2018	2018–2021
Building Completed	Grade II listing	Hornsey Town Hall added to the English Heritage at Risk Register	Formation of an advisory council for Hornsey Town Hall (evolved into a Community Partnership Board then a trust)	Interim cultural use of Hornsey Town Hall incl. ongoing events and work by ANA Arts Projects / Hornsey Town Hall Arts Centre	Restoration and redevelopment of Hornsey Town Hall being undertaken by Far East Consortium Ltd.

9.5.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

Since the 1960s, a lack of investment in the building led to an accumulation of maintenance issues resulting in the Hall falling into disrepair. By the late 1990s, the Council had the intention to sell the property to the highest bidder with little consideration for the historic and community value of the building.

Around 2002 the group Crouch End for People formed to put pressure on the Council to pay more attention to and encourage reinvestment in the Town Hall so that it could be adapted for community use. This campaign led the Council to reconsider what might be possible for the building, leading in 2004 to a series of public meetings and the formation of an advisory panel. The advisory panel, which was comprised of a mix of local officials and expert local residents, transitioned into a more formal Community Partnership Board to look at possibilities for the site and to guide the local council through a partnership working model.[90]

Extensive public consultation carried out during this period found strong local interest in the project with the main public priorities for the building being

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[88] *A Brief History of Hornsey Town Hall*. Hornsey Historical Society. https://hornseyhistorical.org.uk/brief-history-hornsey-town-hall/

[89] Image credit: Hornsey Historical Society.

[90] According to the interviewee.

identified as creative arts use, as a community facility, educational programming and business space.[91]

Element 2: Ownership / management

The Community Partnership Board evolved into the Hornsey Town Hall Creative Trust (now the Hornsey Town Hall Trust), which incorporated in 2007 and received charitable status in 2010. Working in partnership with the Council, the Trust was responsible for stewarding the development of the property to finalise the development brief for the hall and act as an advisory body for its restoration.

Haringey Council awarded the Trust a grant to bring in a chief executive (as the organisation was run through volunteer efforts) and business planner to explore different options for the building. Following a feasibility study in 2008, the Trust was given the green light to pursue development of the building and an architect was appointed to take the restoration forward.[92]

The intention set out by the Council was for the sale and development of the land to the rear of the Hall into flats to fund the significant restoration costs for the main building. In 2010, Haringey Council approved planning for the restoration of Hornsey Town Hall, the development of the land to the rear, and for the development of an arts centre onsite.

In 2011, the Council entered into discussions with Mountview Academy of Theatre Arts to relocate all of their operations and performances to Hornsey Town Hall, with Mountview receiving £482,600 in development funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund to pursue the project.[93] After multiple years of planning and appraisals, it was ultimately determined in 2015 that Mountview's bid to become a cultural anchor tenant for the Hall would be unviable due to an inability to procure the £28 million in project costs.[94]

During that period, Haringey Council and the Hornsey Town Hall Trust undertook two gateway reviews to assess where the project stood and what

their options were moving forward. The reviews recommended against a mixed-use option, advocating for the need for an anchor tenant to underwrite the arts operation.

Looking for a developer / tenant who could cover the full costs of restoration and provide for a long-term and sustainable financial future for the property, Haringey Council opened up a procurement process in alignment with EU regulations in 2015, with a tender document released in 2016. The vision set out by the Council for the development was for one that would be high quality, support economic development, be commercially sound and deliverable, and deliver a strong community focus.[95] Potential developers were required to undertake a pre-qualification questionnaire (PQQ) to demonstrate financial viability and their ability to align with a Community Use Agreement established by the Council.

Hong Kong-based developer Far East Consortium Ltd (FEC) was appointed the full contract covering the complete restoration of Hornsey Town Hall as well as management of the adjacent town square and received planning approval for a new application in December 2017 with unconditional plans for the development approved in 2018.[96]

Elements 3 & 4: Restoration & reuse

Poor stewardship had led to the roof of the building starting to leak, cracks in the structure of the building, deteriorating

THE NEW TOWN HALL, HORNSEY.

[91] *Our Consultation – Hornsey Town Hall's future*. Hornsey Town Hall Creative Trust. http://hornsey-town-hall.org.uk/index.php/consultation/

[92] According to the interviewee.

[93] £5.6 million for three ambitious heritage projects. Heritage Lottery Fund. 2012. https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/%C2%A356million-three-ambitious-heritage-projects

[94] M. Hemley,. 'Mountview forced to abandon Hornsey Town Hall relocation plans due to cost'. *The Stage*. 2012. https://www.thestage.co.uk/news/2015/mountview-forced-abandon-hornsey-town-hall-relocation-plans-due-cost/

[95] Hornsey Town Hall: ISDS Volume 2, Descriptive Document. Haringey Council. 2015.

[96] According to the interviewee.

electrical wiring, an unaddressed asbestos issue, and general deterioration of interior and exterior ornamental details and features.[97]

By 2010 estimates for basic restoration of Hornsey Town Hall to carry out the bare minimum of works to get the building fit for purpose and off the Heritage at Risk Register – making the building secure and dry, filling in structural cracks, etc. – sat at £10 million. Given the financial crash in 2008 and further tightening of its budget, a full refurbishment of the building carried out by the Council was unviable and unrealistic.

The aims of the Council and the Hornsey Town Hall Creative Trust for the future of the project were to:

— "Restore Hornsey Town Hall in a way that respects its Grade II* listed status

— Secure a long-term sustainable future for the building

— Ensure / safeguard public access and opportunity for community use

— It should have a positive impact on the local economy

— Remove the Council's ongoing liability for the building

— The Town Hall Square to be improved by integration into the final scheme, retaining public use

— Balance financial and non-financial benefits from the scheme."[98]

As longer-term plans for the project have taken shape, the Town Hall has been available since 2012 for interim uses including community and cultural events and has been used as a filming location for British TV and film. This programming has included a series of exhibitions, open house fairs, art installations and events, including serving as the venue for the annual Crouch End Festival and for a 2014 edition of Secret Cinema. ANA Arts Projects was given a temporary licence to programme the space in 2014, with the building being used as an arts centre, studio and event space including yoga and other

forms of programming, and providing workspace for start-ups and entrepreneurs.

The project was designed to provide a way for the community to access and engage with the building while longer-term plans for the project continued to be developed.

The current £30 million plans by FEC for the redevelopment and regeneration of Hornsey Town Hall will cover both needed restoration work on the building and the introduction of new amenities.

Proposed works as part of planned restoration to take place between 2018 and 2021 include:

— Essential / basic remedial and heritage works (£20.1 million) including the stripping out of existing services, asbestos removal, structural stabilisation, renewal and significant repair, refurbishment to the façades and new mechanical and electrical installations

— Fit for purpose work (£5.4 million) including allowance for structural adaptions to provide additional functionality for the Town Hall and improvements to the Town Hall Square and all other public realm areas

— Essential works to Broadway Annex (£3 million).[99]

[97] 'Hornsey Town Hall Plans Approved'. John McAslan + Partners. http://www.mcaslan.co.uk/news/hornsey-town-hall-plans-approved

[98] Hornsey Town Hall Stakeholder Briefing Presentation. GVA. https://www.haringey.gov.uk/sites/haringeygovuk/files/hornsey_town_hall_stakeholder_presentation_final.pdf

[99] Hornsey Town Hall and Broadway Annex Cost Breakdown. Far East Consortium. http://hornsey-town-hall.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/171017_Hornsey_Town_Hall_and_Broadway_Annex_restoration_and_refurbishment_cost_breakdown.pdf

The redevelopment is positioning itself as a 'future-proofed, modern arts centre' and as 'North London's new Barbican'.[100] Once completed in 2021, the new Hornsey Town Hall will have a new arts centre with multiple performance spaces including a 400-seat theatre, art gallery and exhibition space, cinema, café, restaurant and bar, community spaces, boutique hotel, residential development of 146 units (with 11 classified as affordable), and a redeveloped Town Hall Square.[101] Plans for landscape improvement introducing new green space and general redevelopment of the Town Hall Square will make the site suitable for outdoor public events.

Arts and media company the Time + Space Co. will be responsible for operating and programming the venue when it reopens in 2021 and an artistic developer will be appointed with the intention to both programme external content and develop work in house.[102] Time + Space Co. ran public consultations and workshops to help determine what direction the cultural programming will take and plans to collaborate with local arts including Crouch End Open Studios.[103/104]

Element 5: Sustainability

In spite of substantial resource, in the form of some public funds, the support of the Council, tremendous time, expertise, and energy of both the Hornsey Town Hall Trust and other groups, and the affluence of the local Crouch End community, it's still taken over a decade to determine a viable future for Hornsey Town Hall.

The significant cost of even the bare minimum amount of restoration to make the building fit and safe for occupation, and then beyond that, to redevelop the Hall to be flexible enough to accommodate a variety of modern uses has been the biggest obstacle to Hornsey Town Hall's sustainability to date.

The Council and the Hornsey Town Hall Trust are confident that through FEC's ability to financially support the full restoration and redevelopment of the site, and by having a new business model with a boutique hotel anchor tenant to generate revenue, that the project won't have the same sustainability challenges in the future that it's had in the past.[105]

9.5.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

Hornsey Town Hall is a major source of local pride for the residents of Crouch End and is viewed as an iconic building within the borough. The Trust hopes that the completed redevelopment will move beyond just being an asset to the affluent Crouch End community, to being an asset to all of Haringey and the rest of London. Since 2015, Hornsey Town Hall has provided workspace to upwards of 100 of local businesses.

Key success and problem factors throughout the journey

The partnership working model between Haringey Council and the Hornsey Town Hall Trust, with the Trust acting as a 'critical friend' and helping to steer the direction of the project, was noted as a success factor in getting both the Hall's interim use since 2012, and future development plans, off the ground.[106]

In relation to challenges, there has been significant public opposition to the new developer and development plans (especially the limited affordable housing provision), with a 7,000-signature campaign led by the Hornsey Town Hall

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[100] G. Now. 'Hornsey Town Hall set for £30m makeover to become "north London's new Barbican".' *The Stage*. 2018. https://www.thestage.co.uk/news/2018/hornsey-town-hall-set-30m-makeover-become-north-londons-new-barbican/

[101] 'Hornsey Town Hall developer to fund affordable housing'. Haringey Council. 2017. https://www.haringey.gov.uk/news/hornsey-town-hall-developer-fund-affordable-housing

[102] G. Now. 'Hornsey Town Hall set for £30m makeover to become "north London's new Barbican".' *The Stage*. 2018. https://www.thestage.co.uk/news/2018/hornsey-town-hall-set-30m-makeover-become-north-londons-new-barbican/

[103] 'Hornsey Town Hall's new arts operator announced'. Ham & High. 2017. http://www.hamhigh.co.uk/news/heritage/far-east-consortium-announces-hornsey-town-hall-arts-operator-as-tiime-space-co-crouch-end-1-5205036

[104] Image credit: Source: Far East Consortium.

[105] According to the interviewee.

[106] Ibid.

Appreciation Society, a well organised group comprised of local architects, planners, lawyers, and PR experts.[107]

One of the members of the Trust believes that the confidentiality requirements that the Council and Trust were operating under during the procurement process prevented them from being able to publicly comment and provide timely updates on the project to the community. This was made worse by a lack of proactive communications on the part of the Council. This resulted in what they believe to be a substantial amount of misinformation which led to misconceptions about the prominence of certain elements of the project (the boutique hotel) and the perception of the current cultural tenants being evicted.

Other challenges noted include operating within listed building requirements while getting the building fit for new uses and, until the appointment of FEC, an ongoing issue of finding a financially viable business model for the Hall.

As far as governance is concerned, it was noted that the Trust was composed purely of volunteers who, in order to fulfil their role, were required to devote many hours during and outside the working week in order to help deliver the project. It would be worth re-evaluating the overall governance structure and finance in terms of what is realistic.

Key success and problem factors for ongoing sustainability
The interim cultural uses for the Town Hall successfully demonstrated to the Council that there was demand for and interest in the asset and showed that it could be made to work for a number of uses.

The Council has established a Community Use Agreement[108] as part of the final development agreement which outlines how much of the Town Hall needs to be available in perpetuity for community and public use, which the Trust and Council believe will ensure that the site remains first and foremost a community asset.

The choice of London-based Make Architects was noted by the Hornsey Town Hall Trust Chair as an important signifier of the developers' commitment to developing a contextually sensitive design. Make Architects is currently working in close collaboration with Historic England to make sure that all design decisions respect and conform with the Hall's listed status.

9.6 Anchor Mill, Oldham

Anchor Mill was built in Oldham, Greater Manchester in 1881 for Anchor Spinning Company at which time Oldham was one of the UK's pre-eminent mill towns and textile production centres. The mill was one of the 138 that were built in Oldham during this period.[109]

The mill ultimately ceased production in 1929 in a reflection of a wider decline in the town's textile industry in the 20th century. The building then came under the ownership of Cherokee Cotton Corporation of America who used it as a cotton waste warehouse until 1995 managed by the textile fibre merchant Frankenhuis.[110]

1878	1929	1993	2004	2008	2010
Anchor Mill Built	Anchor Mill ceases production	Grade II listing	Oldham Council releases *Oldham Beyond* strategic plan which proposes creative reuse of Oldham's Mills	Eastern Concept Limited buys Anchor Mill	The Grand Venue opens

[107] Statement of Guiding Principles and Aspirations. Hornsey Town Hall Appreciation Society. http://www.hthas.org.uk/guiding-principles

[108] See http://hornsey-town-hall.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/180502_Community_Use_Access_Agreement_with_plans.pdf

[109] Image credit: *Oldham Chronicle.*

[110] The Oldham Historical Research Group. http://www.pixnet.co.uk/Oldham-hrg/members/irene-beever/pages/coldhurst.html

9.6.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

In 2004 as part of the report *Oldham Beyond,* Oldham Council outlined a strategy for the reuse of the town's entire set of remaining mills with a creative industries focus. The report acknowledges, *"while there remains a strong market for mills, many do not generate sufficient value to maintain the fabric of the buildings"*. Anchor Mill was identified specifically in the plan with an intention to turn the property into a multi-use centre for businesses and the local community with *"a learning centre, nursery, workshops and studios"*.[111]

These plans echo a wider trend starting in the late 20th century of the restoration and regeneration of disued mills across the UK into new cultural and community uses. This includes the conversion of Baltic Flour Mill into the BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art in Gateshead[112] and of the Dean Clough mill complex in West Yorkshire into galleries and creative workspace.[113] In the 1990s, the annual Mills Regeneration Conference was initiated to bring together relevant stakeholders to examine trends in the adaptive reuse of former industrial mills across the UK.[114]

For Anchor Mill, the Council secured £536,000 in EU grants and from the Westwood Regeneration Budget, £241,000 put towards making suitable office space onsite, but ultimately the Council lacked the funds to buy the property outright.

In the following years, the Council found it challenging to find a viable responsible entity for the building where, as the Oldham Chronicle put it, *"a series of private owners came and went"*. During this time antisocial behaviour including drug use and prostitution became prevalent in the area / adjacent car park and the surrounding area was *"a bit derelict"*.[115]

Element 2: Ownership / management

Around 2008 a group of entrepreneurs from the local Bangladeshi community were looking for an appropriate property in the Featherstall area to start a new business together. Having noticed a gap in the local market for large wedding venues, the group began looking for a suitable venue in Oldham.

One of the owners described their intention when interviewed, *"Asian weddings are big events with hundreds of guests and not many places can cater towards the huge numbers, and we thought it was important to have such a facility in the Oldham area"*.[116]

When Anchor Mill came up for sale, they thought the space could be appropriate from observing the conversion of other former mills in Oldham into modern residential and commercial uses. The company they established, Eastern Concept Limited, pooled together their own funds plus unspecified external financing to purchase the building to develop their concept to turn the first floor of the mill into a banqueting hall, with mixed-use retail space leased on the ground floor including a sari shop, a cash & carry and office space.

In response to their planning application and the perceived benefits, the Council permitted a proposal for a change of use and conversion of the underused

[111] 'Former mill brought back to life as wedding venue'. *Manchester Evening News*. 2010. https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/business/business-news/former-mill-brought-back-to-lifeas-884617

[112] BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art (project page). Gateshead Council. https://www.gateshead.gov.uk/article/5283/BALTIC

[113] Dean Clough (website). https://www.deanclough.com/about/

[114] 'Run of the mill they're not'. *The Guardian*. 2008. https://www.theguardian.com/society/2008/jun/17/mill.regeneration

[115] https://www.oldham-chronicle.co.uk/news-features/8/news-headlines/12982/car-park-issue-weighs-on-anchor-mill-deal

[116] 'Former mill brought back to life as wedding venue'. *Manchester Evening News*. 2010. https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/business/business-news/former-mill-brought-back-to-lifeas-884617

historic building.[117] The planning application proposed that *"retail floorspace will be occupied by independent retailers specialising in the sale of Asian clothing and products, reflect the site's location in the heart of an Asian community"*.[118]

Element 3 & 4: Restoration & reuse

Despite initial reservations about the project from potential funders, as the owners describe it, *"We bought it, struggled at the beginning, many people thought it was a bad idea. But we thought it had potential. We were all nervous, but we wanted to do something. The area itself was a bit derelict at the time. It was a derelict building in the middle of nowhere – people thought we would make a big mistake."*[119]

They noted that the restoration required around £500,000 of work. Despite it being a challenging process, Eastern Concept Limited commented that, *"We were expecting surprises, but somehow we managed everything. We just went and did it! We did it bit by bit."* Tenants began moving into the ground floor while the main banqueting hall was still being redeveloped.

Operating with the specifications of renovating a listed building was identified as a challenge, *"Because the building is listed, it meant that we couldn't do much work outside, that was a big obstacle. We couldn't design it the way we wanted."*[120]

Their hope from the outset was that the transformation of Anchor Mill would not only breathe new life into the five-storey building, but also help regenerate the surrounding local area by attracting new jobs.

Eastern Concept Limited has not begun the process of repurposing the third and fourth floors of the building, which remain derelict. They have an intention to eventually turn them into apartments or retail space, although they note that *"it will take a lot of money"* and they're not actively looking for project financing at present.[121]

Element 5: Sustainability

According to the owners, the project is now financially sustainable, with consistent revenue coming in through hire of the banqueting hall for weddings and conferences and through subleasing the retail space in the building. The owners of Eastern Concept Limited receive a percentage of profits.

9.6.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

Since opening in 2010, Grand Venue has become one of Northwest England's top Asian wedding venues. The wider bazaar has established itself as an important cultural destination for Greater Manchester's Asian community, with a lot of crossover audience with the Mosque next door.

"The banqueting hall is very popular, with increasing numbers of weddings happening now. Because it's a lot of space and a big car park – there's not another hall like this in Greater Manchester. Mostly Asian, African, and Caribbean weddings."[122]

The area has also been seen as increasingly dynamic and vibrant, with anecdotal evidence that other businesses in the area have seen an uptick in footfall. *"The area itself was a bit derelict at the time [...] in the middle of nowhere [...]. But now it is buzzing. It's become a mini-market, a bit like an*

[117] Eastern Concept Limited Planning Application Report for Anchor Mill. 2010. http://committees.oldham.gov.uk/Data/Planning%20Committee/20100729/Minutes/Item%206%20Report.pdf
[118] Eastern Concept Limited Planning Application Report for Anchor Mill. 2010. http://committees.oldham.gov.uk/Data/Planning%20Committee/20100729/Minutes/Item%206%20Report.pdf
[119] According to the interviewee.

[120] Ibid.
[121] Source: Grand Venue.

[122] According to the interviewee.

Asian bazaar. People just come and walk around – it gives them something to do. Mostly Asian people come from all over including Manchester."[123]

The project has been able to adapt a heritage structure with strong historical ties of the white British working-class story of the region to a new multicultural community centre that has adopted and embraced the venue for modern Asian cultural rituals and traditions.

Key success and problem factors

A significant element of the project's success is the owners' existing ties to and understanding of the local community. **"***The partners all have our own businesses, that helped: we are business savvy and know the local business community. Sometimes you have to take a risk. We just wanted to do something in that area. Most of us were brought up in this area. We saw potential"*.

The development of the Grand Venue was not without its challenges. "*It was a journey for all us – we learned a lot. We went into something we didn't know about, and we didn't have a specific plan".[124]* It was noted that securing funding was a challenge, particularly with banks refusing to give them a loan or a mortgage to purchase and redevelop the property, especially as the timing was shortly after the financial recession of 2007–2008. *"We showed banks our business plan but they didn't want to invest. It was a derelict building, listed Grade II, so could only do certain things, it made investors nervous. But eventually we managed to borrow the money from the financer SALT Lending".[125]* The owners also noted that they didn't make any attempts to secure funds from organisations or trusts.

9.7 Hastings Pier, Hastings

Hastings Pier is located half-way between Hastings and St Leonards in the White Rock area, one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the country.[126] The journey of the Pier's rescue has been a complicated one, starting with the old

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[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Interview with Fazlul Haque, founder and owner at Eastern Concept Limited.

Pier's closure in 2006, followed by its destruction by fire and rebuilding, with the battle over its ownership running in parallel. After a hard-won Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) process brought the Pier into public ownership, this was lost again five years later following a painful administration process. For now, the Pier is in private ownership, but the preceding years' hard work mean that it is one of the best maintained in the country and open again to the public.

2006	2008–09	2010	2011
Pier closure due to safety concerns **Friends of Hastings Pier** (FOHP) established	*Hastings Pier & White Rock Trust* founded to buy Pier Intensive planning and campaigning	Council promises to deliver CPO 90% of Pier gets destroyed in fire	HLF funding received Hastings Pier Charity & the People Pier Company established
2013	**2011–16**	**2017**	**2018**
Pier bought via CPO and transferred to the Hastings Pier Charity	Pier restoration & HLF education programme 2014 storm damage 2016 Pier opens to public	Pier wins Stirling Prize Charity goes into administration Pier sold to private owner	FOHP re-established

9.7.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

From 2000, Hastings Pier was privately owned by company Ravenclaw, which initially made substantial investments in the dilapidated Pier, planning to turn it into an upmarket 'Covent Garden by the sea'. However, in reaction to a lack of enthusiasm from visitors, within months it was turned back into a classic pier, with arcades, rides and special events. Nevertheless, it never regained its old popularity. Gradually, doubts about its safety resurfaced, while Ravenclaw's owner disappeared from sight.[127] According to the interviewee, it seemed Ravenclaw was *"getting ready to abandon the Pier".[128]*

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[126] Ranked among the 'worst deprived' in the 2015 indices of multiple deprivation.

[127] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-11475463

[128] A core member of the Friends of Hastings Pier (FOHP) and Trust.

In 2006, ahead of a large public event, the structure was inspected by an engineer, who recommended the Pier's immediate closure. The Council got a court order to close the Pier, resulting in significant time spent in court with the owners. Around the same time, a small group of local people[129] arranged a public meeting to discuss the state of the Pier. More than 200 people came, indicating a high level of community interest. As the attending local councillor and MP confirmed that the Council could not address the issue, around 35 local people put their name down to *"do something".* From this, a committee of eight

dedicated residents and businesses was formed, and the Friends of Hastings Pier (FOHP) was born. Their initial aim was simply to keep the Pier in the public eye, investigate what had gone wrong, and keep locals informed, *"putting pressure on others, [rather than] taking over".*[130]

However, as it became increasingly obvious that neither Ravenclaw, the Council, nor anyone else would provide the necessary investment to save what was by now a substantial financial liability, the group decided to step up and buy the Pier. Throughout summer 2007, FOHP held markets on the temporarily reopened front end of the Pier to raise awareness and funds for their activity. In January 2008, the Hastings Pier and White Rock Trust was established as a vehicle to buy the Pier, with much of 2008 to 2009 spent on undertaking surveys and building a strategic and business case. Importantly, the Trust's aim was never only to save the Pier, but to do so in support of the wider regeneration of the White Rock neighbourhood.

Element 2: Ownership / management (2006–13)

The first 'battle' over the ownership of Hastings Pier thus began in 2006. Following months of detailed work on *"putting the case together"*, the Trust put in an application to the HLF in 2008. The plan was to get ownership of the Pier through a CPO, and then restore the Pier with the help of HLF grant funding.[131] However, despite months of negotiation with the Council and HLF, the Council refused to support a CPO due to the potential high costs of the process, resulting in HLF rejecting the funding application. It was *"a classic Catch-22 situation – we couldn't get either ownership or funding without the other".*[132] FOHP could not simply offer to buy the Pier, as they were reliant on the CPO process to wipe out all financial obligations built up under the previous owner.[133]

FOHP decided they needed not only a strong business case, but *"to build power"* by growing their membership and linking up with local politicians. They organised a march attended by 2,000 people and got involved in local by-elections with a 'Vote Pier' campaign. This focused on getting all candidates to sign the 'Pier Pledge' to support a CPO if elected. The message was clear: the future of the Pier was a political decision, as receiving grant funding relied on getting the CPO first. FOHP membership grew to around 4,000, with around 5,000 followers on facebook.

This approach finally led to a key breakthrough. *"The politicians worked out that it was very important to voters, and that we were the right people to act".* After the election, FOHP were asked to meet the new Labour leader and deputy and *"from then on it was an active partnership – [...] we had gained their respect by leveraging voters".*[134] However, despite pledging their support to the CPO, the Council

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[129] Involved in the local Castle Ward Forum.

[130] According to the interviewee.

[131] In the meantime, Ravenclaw sacked their UK legal representation, leaving them with no foothold in the UK. It was a case, according to the interviewee, of *"proper delinquent ownership".*

[132] According to the interviewee.

[133] Ian Stewart had raised a mortgage to buy the Pier; the lender was the only party that ultimately raised (an invalid) objection during the CPO process.

[134] As above. Image credit: https://www.citymetric.com/fabric/communities-can-take-control-regeneration-agenda-hastings-pier-proves-it-3482

Council remained worried about the potential costs of a CPO, not for the Pier, but for the inspection, enquiry and legal teams involved.[135]

Just at this point, in early 2010, the then Labour Secretary of State promised £200,000 funding packages to a number of seaside towns for economic development projects in the run up to the general election.[136] At the same time, new local MP, Conservative Amber Rudd, also endorsed FOHP's efforts. With support now across both political parties, FOHP managed to persuade the Council to set this funding aside for the CPO, and to agree on a twin-track approach of working on both fundraising and ownership in parallel. FOHP received two grants from the Community Builders Fund to finance a feasibility study, early architect work, and financial planning. This demonstrated to the Council that progress was being made on the funding side, allowing it to set down a legal agreement with FOHP to the effect that if funding conditions were met, FOHP could trigger this legal agreement and the Council would move ahead with the CPO.

With this in hand, FOHP finally re-applied to the HLF (November 2010 deadline). The bid focused on a plan of 'progressive commercialisation' – restoring the Pier bit by bit, making an income from restored elements to fund further restoration. With only £10,000 left in the bank, FOHP on 4th October 2010 decided to invest in a competition to find an architect for the restoration of the Pier. That night, the Pier caught fire, destroying 90% of the structure in the process. *"Nothing was left on top"*, making FOHP's plans unworkable. Aware of its *"totemic value"* to the town and witnessing the grief of

local people first hand, the group decided to rewrite the entire bid in seven weeks, suggesting a two-phase approach. Phase one would focus on rebuilding a stable platform, developing interim businesses and finalising the ownership status. Phase two would focus on the Pier's revitalisation, with new infrastructure to encourage footfall, dwell-time and visitor expenditure.

In April 2011, HLF confirmed round one funding of £350,000, *"the hardest and riskiest decision it had ever made".[137]* This enabled the Trust to employ a chief executive officer and admin assistant, as well as to complete the architect competition and choose an architect – London-based practice dRMM – and engineers. HLF round two funding was received the following year, adding up to a total of £11.5m. At this point, FOHP closed down, passing full responsibility on to the Trust, which shortly after set up Hastings Pier Charity and the People Pier Company, owned by community shareholders. Based on extensive research,[138] the purpose of these two separate entities was to detach ownership of the Pier from the day-to-day operation in order to combine *"a dynamic operator with a boring but safe charity focusing on the Pier's long-term safety"*. In 2013, the Council was finally able to buy the Pier freehold via CPO and transfer ownership to the Charity. Original volunteer members of the campaign and Trust began to retire,[139] making way for the staff and board of the two entities now responsible for the Pier.

Elements 3 & 4: Restoration and reuse

Building works finally started in August 2013, following receipt of round two HLF funding and completion of the CPO. In parallel to the construction work, a range of learning and participation activities were programmed to take place involving the local community and schools.

Of the £11.5m grant, £8.5m was spent on restoring the understructure of the Pier, which had not seen investment for decades and was severely damaged by the fire. A new platform and building were also put in place, while the last

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[135] The Pier at this point was valued at £0i and would therefore have resulted in no compensation having to be paid to Ravenclaw.

[136] All marginal constituencies.

[137] According to HLF, as reported by the interviewee.

[138] Which, according to the interviewee, found that *"public sector-owned piers were boring but safe, while private sector-owned piers were dynamic, but never repaired and hence deteriorating"*.

[139] Including the interviewee, who played a key role in campaigning and fundraising over the years.

remaining old building was restored. Demonstrating the huge success of the restoration, the new Pier won the RIBA Stirling Prize in 2017.[140]

Plans existed for further elements to be added as and when needed in the remaining vacant spaces as part of Phase two of the Pier's regeneration; the aim was to *"reimagine the Victorian pleasure pier as a sustainable, flexible platform able to accommodate a broad range of community and commercial uses for years to come"*.[141] The interviewee stressed that at this point, Phase two was seen as crucial to the Pier's regeneration, focusing on attracting private investment to finance the full revitalisation of the Pier through creating temporary spaces, animation – places *"to spend time and money on"*.

Elements 2 & 5: Ownership / management (2017–18) and Sustainability

Just as things finally seemed settled, trouble struck again in 2017, resulting in the second 'battle' over the Pier's ownership. This has ultimately led to *"the fully-restored asset [being] removed secretly from 5,000 shareholder-owners and then subjected to a commercial process"*, which has brought it back into private ownership.[142]

According to the interviewee, two decisions contributed to this situation. The first key point that led to the Pier's new troubles was the decision to merge the Charity and operating company, due to a feeling that prospective shareholders would only be interested in buying shares in the actual Pier, rather than investing in its operation. This however resulted in a situation, where *"if the operator stumbled, the whole Pier as [an] asset was at risk"*. Then, in 2014, restoration got delayed due to huge storm damage estimated at £1m.[143] During this hiatus, the interviewee felt the planned *"Phase two [of the redevelopment] got lost"*. Instead of looking for private investment to add further structures and animation to the Pier, it was left with only the two relatively small structures

added in Phase one. When the Pier reopened in 2016 and some commented that there was *"little to do on the Pier"*, the interviewee suggested the CC pointed to the Stirling Prize, suggesting that it had been won precisely due to its expansive emptiness.[144] It is likely that this led to lower footfall, dwell-time, and spend per head than planned, resulting in an inability on behalf of the Charity to make the operation viable.

In dire financial difficulty, the Charity re-approached HLF with a request for financial support, based on a business plan which outlined how the Pier could be put back on its feet with the help of a £80,000 cash injection. While HLF considered the request, other prospective funders like the Council rejected it outright, ultimately leading to the HLF refusing to support it alone. This meant that the Charity had no choice but to officially go into administration, with the whole board resigning in the process. Accountancy firm Smith & Williamson were appointed as administrators.[145]

The resulting process, according to the interviewee, was deeply traumatic for all involved. FOHP re-established with around 150 signed-up members and more steadily joining, to put together a plan to retrieve the Pier. A public meeting attended by 500 people was held in April 2017, at which five core spokespeople were elected.[146] The group set up a Crowdfunder campaign and decided to pursue three core principles. Firstly, to return the Pier to community ownership to protect its long-term future, while working with a private operator to ensure a sustainable commercial operation. Secondly, to avoid the Pier freehold being sold into private ownership to avoid neglect. Thirdly, to ensure that shareholders and the community played an ongoing role in the Pier. FOHP planned to achieve this in three steps: stable ownership, stable platform, commercial operation.

With HLF as the only secured creditor on the Pier, the debt-burden from the administration process was minimal.[147] FOHP unsuccessfully tried to get

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[140] Image credit: https://www.forbetterforworse.co.uk/venues/Hastings-Pier.shtml

[141] http://drmm.co.uk/projects/view.php?p=hastings-pier-redevelopment

[142] https://jesssteele.wordpress.com/2018/06/16/hastings-pier-where-our-hearts-are/

[143]Covered by insurance.

[144] In fact, dRMM had always planned for it to house more structures.

[145] Appointed by HLF. The company had already been involved with Hastings Pier for a while, brought in to help turn around the fortunes of the floundering Pier before it went into administration.

[146] Including the interviewee.

[147] Less than £500,000. Ownership largely lay in the hands of a large number of unsecured creditors owning small shares in the Pier.

participation from the administrators, HLF and other funders. Requests to gain access to the shareholder database were refused by the administrators. Requests for time to put together a plan were also blocked, while at the same time the administrators refused to provide a clear deadline. While the administrators occasionally updated the shareholders, they did not inform them of the new community campaign, giving them no chance to participate.

Meanwhile, the Crowdfunding campaign quickly garnered support. FOHP now had £750,000 liquid money available, as well as a detailed long-term plan. The final proposal put to the administrators was based on a *"co-investing shared venue between FOHP and a commercial partner, backed with the £750,000 guaranteed finance, alongside current funding bids or approaches from funders totalling £450k, with dRMM contributing £60–90k of design work, plus a comprehensive funding search showing we could 'absolutely' raise £1.6m capital to achieve and open a permanent building within 3 years."* [148] Backed by this, FOHP offered to pay £55,000 for the Pier. At this point, only two prospective buyers remained – FOHP and businessman Sheikh Abid Gulzar, owner of Eastbourne Pier[149] – but shortly after receiving FOHP's offer, the administrators made the decision to sell to Abid Gulzar. Despite FOHP's efforts, backing and funds[150], they felt that FOHP's £750,000 liquid assets were not sufficient, and that the private investor's financial capability and experience running Eastbourne Pier appeared the safer option.[151] Based on rumours that Gulzar had bought the Pier for £50,000, FOHP approached him with a cheque for over £65,000 the following day, in the hope that he would take the opportunity to be *"a community hero and sell it to us"*, but he was uninterested in the offer.

Since then, FOHP has reached out to Gulzar repeatedly with offers to support the Pier in an advisory capacity, but this has not been taken up. They feel this may be due to the *"nasty undercurrent"* directed against the new owner by some in town (including criticism in the local press), and are keen to *"stamp that out"* and *"extend the hand of friendship"* to Gulzar.[152] There is some worry about the lack of additional activity the new owner has added to the Pier, as well as with regard to the state of his businesses.[153] For now, however, FOHP sees that *"it could be worse – Gulzar is keen, he is at the Pier a lot. Our Pier is in the best condition in Britain by a long way. It should be ok for quite a while"*. There is a *"limit to how much [FOHP] can do now"*. But, indicative of the 'spirit' that remains in the group, a number of possible next steps were already suggested shortly after the administration process, including growing a community-held fund to rebuy the Pier when possible; relisting the Pier as an Asset of Community Value and asking the Council to seek annual repairs reports to ensure it is maintained; *"keeping the energy going"* among local people and businesses; scrutinising the administration process; and advocating for the establishment of a new 'Community administration act' for *"situations where a community asset is at stake"*. New FOHP directors are being elected in December 2018. FOHP are working towards a standing offer to Mr Gulzar – eventually, they hope, the Pier may come up for sale again. To provide underlying support to their efforts, they are planning to count footfall on the Pier, to create data on *"how many people have been on the Pier, who they were or what they thought".* [154]

9.7.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

Despite – and in parts through – the difficult journey FOHP have had, the interviewee feels that a range of positive impacts has been achieved. Above all, through their efforts, Hastings Pier, this *"totemic asset"* for the seaside town,

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[148] FOHP received considerable interest from funders during the process, e.g. Esmée Fairbairn Foundation offered to contribute £60,000. Funding research was undertaken by an Institute of Fundraisers expert. https://jesssteele.wordpress.com/2018/06/16/hastings-pier-where-our-hearts-are/

[149] Two other interested parties – BoxPark and the owner of Brighton Pier – pulled out; the former as they refused three months due diligence by the administrators; the latter because he felt it was unprofitable.

[150] By the time of the announcement, FOHP's Crowdfunder had reached £475,000 of its £500,000 target. FOHP would have been able to buy the pier, repay fees and retain almost £200,000 for regeneration.

[151] According to the interviewee. According to a representative of the administrators, "*Mr Gulzar demonstrated the best immediate financial capability as well as the operational capacity and experience, including from running Eastbourne Pier".* (https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-sussex-44506163)

[152] https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jul/14/hastings-pier-local-protest-abid-gulzar

[153] Of the six companies of which Gulzar is sole director, five were listed as "dormant" and none showed an operating profit. Two other companies went into liquidation. Gulzar set up Lions Hastings Pier Ltd, a week before he bought Hastings Pier. (https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-sussex-44506163)

[154] https://jesssteele.wordpress.com/

was brought back from the brink of destruction, and saved for the future. It is fully renovated, structurally sound, and has won the country's most prestigious architecture prize. This is a stark comparison with a large proportion of the 50 or so remaining piers around the country, which are at physical risk due to decades of underfunding, despite their huge popularity.[155] Hastings Pier has, moreover, provided a useful example to others: *"from a heritage point of view, piers are a scarce resource and we don't have a national strategy for sorting them out. Hastings provided a kind of approach, which despite what has happened, I think is still the right approach".[156]*

In addition, the entire process has had a fundamental impact on the town itself. When Hastings Pier closed, this had a significant negative economic impact on the local area and shops, in a neighbourhood which already belonged to the most deprived in the country. Indicatively, for several years following the Pier's closure, *"the neighbourhood was ignored, as the Council felt the need to wait until they knew what would happen with the Pier".* For this reason, FOHP and the Charity always made clear that their efforts focused on the whole White Rock area. Now, however, with the Pier restored and the area in the public eye for years, the Council has developed an Area Action Plan for White Rock, including new housing – *"a sign that it is no longer the neglected quarter of town but an area of strategic interest".[157]*

The developments around the Pier and resulting publicity have also had a fundamental impact on what *"people think of Hastings".* In a town which has long suffered from low self-esteem, it has given people a sense of agency and pride in what they can achieve. Even given the end result, there have been many positive achievements along the way – successful fundraising, rebuilding, ownership – which provided a *"massive boost of self-esteem. Other people and the private sector have come forward with new projects [to renovate and improve other buildings around the Pier]".[158]* Coupled to this, the education activity funded by the HLF brought over 400,000 people to the Pier, including thousands of school children. Further afield, the Pier's restoration into a Stirling

Prize building has put Hastings on the map, creating interest in a town increasingly known for its creative and artistic offer.

Lastly, the interviewee feels that a crucial impact was also achieved by the negative aspects of FOHP's story, in that it provides a *"massive lesson to organisations and grant holders as to how to save buildings like this".* It opens up key questions about the role of funders in the early stages of the journey (e.g. in supporting the 'battle' over ownership in cases where CPOs are necessary) and the appropriateness of the administration process, which – if duly considered – may benefit similar organisations and buildings in the future. To address such questions, the interviewee together with Practical Governance, and support from Power to Change, has launched a Public Enquiry on Protecting Community Assets, with the aim of bringing together various relevant umbrella bodies and funders.

Key success and problem factors throughout the journey

The interviewee pointed in particular to two key success factors in the early elements of the project journey. Firstly, a crucial win for the FOHP resulted from their building up of 'people power', through increasing their membership and linking up with politicians, while remaining non-party political. This revealed the extent of the Pier's popularity and highlighted that saving the Pier was relevant to all local political parties.

The second key success factor was agreeing with the Council on the 'twin-track approach' of working towards ownership (via CPO) and fundraising at the same time, providing both Council and funders with some security over future ownership and grant provision respectively. As the interviewee says, to get a CPO, *"you need a compelling case in public interest and a plausible plan"*; in this case, the build-up of 'people power' saw to the former, while the HLF grant provided the latter.

This leads on to a third success factor – receiving grants at crucial times. The £85,000 received from Community Builders early in the journey allowed FOHP

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[155] The interviewee cited research from 2013 which showed that 69% of the British public had visited a pier in the past year and expected to so in the following year – including people from all backgrounds and ages.

[156] According to the interviewee.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid.

to undertake surveys, develop plans, bring in an architect – i.e. set the journey in motion, while the CPO was still being dealt with. The £200,000 grant to seaside towns from the Labour Secretary of State in the meantime proved fortuitous in allowing the Council to back the CPO. And without the HLF grant in turn, the restoration of the Pier would have been impossible. Lastly, the journey rested on the voluntary commitment and time provided by a key number of people with relevant experience, to create the campaign, negotiate with the Council and HLF, and write the successful HLF bids. Crucially, the interviewee pointed out, *"we had plenty of conflicts, that is inevitable when you don't have a boss. But […] people were able to rise above it as they felt that the Pier was more important than them"*.

Needless to say, the project also encountered considerable problems. Early on, the key issue lay in the 'Catch-22' situation of requiring funds to gain ownership, while needing to be able to prove ownership to receive funds. This required enormous time, persistence and determination on the side of the volunteers, which in other cases may well have ended the journey before it even began. As the interview pointed out, all this effort over the 'battle for ownership' was freely given by volunteers, with almost no funding sources to support this element – *"such a waste of time just to get heard; it took less time to renovate the Pier than to get to that position"*. The interviewee feels felt that even a small amount of grant funding at this point would have made a significant difference to the group, by supporting campaigning and surveys which would have helped them reach the point where the CPO could have been launched sooner.

The two other overriding problems were the two which the interviewee believes led to the Charity going into administration. Firstly, the decision to merge the operating organisation and Charity, thereby putting the whole asset at risk if the operator stumbled. According to the interviewee, *"we need to learn the lesson to protect other community assets. The private sector always separates ownership and operators to protect the asset"*. Without this decision, *"we could have had a situation where the Charity […] found a new operator. That would have saved the Pier for the Charity"*. And secondly, the decision – conscious or not – not to

proceed with Phase two of the restoration: the full activation of the Pier, in order to *"make it viable"*.

And lastly, a key problem in the final stages of the project was that of the administration process – had this been approached differently, the story may well have had a different ending. As the interviewee pointed out, *"insolvency law trumps everything, the shareholders lose all power, and it becomes an estate agent process – awful for any asset that has a community value"*. On the side of the administrators, *"they were very pleasant, but not helpful, […] but they were just following the law"*. The interviewee feels that this showed up the fundamental problem with using a commercial administration process for a community asset, when *"the community is capable and willing to solve [the problem] for itself"*.[159] Meanwhile, it was felt that other stakeholders – politicians, funders – *"hid behind the administrators"*, rather than helping FOHP save the community asset that they had initially helped restore and bring into public ownership.

Key success and problem factors for ongoing sustainability

The interviewee feels that as Hastings Pier is now so *"completely out of [their] control"*, it was impossible to comment on the Pier's future. As long as it remains in private ownership, the two overriding factors to ensure the Pier's ongoing sustainability will be its commercial viability (to the extent to which the owner is expecting this), and investment in its maintenance. A key problem with this may turn-out to be the extent to which the current owner is willing or able to do so – or to do so in a way that does not result in harm to the Pier in the long run. As the interviewee pointed out, Brighton Pier's owner questioned the commercial value of investing in Hastings Pier given the need for investment 'on top' – it is a *"different proposition for a charity, [which is] not looking for profit and [has] access to grants"*.

For FOHP meanwhile, in its aim to 'keep an eye' on the Pier and bring it back into public ownership when the opportunity arises, much will depend on the ongoing enthusiasm of volunteers to give their time to the group, and on the

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[159] https://jesssteele.wordpress.com/2018/06/16/hastings-pier-where-our-hearts-are/

support of the wider population, which will make their efforts feel all the more worthwhile.

9.8 Toffee Factory, Newcastle

The Toffee Factory is a landmark building located at the mouth of the Ouseburn Valley in Newcastle upon Tyne, approximately one mile outside the city centre of Newcastle. It has a captivating history, having served various purposes over time, including a cattle sanitarium, a lard warehouse, and a sweet factory from which its modern day name derives.[160] Two sides of the building are formed by a retaining wall holding up an adjoining street and bridge.

The Ouseburn Valley is a conservation area and home to many heritage assets from the Industrial Revolution. Since the late 1980s it has slowly developed into a creative cluster. A key driver of the area's regeneration has been a desire to preserve heritage buildings such as the Toffee Factory, even if they are not Grade I or II* listed. Rather, the vision has been to combine heritage with mixed-use facilities, so that *"they work together in a spectacular way"*.[161]

In 1993, the building was severely damaged by fire. The fight to retain it as part of the original fabric of the Ouseburn was one of the prompts for the formation of the Ouseburn Trust. The shell of the building stood derelict without a roof until it was transformed into The Toffee Factory in late 2011.

1887	1993	1996	1994–2010
Built	Fire damages the factory Start of community campaign to save the building	Ouseburn Trust formally created	A number of unsuccessful attempts made at developing the site
2010	**2011**		
Factory chosen by development partnership 1NG as 'quick win' project	Refurbishment and reopening of the Toffee Factory as creative office space		

9.8.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

The fire in 1993, which severely damaged the Factory, was the starting point for a community campaign where local people *"fought tooth and nail"* against the demolition of the heritage asset and, instead, for its refurbishment and regeneration.[162]

At the time, the building was owned by Newcastle City Council, but due to its location outside the city centre, it was not a priority for the local authority. Until 2010, a number of attempts had been made to redevelop the site. The first of these attempts was made by a local business intending to demolish the building; however, the City Council did not want to sell the site. In a second attempt, the Ouseburn Trust was offered the site to take on, but they refused as there were too many risks and liabilities for the newly formed organisation. Further attempts by local organisation Entrust and by private development consortia to redevelop it did not go ahead because of lower than expected valuations of the asset, protracted negotiations with the Council and unresolved sewer issues.[163]

[160] The Toffee Factory website: http://www.toffeefactory.co.uk/ouseburn/history/

[161] According to the interviewee.

[162] Ibid.

[163] Toffee Factory / Silvie Fisch (2012) *Toffee Factory Newcastle. A little history*. Available at: http://www.toffeefactory.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/toffeefactorypdfforweb.pdf

Eventually, in 2010, the circumstances changed and *"it all came together"*.[164] A new development partnership 1NG (bringing together Newcastle City Council, Gateshead Council and ONE North East) was created. While the priority of 1NG's work was on a few major infrastructure projects in the city centre (including a conference centre and a science centre), the organisation was looking for opportunities for a 'quick win'. Peter McIntyre, the Director of Planning and Programme Management of 1NG and previous Ouseburn Regeneration Manager at the City Council, proposed a series of projects in the Ouseburn Mouth for this purpose, including the Toffee Factory. This included the purchase of a number of sites in the area – many of which were being sold for discounted prices by private developers affected by the post 2008 financial crisis.

Another fortuitous circumstance for the redevelopment of the Toffee Factory came with the abolishment of the regional development agency, ONE North East, as its wrap up released funds for a number of projects, including this.

Soon after, a local architecture firm and a creative management consultancy were appointed and developed a vision for the Toffee Factory as site for creative workspace. Given that the project was based next to a converted school, which functioned as an incubator for small creative businesses, there was a logical argument to use the Toffee Factory as 'spill over' for firms which had outgrown the initial space.

Element 2: Ownership / management

The Toffee Factory remains in the ownership of Newcastle City Council. While the Ouseburn Trust played a crucial role during the early stages of the project and in campaigning for saving the building, 1NG managed the restoration and fundraising process. After the disbanding of 1NG, responsibility fell back to the local authority's regeneration department and was recently transferred to the Council's property management department. However, the day-to-day operation of the spaces remains outsourced to specialist company, Creative Space Management.

Element 3: Restoration

Restoring the derelict Toffee Factory was a huge undertaking with a total budget of £6m. While half originated from ONE North East, the other half was raised from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). The latter funding stream required the undertaking of a feasibility study, including an analysis of the market and an appraisal of the conversation costs.

The factory was refurbished to a very high standard, including some contemporary additions, but managing to retain many of its original features. For instance, although the City Council originally wanted to demolish the prominent chimney for maintenance reasons, the leading architect firm xsite argued

that it should be kept as an attractive feature. They also found creative ways of dealing with modern building regulations, such as the requirement to put in additional wall insulation. Adding such insulation would have meant covering up the original bricks. Instead, they used the width of the adjoining bridge (connected through 9 metres of retaining walls) in the calculations and thus did not need to add extra plaster walls.
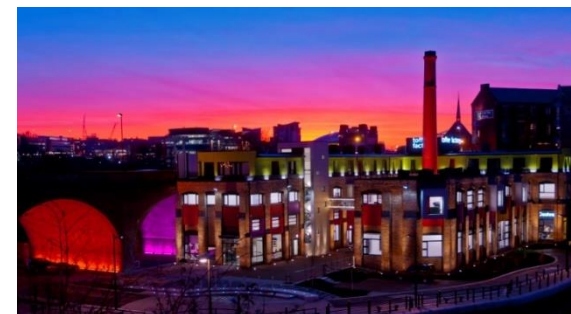
A number of high quality public realm projects were completed in the direct surroundings of the factory.[165]

Elements 4 & 5: Reuse and sustainability

The refurbished Toffee Factory was reopened in late 2011. It now provides serviced office space for a range of digital and creative businesses. These include start-ups in a shared workspace, as well as larger offices for more

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[164] According to the interviewee.

[165] Image credit: http://www.toffeefactory.co.uk/the-late-shows-at-toffee-factory/19/04/2012/

established companies. The Factory also offers an event space for up to 70 people for external hire.[166]

In the initial time after reopening, a range of events and training were also provided, in part because they were a requirement of the ERDF funding. However, since the internal transfer of responsibility within Newcastle City Council to the property management department and the renegotiation of the operating contract with Creative Space Management, there is no longer a budget for such events.

The ongoing operations of the Toffee Factory are financed by the rents from the businesses. So far, this is running very successfully. Not only were all units occupied within three months, but also, hardly any businesses have moved out since.

9.8.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

The most important impact of the project has been the saving of the heritage asset, which was at risk of being demolished. Not only was it saved at a time when other heritage sites in the conservation area were demolished, but also, after having lain derelict for more than 15 years, it was *"symbolic"* when it was finally converted.[167]

More generally, the Ouseburn project along with the Toffee Factory has had a significant impact on the regeneration of the local area. By attracting new businesses from the creative sector, it has helped to reinforce the area's reputation as a growing creative quarter. In total, there are 24 companies, employing around 150 employees, based in the Toffee Factory.[168] The companies have also created demand for services in the surrounding area. Indeed, a number of bars, restaurants and a micro-brewery have opened up locally.

Today, the Ouseburn area is perceived as a very trendy, gentrified area and land and property values have gone up significantly. The refurbishment of the Toffee Factory and other key Ouseburn sites has played a vital role in this.

Key success factors and restrictions

The success of the Toffee Factory has been dependent on a number of factors. In its early days, the strength of the local campaign was crucial to prevent the heritage building from being torn down. But more than simply opposing the demolition, local organisations such as Ouseburn Trust have helped to build a positive case around the potential of Ouseburn sites such as the Toffee Factory. Preventing the demolition of the heritage building was also helped by the structural characteristics of the former factory, which was supporting a major retaining wall for an adjoining bridge. Demolishing the building would have required for another massive (and costly) retaining wall to be built. Moreover, considering that a mere 'shell' of the building was remaining after the fire, meant that all the building features requiring work were exposed, making it less likely for costs to spiral unexpectedly throughout the course of the restoration.

After several failed attempts, the successful initiation of the project was also due to a range of other *"fortuitous circumstances".*[169] These circumstances firstly included the involvement of certain individuals, in particular Peter McIntyre, who made the initial suggestion of the project, but who also had the expertise and the networks to develop the project.

Secondly, the availability of a wider development strategy for the creative and heritage-led regeneration of the local area helped to raise funding and to make the case for retaining the heritage asset itself. At the same time it provided a rationale for a viable end use of the building.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the winding up of the regional development agency provided a large part of the required funding, with *"few*

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[166] http://www.toffeefactory.co.uk/
[167] According to the interviewee.

[168] Fisch, Silvie (2013) "Eventful 135 years of the Toffee Factory in the Ouseburn Valley". *The Evening Chronicle.* 10 October 2013. Available at https://www.chroniclelive.co.uk/lifestyle/nostalgia/eventful-135-years-toffee-factory-6173416
[169] According to the interviewee.

strings attached".[170] While raising project finance is always a challenge for expensive refurbishments of heritage assets, it is arguably even more difficult in the economic context of the North East region, which is not as affluent as other regions, while at the same time not being very densely populated. This often leads to problems of critical mass and lack of commercial viability – and even more so for projects outside the immediate city centre, such as the Ouseburn area. Considering the significant local authority budget cuts in the last 10 years, the future lack of access to European funding, as well as the fact that the little available public funding from bodies like the Heritage Lottery Fund is aimed at higher quality, "pristine", Grade I or II* listed, city centre buildings, this situation is unlikely to change in the coming years.

During the restoration phase, the involvement of the right kind of individuals and partners remained crucial, as a project like this *"needs an individual that pushes it, someone who is very focused and a bit ruthless."*[171] In addition to showing determination, the overarching vision that Peter McIntyre developed and his ability to bring together successful partnerships was crucial to delivering the Toffee Factory project successfully. For instance, he secured commitment from the local authority that the refurbished building would be operated by a specialist in creative workspace management. Also, the appointment of the local architect firm proved a great success, as they managed to deal with modern building and environmental regulations (which are very difficult to comply with in the case of heritage assets such as this) without sacrificing the heritage character of the building.

Both of these were also a key part of the foundation on which the sustainable and commercially viable end use of the Toffee Factory is built. Indeed, while other (more corporate) developments in the city centre offering workspace for creative businesses have struggled to fill their vacancies, the high-spec conversion (including the maintenance of its heritage character) have been very

attractive to creative businesses and have helped to populate the offices within very short time. The management by a specialist in creative space management has equally contributed to this, although the recently renewed contract with the property management department of Newcastle City Council has left little space for much-appreciated activities such as networking events for creative tenants.[172]

Finally, the regeneration of the surrounding area, including the emergence of cafés and bars, and the rise of property values in the area, have increased the desirability of the area overall, thus also likely to be a positive contributing factor in the long-term sustainability of the operations of the heritage asset.

9.9 Arnos Vale Cemetery, Bristol

Arnos Vale Cemetery was established in 1837.[173] Designed by Charles Underwood, it is considered one of the finest examples of Victorian garden cemeteries. The cemetery is Grade II* listed on the Register of Historic Parks and Gardens and includes a number of listed buildings, monuments and tombs.[174] It is situated within a very urban area in Bristol, between two large major roads, but there are no other major historic sites in near proximity.

Having fallen into disrepair in the last few decades of the 20th century, Arnos Vale Cemetery was restored, and relaunched in 2010 as a heritage, wildlife and education centre, while continuing to operate as a working cemetery.[175]

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Historic England (2009): Arnos Vale Cemetery. List Entry. Register of Historic Parks and Gardens. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000559

[174] Arnos Vale Cemetery (2018) *From Garden Cemetery to Wilderness to Restoration.* Available at: https://arnosvale.org.uk/discover/heritage/friends-history-arnos-vale/

[175] BBC (2010) "Arnos Vale Cemetery to re-open after £5m restoration". Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/bristol/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8622000/8622013.stm

1837	Late 20th century	1987	2001
Cemetery established	Cemetery falls into disrepair	Grade II* listed Plans to redevelop site for housing Formation of Friends of Arnos Vale Cemetery to oppose plans	Bristol City Council issues Compulsory Purchase Order
2003	**2005**	**2006–09**	**2010**
Bristol City Council becomes owner after prolonged legal battle Charitable Trust set up to restore cemetery	HLF grant approved	Major restoration programme	Relaunch of restored cemetery

9.9.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

The campaign to save Arnos Vale Cemetery was born out of the threat that the heritage site would be demolished. By the late 1980s, the cemetery had fallen into disrepair and was no longer commercially viable, due to a combination of factors, including almost all graves being full, a preference for cremation, and competition from more up-to-date municipal facilities.[176] In 1987, plans by the private owner to exhume the bodies and to redevelop the site for housing became public. In response, a group of concerned locals came together to form the Friends of Arnos Vale Cemetery and they began campaigning to secure a safe future for Arnos Vale.

Despite the owners announcing the closure of the Cemetery in 1998, the public campaign grew in strength over the years and gained support from local residents, as well as local councillors and media representatives.[177]

Element 2: Ownership / management

Swayed by the high level of public pressure, the City Council started negotiations with the owner to buy the Cemetery, however, they eventually failed. Thus, in 2001, Bristol City Council served a Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO). After a prolonged legal battle, the CPO was passed and ownership of the site was acquired by the Council in 2003.[178] The Council then transferred the management of the site to the 'Friends' group which set up a charitable trust to restore and protect the Cemetery. The Council remains the landlord, leasing the site to the Trust. A 125-year lease was renewed with Bristol City Council in 2013.[179]

Element 3: Restoration

In the following years, a major restoration programme began which included the four main buildings, landscaping, paths and some principal monuments. Working with conservation architects Purcell, the Anglican chapel was restored to its former glory, including the plasterwork and tiled floor, as well as introducing flexible seating to make the space suitable for a range of events. The non-conformist chapel was significantly remodelled including a new glazed entrance foyer, now housing a café. A building added in the 1960s that was not part of the original design of the site, was demolished, while the East and West Lodges were restored and refitted to accommodate a range of office space and visitor services.[180]

While initial works were supported by English Heritage and Bristol City Council, the main restoration building programme was funded by a £4.8m grant by the

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[176] Arnos Vale Cemetery (2018).

[177] Arnos Vale Cemetery (2018); Interview with Janine Marriot, Public Engagement Manager, Arnos Vale Cemetery Trust.

[178] Ibid.

[179] Historic England (2018) Arnos Vale Cemetery. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/caring-for-heritage/take-ownership/case-studies/ArnosVale/

[180] Arnos Vale Cemetery (2018); According to the interviewee.

Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), which was awarded in 2005.[181] While the Trust members successfully secured the initial HLF stage 1 grant, they then appointed consultancy company Nicholas Pearson Associates to help them raise the required match funding, to develop their restoration plans and to draw up landscape architectural designs.[182] Match funding was provided through a combination of donations, fundraising and volunteer time to help with specific restoration or landscaping works. In total, the Friends of Arnos Vale donated in excess of £65,000 to the refurbishment of the cemetery as well as the greater part of the £250,000 of volunteer time.[183]

Bristol City Council managed the restoration process, appointing a dedicated heritage officer to the project. They also held the budget provided by HLF, but worked in close partnership with the Trust.

Element 4: Reuse

In May 2010, the revitalised Cemetery was unveiled to the public.[184] A key decision at the time of the HLF application was to animate the Cemetery by introducing a range of unusual, lively and popular uses (for a cemetery) rather than restoring the site and then 'quietly' maintaining it.[185] The wide variety of activities on the 45-acre site now include walks and talks, school visits, yoga and zumba, concerts and plays – all while maintaining and respecting Arnos

Vale's continued role as a working cemetery. The different spaces are also hired out for weddings, funerals and other events.

Arnos Vale is an important community space engaging and developing over 100 volunteers involved in the management of the estate, research and education, the shop or events.[186]

Key to implementing this new sustainable vision has been the appointment of Chief Executive Juliette Randall in spring 2011 who swiftly appointed a team of eight staff, which is organised into Estate Management, Commercial Services and Public Engagement sections.[187] Current Chief Executive Mike Coe, who was appointed in 2015, further developed this vision with a strong focus on Arnos Vale's role as a welcoming heritage and tourism site, rather than a cemetery.[188] The composition of the board of trustees has also changed over time, and includes relevant expertise on legal and finance matters, organisational development, heritage architecture and wildlife. Trustees now focus on offering strategic support and guidance, which is an evolution from their very hands-on roles leading up to the appointment of the executive team. The transition from 'campaign' mode to 'delivery' mode has required careful management, but the executive team's efforts put into communication has driven continued engagement and ownership.[189/190]

Element 5: Sustainability

The Trust takes inspiration from a social enterprise model and is keen to find ways to generate income and to avoid grant dependency. The main sources of income are weddings and funeral services, in addition to income generated from paid events. Other public engagement activities, including school visits or

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[181] Ibid.

[182] Nicholas Pearsons Associates (2006) "Arnos Vale Awarded £4.8 Million Heritage Lottery Funding". Archived from the original on 9 December 2006. Retrieved 4 October 2018.

[183] Arnos Vale Cemetery (2018).

[184] Arnos Vale Cemetery Trust (2017) Business Plan: https://arnosvale.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Arnos-Vale-Cemetery-Trust-Business-Plan-April-2017-20.pdf

[185] BOP Consulting (2012) Case studies of resilient heritage organisations. Report for English Heritage and Heritage Lottery Fund. Available at: https://content.historicengland.org.uk/content/heritage-counts/pub/2012/bop-case-studies-resilience.pdf

[186] Arnos Vale Cemetery Trust (2017).

[187] BOP Consulting (2012).

[188] According to the interviewee.

[189] BOP Consulting (2012).

[190] Image credit: https://visitbristol.co.uk/things-to-do/arnos-vale-cemetery-trust-p810693

children's workshops are not generating income, as charging an admission fee to the estate is not felt to be appropriate.[191]

Volunteers remain central to the operation of Arnos Vale. Each executive team works with its own team of volunteers. Volunteer numbers have increased from around 40 at the time of the relaunch to around 100 in 2017.[192]

Arnos Vale Cemetery Trust also benefits from an endowment worth £1.3m that was gifted by the Council to sustain the site.[193] While in the early days of establishing their operations, the Trust found it necessary to draw capital off this endowment, they have since tried to build it up again. In particular, the Trust participated in the HLF Catalyst Endowment grant programme, which helped them to raise close to £300,000 (which was then equally matched by the HLF grant) to add to their existing endowment.[194]

Alongside a continued focus on financial sustainability, the Trust's latest business plan for the period 2017–2020 also includes ambitious plans for a major new development including a new visitor centre and museum of life & death. The required funds for this new development will be in the region of £3m and the Trust is hoping to secure grants from a range of sources, including the HLF and the Arts Council.[195]

9.9.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

The project has impacted on a range of areas. Firstly, in terms of the heritage asset, the project has saved a historic site that was under threat to be demolished. Instead, the listed buildings and monuments that had fallen into disrepair have been restored and could be taken off the Heritage at Risk Register. In recognition of this achievement, the project was also awarded the

English Heritage Angel Award in 2011. The saving of the 45-acre site as green and wildlife space has also had a significant environmental impact.

At the same time, the Trust's vision has not only managed to save the site and keep it open to the public, but its renewed purpose has given the community new reasons to use and engage with the site. It provides a free-to-use green space for walks and exploration in the middle of a tight urban area. It also offers a real diversity of events and activities that appeal to different members of the community, in addition to offering many volunteering opportunities. Despite initial doubts among certain board members and volunteers, there is now also widespread acknowledgment that a balance can be achieved between these new activities and Arnos Vale's operation as a working cemetery.[196]

While no economic impact assessment has been carried out, the revitalised Arnos Vale estate has been cited as a key selling point for a housing development that has emerged in the immediate vicinity in the past couple of years.[197]

Key success factors and restrictions

There were a number of factors that were crucial to making the relaunch of Arnos Vale a success. At the outset of the project, the significant grassroots support was particularly vital, as it managed to generate media attention and gain support from the local council. During the next phases, perhaps the most crucial element was to gather the necessary skills and expertise to deliver the project. Beginning with the of the initial board of trustees who wrote a successful Stage 1 HLF funding bid, the Trust then engaged with a range of partners, including a consultancy with professional expertise in fundraising and project development. During the restoration, the partnership with the City Council, who assigned a dedicated heritage officer to manage the project, ensured that the Trust was able to draw on the required technical expertise. Building on the right

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[191] BOP Consulting (2012).

[192] Arnos Vale Cemetery Trust (2017).

[193] BOP Consulting (2012).

[194] University of Kent (2017) Evaluation of the Catalyst: Endowment Grant Programme. Final Report for HLF. Available at:
https://www.kent.ac.uk/sspssr/philanthropy/publications/documents/endowments_evaluation_report.pdf

[195] Arnos Vale Cemetery Trust (2017).

[196] BOP Consulting (2012); According to the interviewee.

[197] According to the interviewee.

kind of skills through the employment of professional staff also continues to be an important factor of success since the relaunch of the site, as it *"is important to have people who are knowledgeable and know what they are doing. Volunteers are invaluable, but they do not necessarily have the skills to do a budget or run a marketing campaign."*[198]

One of the challenges that the Trust had to deal with throughout the restoration was the (sometimes hidden) costs associated with restoring heritage sites. Indeed, the restoration of the Anglican chapel ended up using more resources than anticipated, which meant that there were less funds available for the originally envisaged tarmacking of paths across the site.

A key factor for the ongoing success of Arnos Vale lies in the vision that has financial sustainability at its core. At the beginning of the campaign, the focus of attention was on saving the site, but there were few ideas about how the site might be sustained over time. Initial ideas such as running a café and doing some tours around the site (alongside the operation as a cemetery) would not have raised sufficient amounts of funds. Instead, introducing an ambitious vision that was also focused on commercial sustainability made the difference.[199]

Key to implementing this new sustainable vision has been the leadership of the two chief executives. They managed a careful transition of the board of trustees from their hands-on 'campaign' role, to taking on more strategic functions, as well as reuniting trustees and members around a vision that is at the same time respectful of the operations of the Cemetery and providing a diverse range of activities that ensure financial sustainability.

The 'urban' location of the site has played a role in the success of the project. On the one hand, it ensures that there is an audience and users for the diverse activities on offer in proximity to the site. On the other hand, it has made it easy to recruit volunteers: *"Being located in a community that sees the importance of the site is very important. If we had been based in 'the middle of nowhere', we wouldn't have been able to attract the same amount of volunteers."*[200]

9.10 Gängeviertel, Hamburg

Hamburg's Gängeviertel,[201] a warren of narrow passageways and ramshackle factories and tenement buildings that stretched from the harbour into the old city, was occupied by thousands of workers' families until the mid-20th century. Large parts of the quarter were demolished in the 19th century following a cholera epidemic, with further parts destroyed during and after World War II.

Only 13 buildings remained, standing as a relic of old Hamburg and surrounded by ever more shiny new office buildings. Following successive failed attempts to regenerate them, most were scheduled for demolition in 2009. This resulted in a dedicated group of 'artists and activists' campaigning for a different future for the houses as a space for communal living and working. Negotiations with the City Council, the current owner, remain ongoing, but the buildings have now been saved for the future and are gradually being restored.

1892	World War II and beyond	2003–2007	2008
The City authorises demolition of large parts of quarter	Further parts destroyed; only remnants remain City remains owner	City sells quarter to successive investors who are unable to profitably develop it.	Area sold to Dutch investor; go-ahead given to demolish 80% of remaining quarter
August 2009	**Early 2010**	**2011**	**2013–2017**
200 artists and activists occupy houses scheduled for demolition. Collective formed.	City buys quarter back from investors	Collective and City sign cooperation agreement to restore buildings	First flats / studios occupied, event spaces opened
2017–today		**Early 2019**	**Autumn 2019**
Ongoing negotiations between activists and City over restoration, ownership & governance of the quarter. Restoration on hold		Negotiation expected to conclude	Restoration hoped to be restarted

[198] According to the interviewee.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Literally, 'passageway quarter'.

9.10.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

Following World War II, the last 13 buildings of the Gängeviertel remained in City Council ownership. Crumbling and with outdated living conditions, some flats and shops remained occupied, while others stood empty. In the 1990s, the quarter, by now listed, was included in an area scheduled for restoration, demonstrating the value the Council saw in it. However, following state budget cuts for restorations, the Council was forced to look for an alternative solution via private investors, and in the early 2000s, the quarter was first sold off.[202] Over the following decade, successive investors sought planning permission for the buildings in an attempt to redevelop the quarter. However, none of these plans turned out sufficiently profitable, despite the Council gradually loosening the level of protection attributed to the listing status. By 2008, with the quarter now in the hands of Dutch real estate company Hanzevast, the Council largely freed the listed buildings from official planning regulations and agreed to the demolition of 80% of the remaining historic buildings by the following summer,[203] *"in the hope that this would finally get things moving".[204]*

In the meantime, rental contracts had been gradually terminated, resulting in 12 buildings standing largely empty and in an increasingly bad condition. Only three flats and one shop remained occupied, the latter by a group of artists using it as a studio and performance area under a 'temporary use' permit. Forced to move from pillar to post in search of affordable rental space in the preceding years, the group saw in the quarter the potential to create affordable living and working space while at the same time restoring the historic houses.

They became increasingly worried about Hanzevast's plans for the quarter: as the interviewee said, *"the quarter and its historic relevance would have been lost – Hamburg's history of living and working at close quarters".*

From January 2009, the artists started inviting anyone interested in the issues of heritage conservation and affordable urban creative space to weekly meetings in their shop, finding support among a number of architects, town planners, city historians, social workers, activists, etc. In protest at the demolition plans, the group formed the collective Komm in die Gänge, in the shape of a general assembly with members,[205] They decided to plan an occupation of the houses for August 2009 – a 'cultural taking-into-possession', as they termed it,[206] to welcome in and engage with the local population, as well as to demonstrate to the City the potential of the quarter.[207]

Plans were put into place for exhibitions, performances and parties across eight houses, involving 200 artists. Equipment and exhibits were put up in secret and, a week before the event, the group distributed large stickers across the city, detailing the venue, date and time only,[208] The events turned out hugely successful, with over 4,000 visitors in total – the intriguing stickers brought in an initial crowd, who quickly circulated the unexpected event on social media. The collective circulated a press release shortly after in which they made clear that they aimed both to save the historic quarter as well as to create affordable

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[202] 12 of the 13 houses – the oldest, from 1650, were restored in the 1990s and remained in City ownership.

[203] Twickel, C. *Fallstudie Hamburg Gängeviertel. Komm in die Gänge oder Wunder in der Stadt der Tiefgaragen.*

[204] According to the interviewee, a member of the Verein Gängeviertel e.V., who was involved from the beginning and was a core member of the negotiating team.

[205] Literally, 'come into the alleys'; also means something like 'get a move on' in German.

[206] To avoid any negative associations with terms such as occupation, squatting or similar, according to the interviewee.

[207] Twickel, C. *Fallstudie Hamburg Gängeviertel. Komm in die Gänge oder Wunder in der Stadt der Tiefgaragen.* https://www.archplus.net/download/artikel/3737/

[208] To create an air of mystery and avoid the events being stopped by the authorities. A small public event at the still-remaining artist studio was registered with the local police.

creative space and housing in central Hamburg. In the following weeks, the cause received strong backing from local newspapers[209] and the public.[210]

Element 2: Ownership / management

Shortly after, *"politics joined in"*. The Council's initial reaction was to order an immediate vacation of the occupied buildings, but backed by public support, the members of the collective decided to stay. In October, the association 'Verein Gängeviertel e.V.' was formed as a legally liable organisation for the collective, with the aim of buying and securing the long-term regeneration of the quarter. Their proposition for the area was to create in the historic buildings a *"cultural and community hub, bringing together living, working, social care and cultural activities",[211]* built on democratic principles and self-governance. Committees responsible for negotiating, restoring, programming, etc. were formed, made up of a small number of members who were elected at plenary meetings.[212]

The situation was now a substantial thorn in the side of the Council, which was keen to *"change the uncontrolled growth into more orderly conditions".[213]* The e.V. had the public on their side – locally and increasingly from further afield – both with regard to saving the historic buildings, as well as to the notion of providing affordable space for artists in Hamburg, a big image problem for a city marketing itself as a booming and pulsating creative metropolis.[214] However, the Council would have been unable to address the group's and wider public's objections without rescinding its contract with Hanzevast.

Initial discussions between the Council and the e.V. were tough, with the former offering only short-term leases to individual members of the e.V.[215] until the investors had completed payment. Ongoing political campaigning and public pressure, as well as the provision of a detailed concept by the e.V. for the quarter including budget, administration and activity plan, however eventually

led to the Council agreeing to rebuy the Gängeviertel from the investor. This turn of heart was supported by several external factors: a government change at the Council to a Christian Democractic Union (CDU) / Green Party coalition – the latter of whom was keen to support artists; as well as the knowledge that Hanzevast itself was having difficulties developing a profitable plan for the redevelopment. *"The financial crisis played into our hands"*, according to the interviewee.

Despite some tricky negotiating points between the Council, the e.V and Hanzevast respectively, the rebuying process was finally completed at the end of 2009. As the then city development senator explained at the time, the Council was moved to act *"particularly because the initiative was able to combine both: criticism as well as a plan, and within this openness to communicate".[216]* Negotiations between Council and e.V. over ownership and administrative rights continued until 2012. While the e.V. wished to buy the quarter for a nominal amount or lease it long-term, the authorities remained firm that they would maintain control over the restoration and avoid selling the buildings below market value. However, the promise was given in April 2010 that the buildings would remain in the Council's ownership forever – a positive announcement in the eyes of the campaigners – and the Council agreed to pay for the restoration and accept the e.V.s concept. A restoration and cooperation agreement was set up between the Council culture department and the e.V., agreeing that the members of the collective could live and work in the quarter during the restoration process. Responsibility for the quarter's administration would lie with the e.V. as more spaces became available following restoration.

To be able to do this professionally, a separate housing association[217] was formed by the collective, which is now responsible for the administration of the houses, while the e.V. remains responsible for all 'content' such as cultural

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[209] Particularly the *Hamburger Abendblatt*, whose editor was strongly against the demolition.

[210] Image source: https://www.welt.de/regionales/hamburg/article4498731/Gaengeviertel-Besetzer-wollen-bleiben.html

[211] https://das-gaengeviertel.info/en.html

[212] Plenary meetings continue to take place once a week with 20 to 80 people to retain the specifically democratic basis and spirit of the initiative.

[213] https://www.zeit.de/2010/35/WOS-Hamburg-Gaengeviertel

[214] https://www.zeit.de/2010/35/WOS-Hamburg-Gaengeviertel & Twickel, C. *Fallstudie Hamburg Gängeviertel. Komm in die Gänge oder Wunder in der Stadt der Tiefgaragen.* https://www.archplus.net/download/artikel/3737/

[215] Who were, thus, personally liable for the buildings.

[216] https://www.zeit.de/2010/35/WOS-Hamburg-Gaengeviertel

[217] Genossenschaft in German, this has a different legal basis to an e.V., making it more suitable for the administration of accommodation.

programming, political negotiation, campaigning, publicity, etc. As with the e.V., the housing association is based on democratic principles of governance. Both are closely tied together through their respective charters as well as through one core member who sits on both boards.

Elements 3 & 4: Restoration & reuse

For much of the time during the years of negotiation, the e.V. was able to stay in the Gängeviertel,[218] gradually turning some of the dilapidated spaces into flats, studios, exhibition and event spaces. Public events continued to happen. Following agreement on the restoration and administration of the Gängeviertel, full restoration works officially started in 2012. Again, these were based on a somewhat uncertain truce between collective and the Council: while the former wished to be responsible for the restoration work, the Council insisted on bringing in Hamburg's town development association.[219] Both parties together chose an architect, and a finance package was agreed. The restoration would be financed by the Council, the German state, EU and other funding, as well as through loans taken up by the Council and refinanced by the collective.

In 2013, all buildings were fully listed. Between 2012 and 2015, three houses were restored and brought back to life as apartments, studio spaces and public spaces, such as bars. The largest building – a former belt and buckle factory – was turned into culture centre *Fabrique,*[220] housing a gallery, event venue, artist studios and hire spaces. Based on the collective's democratic principles as well as their core aim to create affordable space and culture for all, costs are kept to a minimum wherever possible. Events are usually free of charge, bars in the quarter operate a 'pay as much as you want' policy, and the apartments (several of which have studio space attached) are all operated as social housing in order to be able to make them available for artists and others on low income.

However, in 2015, the e.V. once again raised the alarm and called for a temporary stop to the restoration work, worried about the lack of voice in the restoration process. Members were particularly worried about the approach

taken by the town development association with regard to the heritage value of the buildings, and the existing energy strategy. For example, all chimneys were removed as they were "no longer needed", while the group felt they represented an important aspect of former life in the Gängeviertel. In the eyes of the e.V., this brought home the ongoing risks to the buildings as long as they were not in their ownership. The Council was, thus, once again approached to renegotiate the ownership status. Ever since, the two parties have been locked in negotiations over the future of the quarter. In particular, the e.V. is demanding contractual confirmation that the quarter will remain autonomous following the restoration, and that future economic constraints will not cause a commercialisation or sale of the quarter.[221] In the meantime, while the restoration has been put on hold, life goes on in the buildings where it can.

Element 5: Sustainability

At present, the Gängeviertel contains around 7,500 square meters of usable space and houses about 140 people, including many artists and creative entrepreneurs. The quarter continues to be run collectively, with the overall collective of all members at its basis, run via annual plenary sessions – membership now costs €500 for one share – and actively supported by the e.V. and housing cooperative, organised into a range of volunteer working groups.

All renovated flats are fully occupied, bringing in a basic income. Additional income is brought in through renting out hire spaces at the increasingly popular culture centre *Fabrique*. While special groups paying less, commercial clients e.g. large corporate functions, are required to pay a competitive price. Companies are willing to do so, happy to support the cause while not paying more than they would elsewhere. Similarly, the 'pay as much as you want' policy means that while some pay little, others are prepared to pay extra, in effect offering a donation. In this way, the collective hopes to *"let all participate who wish to"*, and at present, is able to cover running costs. The housing association is also in the process of developing a large fundraising campaign to build up capital, built on local notables becoming members of the collective and

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[218] Due to contractual arrangements between Hanzevast and the City, the inhabitants temporarily had to vacate the buildings before the rebuying process could be completed.

[219] "*Despite its track record in causing gentrification*", according to the interviewee.

[220] Note 'Fabrik' is the German term for factory.

[221] Twickel, C. *Fallstudie Hamburg Gängeviertel. Komm in die Gänge oder Wunder in der Stadt der Tiefgaragen.* https://www.archplus.net/download/artikel/3737/

paying the membership fee.[222] Membership is steadily increasing with around 500 members at present – one member can buy up to 10 shares.

The gallery at Fabrique also receives a small public grant, and it is felt that some form of public funding will always be required to support the cultural offer of the Gängeviertel. Above all, however, the Gängeviertel will always be *"reliant on the many people – both inhabitants and others – who come here to help"*. Across all activity, only five central administrative posts are paid. All other work – event organisation, PR, bar staff, cleaning, caretaking – is carried out by those *"resident in or profiting from the quarter",* who are required to do so, as well as volunteers from across Hamburg, who *"are keen to do something meaningful".[223]*

Given that negotiations between e.V. and the City are ongoing, only little can at present be made public. However, according to the interviewee, a solution is close and a contract expected to be arranged by early 2019. The City will continue to play a role in the quarter's future and have a voice in its restoration and cultural activity. Planning for the remaining restoration has already restarted and is scheduled to resume in autumn 2019. It will continue to be funded as previously, as well as through rental income and collective share sales.

9.10.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

Despite its current hiatus and drawn-out negotiations between the key stakeholders, the rescue of the Gängeviertel and all that has happened there since has resulted in a number of key positive impacts already. Most immediately, all 13 remaining buildings still stand and are now protected – and with them, a *"piece of old Hamburg"* has been saved – for future generations to witness and learn about their city's past.[224]

Its regeneration has also created what the interviewee called a 'laboratory' for a different kind of communal living and working together: *"trying, failing, trying again – through this we learn"*. Through its membership in the city-wide *Recht of Stadt* network,[225] the e.V. has also been able to offer its experience to other similar areas in Hamburg, contributing to a strong and lively subculture that supports direct people participation in the city's planning and development. Innovation also takes places in the new studios, which are currently home not only to artists but also craft and small-scale manufacturers.[226] In some cases, the quarter's 'collective' way of life has had profound impacts on individuals, such as the resident who learned to be an event technician through volunteering at the Gängeviertel, and consequently got a new job at a Hamburg theatre; or the artist who found a platform there and is now active worldwide. Innovation also takes place in the events based in the quarter – for example an annual short film festival which brings in people from across the world for 10 days. As the interviewee says, *"we wanted to provide education, too, not just living space"*.

The project has had a profound impact on the city itself. The old buildings now stand *"like a small Gallic village surrounded by modern glass and concrete office blocks, [...] defying the development of the surrounding investor-steered city".[227]* It provides a sense of place, colour, history, and has brought life back

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[222] Members can buy up to 10 shares worth €500 each.

[223] According to the interviewee.

[224] Image credit: https://www.welt.de/regionales/hamburg/article13904669/Sanierung-des-Gaengeviertels-verzoegert-sich.html

[225] 'Right to city' network.

[226] Many support the notion of urban sustainable living, such as the manufacture of cargobikes.

[227] https://www.welt.de/regionales/hamburg/article4498731/Gaengeviertel-Besetzer-wollen-bleiben.html

into an area otherwise dead in the evening. It *"breaks expectations and appears interesting to many people".*

Lastly, events such as the film festival bring new people to Hamburg, helping to raise the reputation of the city itself. Such impacts are widely recognised, evident in the quarter's inclusion in travel books and tourist tours, the culture department's supportive attitude, as well as in the quarter's designation as a UNESCO place of cultural diversity in 2015.

Key success and problem factors throughout the journey

A number of diverse internal and external factors have significantly contributed to the project's successes so far. On the side of the collective, firstly, success is down to the many different people who have actively engaged in the project. These have included *"many different identities"* – creatives, social workers, architects, city planners, historians, real estate experts, etc. – each of whom brought different insights and experience. This meant that the collective had useful contacts across all these areas – including with some high-ranking Council officials; a good understanding of the Council's 'pressure points' (e.g. it's image as creative city); as well as valuable industry knowledge (e.g. awareness that Hanzevast was struggling and looking for co-investors). Some of those involved have fought for the Gängeviertel since 2009, creating an important continuum and knowledge base about all aspects of the project and bringing with them huge passion for *"this one chance to change something".[228]*

The collective was also supported by the existence of other groups and networks with similar aims and ideals focusing on other areas in town, as this amplified the pressure they could put on the Council as to the 'right to be heard'.

A further key point, according to the interviewee, was the collective's ability to reach out to the general population – locally, nationally and across the world – who supported the ambition to save the quarter. *"Across the country, one speaks of the 'wonder of Hamburg'"* according to one article. [229] In this, the polite and 'soft' approach of the collective made it particularly approachable to a

large part of society. Many people came to visit the quarter, to participate in events, enjoy the atmosphere or volunteer, thereby helping to demonstrate the value of what the group was aiming to achieve. More practically, the Gängeviertel's easy accessibility here played an important role, located as it is in the town centre in proximity to an underground station.

In terms of the problem factors, this most fundamentally lies in the ongoing disagreement between the collective and Council as to the best way to restore, own and govern the area. This has led to a huge amount of time, money and effort being spent on negotiations, straining the relationship between stakeholders and having a significant negative impact on the restoration process. It has also led to substantial personal costs for some of those involved on both sides. In particular the members elected to lead the negotiations have occasionally had to significantly adapt their lives to carry on, in some cases at the cost of jobs or education, or resulted in personal debt.

Key success and problem factors for ongoing sustainability

Going forward, the most fundamental success factor for the ongoing success and sustainability of the quarter lies in the joint adoption of a contract between the collective and the Council, which sets out the terms of the ongoing restoration and governance to the satisfaction of both parties. Once this is in place, hopefully by early 2019, the stakeholders can refocus on restoring and regenerating the remaining buildings.

When this is achieved, three key factors will be crucial to the quarter's ongoing sustainability. Firstly, its ability to *"institutionalise in order to secure the survival of the collective and the buildings, while at the same time avoiding institutional rigidity in order to remain a space of possibilities"* – in other words, administering the quarter in a professional way, without losing its open and democratic character. [230] Secondly, hand in hand with this comes the ongoing success of the collective, in terms of its continued ability to attract new members, members' voluntary work, as well as their democratic spirit and

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[228] According to the interviewee.

[229] Twickel, C. *Fallstudie Hamburg Gängeviertel. Komm in die Gänge oder Wunder in der Stadt der Tiefgaragen.* https://www.archplus.net/download/artikel/3737/

[230] Ibid.

approach to decision-making, in order to retain a well-functioning community that lives and works closely together. Thirdly, ongoing sustainability will rely on the ongoing popularity of the quarter: its bars, Culture Centre and events among (paying) visitors, and its flats, studios and shops among prospective tenants. This will rely strongly on a balance between financial viability and an ongoing emphasis on affordability, to retain the quarter's non-commercial character.

The key difficulties in all this may or may not lie in the ongoing involvement of the Council. While it means that the Gängeviertel will always be reliant on the goodwill of whoever governs the city, at the same time, it implies that the buildings are for now protected by the authorities, who recognise the value of what the collective has brought to the city. Furthermore, given that the onsite activities are always likely to require a certain amount of public funding, a healthy relationship with the relevant authorities will clearly remain important. At this point, only time will tell.

9.11 Merdeka Stadium, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Merdeka Stadium in Kuala Lumpur, otherwise known as the Stadium of Independence, was purpose-built in 1957 by the first Prime Minister of independent Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman. It was intended to serve as the venue where independence from the British would be officially proclaimed. This happened as a mass event, on 31st August 1957, with a grand ceremony. The stadium was the country's first international-standard sporting venue. Its seating capacity was expanded in the 1970s and it remained quite well used for sports and major events for several decades.

9.11.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

In 1992 Malaysia was announced as the first Asian country and second developing country to host the Commonwealth Games. In 1993, it was announced that Merdeka Stadium would be demolished, with development rights to the stadium site and its surroundings sold to developers United

Engineers of Malaysia (UEM) in exchange for their building a new national sports complex elsewhere to host the Commonwealth Games.

UEM proposals for the site included a 5-star hotel, apartments and condominiums, commercial spaces including retail and entertainment venues, with a public plaza to commemorate Malaysian independence – plans that were greeted by public outcry but the sale and proposals went through nevertheless. The government administration at the time did not see the value of keeping the Merdeka Stadium building.

In the late 1990s however UEM was hit by financial difficulties, and although the new stadium was delivered, works to the Merdeka Stadium site had not started and the building itself had instead fallen into disrepair. The Merdeka Stadium site was put up for public auction once more and purchased for approximately $100m by Permodalan Nasional Berhad (PNB), a government-led equity trust limited company.

1957	1992	1993	2000
Construction of the stadium for ceremony to mark Malaysian independence.	Malaysia announced as host to 1998 Commonwealth Games	Stadium site sold to developers UEM in exchange for building new Commonwealth Games stadium	UEM hit financial difficulties. Purchased at auction by PNB.
2005	**2007–11**		
Stadium listed as national monument	Stadium restoration work carried out		

Element 2: Ownership / management

A currency crisis in 1997 resulted in UEM defaulting on the bank loans it had taken out, against which the stadium land had been held as collateral. Although the new Commonwealth Games stadium was delivered, works to the Merdeka Stadium site had not started, with the Merdeka Stadium building itself having instead fallen into disrepair. The Merdeka Stadium site was put up for public auction once more and purchased for approximately $100m by Permodalan Nasional Berhad (PNB), a government-led equity trust limited company. Tan Sri Ahmad Sarji, chairman of PNB, was at the time also President of Badan Warisan Malaysia (BWM), a heritage NGO otherwise known as the Heritage of Malaysia Trust.

Going forward into restoration and reuse, PNB were wholly responsible for funding the project and took on all of the financial risk. BWM provided the vision for how conservation work would be carried out, drawing on their technical expertise, and also provided a conservation management plan. According to BWM, Malaysia's National Heritage Department and Minister of Culture and Heritage were not in favour of PNB taking the project on, instead wanting to manage it themselves. PNB however stated that it was the government that was in fact originally responsible for the site's sale.

To secure legal protection for the stadium going forward, PNB applied to the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism in 2004 to have the property listed as a national monument under the Antiquities Act 1976, status that was awarded on 17 October 2005.

Element 3: Restoration

The project was initially planned to be delivered in one phase between 2005 and 2007, in time for the 50-year anniversary of the 1957 declaration of independence.

BWM argued for a restoration approach that also took the stadium back to its original 1950s design, removing extra seating added in the 70s to increase capacity. Restoration plans also proposed additions such as enabling disabled access and adding an exhibition space to tell the story of 'The Road to Nationhood', commemorating of stadium's status as a living monument of independence.

As Merdeka Stadium had been designated as national monument in 2005, the conservation approach had to be approved by Malaysia's Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage. The Ministry disagreed with this approach, stating that the building should remain in its contemporary form as additions made in the 70s are also part of its story. A lot of negotiation then took place behind the scenes, but eventually, after discussion between the PNB Chairman (a former government minister) and the Prime Minister himself, the BWM conservation approach was approved.

This delay in beginning work meant that a first phase of essential renovations, described simply as 'tidying up' the building, were completed between February and August 2007. More substantial works took place in a second phase between March 2009 and December 2011. This included removing all the upper tiers of seating added in the 70s, reconstructing the grandstand, flagpoles and scoreboards, and bringing back original architectural finishes. This process involved working with the building's original designer and assistant engineer, who were still alive, and consulting original architectural drawings in government archives. The BWM team are now gradually digitising all of this archive material.

An additional challenge arose during the second phase of works, relating to the stadium's immediate surrounding area. Merdeka Stadium is part of a 32-acre site, 18 acres of which are classed as a national monument (see below). As the party taking on all costs and financial risk, developer PNB therefore needed to monetise the remainder of the site. They put forward proposals for a 118-storey tower next to the stadium, which included designs for a public plaza that blocked views of the stadium. BWM negotiated with PNB to revise these proposals. These negotiations were supported by an earlier phase of work delivered by BWM in 2004, a conservation management plan accepted by PNB in 2004 that agreed a development 'buffer zone' around the stadium. Designs for the plaza were altered to better consider the stadium, and PNB also agreed to extend the development buffer zone. BWM stated that PNB agreed to these changes because they felt that the arguments were thoroughly considered, and included consideration of their financial interests.

Elements 4 & 5: Reuse and sustainability

Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah stated that the government appreciated PNB taking the initiative to restore Merdeka Stadium, but going forward the government also wanted the stadium to be managed independently.

A specially constituted public trust was set up under PNB, with the aim of preserving the stadium for the nation in perpetuity. The Trust is managed by a five-member board of trustees, headed by the Chairman of PNB. In future matters relating to the stadium, PNB needs to negotiate with the Trust. BWM however stated that they are often brought into these negotiations for support, as the Trust is "small and [doesn't] feel very strong against the big money".

Upon the establishment of the Trust, Prime Minister Abdullah announced that the Trust "is expected to help encourage cultural and arts activities and maintain the heritage [….] Through this Trust, people from all strata of society can play a role in the restoration of the two stadiums besides other programmes and projects being planned for implementation at the two locations".

In order to support this mandate, Prime Minister Abdullah granted tax-exemption status to the Trust under sub-section 44(6) of the Income Tax Act 1967 effective August 30th 2006. This enabled every contribution and donation to the Trust to be eligible for a tax rebate against aggregated income.

Going forward, the Trust generates its own income from tax-exempt donations, rental income from events and sports activities, and fees for guided tours. This is supplemented by project- and activity-based funding from government heritage, education, sport and tourism agencies.

9.11.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

There is no formal data or evaluation material available as to the impact of this restoration work. However, BWM comments that visibility and awareness as to the cultural and historic value of the stadium has been demonstrated through the conservation process, positioning the stadium as a *"key heritage icon and profound educational resource"*, and in so doing gaining buy-in from government.

Economically, the stadium continues to operate as a multi-functional sporting and event venue. BWM comment that the stadium has *"contributed to the economic viability and social vibrancy of the surrounding environment",* for example through several sporting bodies locating themselves in the area.

9.12 Dashilan Renewal, Beijing, China

The Dashilan area is located in the very centre of Beijing, directly south of Tiananmen Square along Beijing's North–South axis and within the city's innermost 'second ring road'. This roughly corresponds to the original line of Beijing's ancient city walls, now mostly demolished, defining the edges of the original imperial 'inner' city housing government and 'outer' city for commerce and leisure. The 'first ring-road' refers to the walls of the former Imperial City, seen in bright orange, below left, of which only some fragments remain. The 1.26km^2 area of Dashilan is located within the 24km^2 'outer city' area, and is visible as a yellow rectangle (below right).
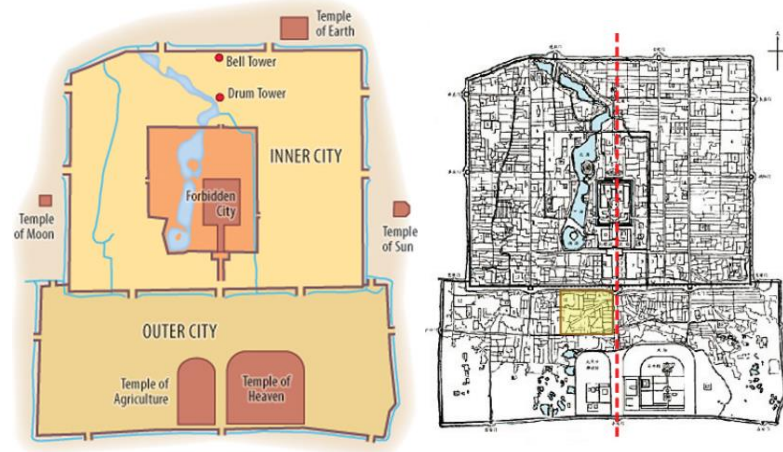
Left: Diagram of historic Beijing (source); Right: Plan of historic Beijing with Dashilan shown in yellow (source)

Forbidden City

Tiananmen Square

Dashilan Area

Location of Dashilan area in contemporary central Beijing (source)

Diagrammatic plan of Dashilan district (2005), showing traditional street pattern (source)

The Dashilan area in its current form dates back to the 1400s, when it was a commercial area housing shops and residences serving the 'inner city' and newly built Forbidden City complex. It was the most successful commercial area of Beijing for many centuries, with high-end retail, Chinese banks, theatres, operas and a red light district – all functions excluded from the 'inner' city.[231]

Architecturally, Dashilan is made up of a series of narrow lanes (known as 'hutongs') that provide shelter from the region's strong winds. Unlike the 'inner' city, these lanes are not laid out in a grid pattern. Along these lanes are historic residential buildings in the form of courtyard houses, commercial buildings built by traders from across China in local styles, and 'Hui Guan', liaison offices between Beijing and local regions for traders and immigrants. The 'Hui Guan' provided free accommodation for visitors from local regions, functioned as community centres and some had their own opera theatres.[232]

After the 1950s the area began to decline as the new government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) built two new commercial streets to the left

[231] https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1233&context=hp_theses

[232] http://www.tibetheritagefund.org/media/download/hutong_study.pdf

and right of the Forbidden City, diminishing its commercial importance.[233]

Additionally, from the 1950s to the present day, the traditional residential and commercial buildings have been more and more densely occupied. This was initially due to the re-allocation of housing by the new government of the PRC and then due to Beijing's rising population as migrants from across China moved to the city.[234]

Overall this resulted in the economic decline of the area, and in a large number of people living in cramped conditions. Home to around 55,000 people within a square kilometre, Dashilan is one of the most densely populated parts of Beijing – six times the city's average. It is also one of the most convoluted in terms of property rights, split between a state developer, state work units and private citizens – a situation further confused by multiple sub-letting and the proliferation of illegally built structures within and on top of courtyard houses. This has seen the area's built fabric rapidly decline, with little maintenance and upkeep due to both unclear ownership and rising land values leading to ongoing uncertainty about demolition.[235]

2003	2003	2004	2004–2011
Dashilan Conservation District defined and included in the relevant regulations. Government issues area masterplan.	Establishment of Beijing Dashilan Investment Limited (BDI) to carry out conservation and regeneration work.	Government issues detailed plan to guide area regeneration and begins first intervention (Meishi Street)	Interventions carried out to widen, pedestrianise and refurbish streets as well as to demolish and rebuild certain areas

2011	2011	2013	
Design and beginning of implementation of 'nodal' Dashilar pilot strategy	First year Beijing Design Week events are held in Dashilan	Event-led strategy builds up awareness of the area & new businesses start to establish	

9.12.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

Urban development, regeneration and conservation work in China is largely a top-down process, with freehold land ownership resting with the government, decisions as to heritage significance made by government-employed specialists and little or no community consultation.

The protection of historic buildings and historic areas in China began in the 1960s with a listing system and in the early 1980s with the designation first of Historic Cities and then the use of Conservation Districts. Beijing first defined 25 Conservation Districts via new legislation (Planning of Preservation and Control Areas for Historical & Cultural Conservation Areas in Beijing Old City, 1993). Two of these covered parts of Dashilan district, and these two now make up the heart of Dashilan Conservation District, defined in 2003.[236]

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[233] https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1233&context=hp_theses

[234] http://www.tibetheritagefund.org/media/download/hutong_study.pdf

[235] https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2013/oct/02/beijing-design-week-china-hutongs-preservation

[236] http://www.tibetheritagefund.org/media/download/hutong_study.pdf

Two new regulations were brought in to facilitate this, the General Management of 25 Beijing Historic Districts (2000) creates three levels of zoning for conservation districts: a Core Area, Development Control Area and Coordination Area. In Dashilan, these are marked in the diagram below. The Core Area is most strictly regulated and doesn't allow for exterior alterations or new construction apart from essential infrastructure. The Development Area restricts scale, height, style and colour of proposed built-environment changes. The Co-ordination Area is least restrictive, and is where demolition and new construction occurs most frequently. The City Management Purple Line law (2003) designates conservation districts with a clear boundary.[237] Conservation districts also control building use. At present, to align with the strategic direction of Beijing's General City Plan 2016–2035 to reduce the density of people and activity in the city centre[238], conservation districts in central Beijing need to limit commercial functions to less than 15% of the area.

Core Area   Development Control Area

Coordiantion Area-1   Coordiantion Area-2
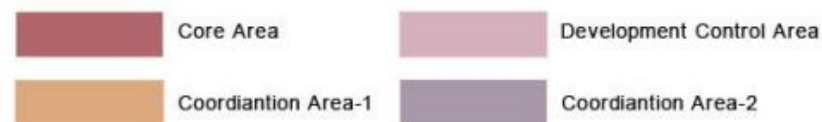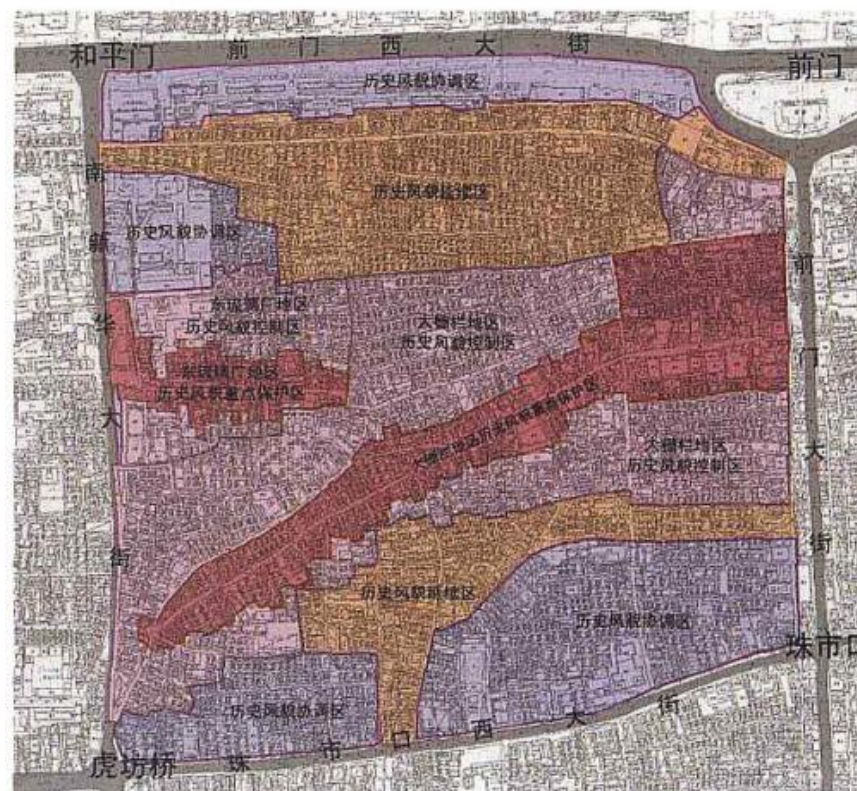
Element 2: Ownership / management

Ultimately, freehold land ownership rests with the state. However, as touched on above, in historic districts such as Dashilan, identifying the individuals or

[237] https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1233&context=hp_theses

[238] http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-09/29/c_136649259.htm

organisations currently holding the rights to occupy plots of land or buildings is extremely complex and can take years.

Masterplans that set the development direction are led by the relevant local government body; in the case of Dashilan this is Beijing West City District Government. Plans are then carried out through a form of public–private partnership, with the local government often developing areas in partnership with state-backed or private property developers, often through a special purpose vehicle. In the case of Dashilan, Beijing Dashilan Investment Limited (BDI) was set up in 2003 as a vehicle enabling *"the district and municipal government to collaborate on infrastructure and non-profit driven investments towards the long-term preservation of Dashilan"*.[239] It is responsible for carrying out conservation and regeneration work across Dashilan district. BDI is a subsidiary company of Beijing Guang An Holdings Limited, a state-owned property developer. In the case of Dashilan, property rights in the area were so complex that BDI in fact only had rights to 10% of the area's buildings.[240]

Elements 3 & 4: Restoration & reuse

Work began with the local government issuing a master plan for the area in 2003 and a detailed plan in 2004. This was quickly followed by the first intervention, the widening of Meishi Street (shown in pale blue) between 2004 and 2006 from nine to 25 metres. This re-directed north–south traffic from Qianmen Street (north–south artery shown in red), allowing it to become a pedestrian street.[241]

From a conservation perspective, this move disrupted the historic street pattern, cutting across a historic east–west route through Dashilan district and necessitating the demolition of 800 courtyard houses. The critically acclaimed 2006 documentary film Meishi Street by Beijing artist Ou Ning documents this first intervention from the perspective of local residents.[242]

Additional works to Qianmen Street and Dashilan Street were carried out between 2007 and 2008, completing just before Beijing hosted the 2008 Olympic Games. Works to Qianmen Street were tendered to SOHO China real estate developers as a for-profit project. The street was widened to 21 metres and few historic structures were retained. The new or repaired buildings were then leased to commercial tenants, often Chinese or multi-national chains.[243]

[239] www.dashilar.org

[240] https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2013/oct/02/beijing-design-week-china-hutongs-preservation

[241] https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1233&context=hp_theses

[242] http://sensesofcinema.com/2012/miff2012/alternative-archives-and-individual-subjectivities-ou-nings-meishi-street/

[243] http://chuhanzheng.weebly.com/uploads/1/9/3/5/19358971/chuhan_casestudy.pdf

Other major early-stage moves were the redevelopment of two areas at the north-east and south-east corners of Dashilan (marked in white). This involved

Dec. 2004- Nov. 2006	Meishi Street	
Apr. 2006 - Apr. 2007	Qianmen East Road	
Mar. 2006-Mar. 2012	Clearance on Block C and H	
May 2007- Jul. 2008	Qianmen Pedestrain Street and Dashilan Street	
Jan. 2008- Dec. 2008	Basic upgrading on Five Alleys	
Apr. 2009 - Dec. 2009	Dashilan West Street	
Jan. 2010---	East Glaze Factory Historic District pedestrain street	

compulsory evictions of existing tenants, considerable demolition and the construction of new buildings. New leases were then given to interested parties via auction, where original tenants were often out-bid. In the case of the north-east corner site in particular, this crossed into both Core Area and Development Control Area zones under the 2003 Conservation District designation, suggesting that at the time, regulatory protection was not sufficient to outweigh other forces and interests at play.[244]

Today, this eastern-most area of Dashilan is mainly a destination for mass tourism, servicing large groups of domestic tourists from surrounding provinces making short visits to Beijing to take in Tiananmen Square and the Forbidden City. The early stage changes to this eastern-most area of Dashilan in particular are viewed almost universally as a failure, not just in terms of public opposition to the development approach but also politically and commercially. Large numbers of budget tourists are not considered by the government as supporting an image of Beijing as a successful modern global capital, and also discourage Beijingers from spending time in the area. Furthermore, tour groups' short dwell-time and limited budget means, despite their numbers, they spend less money, decreasing uptake of commercial leases and, therefore, revenue.

In 2011, BDI commissioned local architect Liang Jingyu to develop the 'nodal' Dashilar Pilot Strategy. This strategy aimed to facilitate several model projects in strategic locations across the area, and show existing owners how investing in their properties and businesses could help turn a profit and improve the area.[245] This coincided with new policies to strengthen conservation district protection.

The diagrams to the right summarise this approach, with the top diagram illustrating the usual top-down model and the diagram below showing the 'nodal' model. In the top-down model, the development area is first defined, existing tenants are evicted with compensation, the area is cleared and new buildings are constructed. Then finally large scale commercial tenants are moved in, along with new office and residential tenants.

[244] https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1233&context=hp_theses

[245] https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2013/oct/02/beijing-design-week-china-hutongs-preservation

Under the 'nodal' model, the 'definition' of the area to be developed is made based on spatial, social and cultural characteristics. The second step is then to evict a much smaller number of existing tenants, compensating them according to the market value of their property. Using these newly vacant building 'nodes' as a starting point, the third step is to attract new activity to them, either through events or by introducing new commercial tenants with the potential to enliven their immediate surroundings. The final step is for activity to spread organically from these nodes, at the same time promoting richness and diversity.[246]

Element 5: Sustainability

Working through a strategy on paper is only the first step, with implementation and ongoing support even more crucial. Starting in 2011, BDI supported an event-led strategy, working with locally based culture sector partners to get Dashilan district included in Beijing Design Week. Design Week in Beijing takes place at numerous sites across the city, each with their own theme. It's held each year to coincide with China's 'golden week' public holiday in October, maximising size and diversity of potential audiences.

Design Week-generated publicity for Dashilan and 'golden week' meant that Dashilan was able to attract a larger and more diverse audience of people, in particular Beijing's students, white collar workers and expats, groups that wouldn't normally think to go to Dashilan due to its prior association with mass tourism. Culture was a great way to reach these audience groups in particular, who are familiar with culture-led consumption and who, while taking in the exhibitions put on as part of Design Week, would also enjoy new shops and cafés in the area.[247]

By 2013 there was increasing demand for local retail, and food and beverage services, enough for small independent businesses to set up in the area permanently. Design Week also brought benefits for existing residents and businesses, with specific themed projects pairing designers with existing businesses, for example, redesigning their branding and signage. This has continued, with projects involving residents in the co-creation of art works, creating new street furniture, and conducting more detailed and sensitive mapping of local residents use of space, likes and dislikes etc. to inform future interventions.

In parallel with temporary activation via events, the gradual, long-term development of 'nodes' (selected sites within the Dashilan area) was supported between 2013–16 through the Dashilar Pilot, a scheme launched by BDI and showcased as part of Beijing Design Week. This was effectively the targeting of longer-term attention into creative projects bringing together architects, designers, artists, residents and business owners. Projects aimed to use

[246] http://www.dashilar.org/#A

[247] http://www.dashilar.org/#A

creative thinking and work with the community to make a difference for local issues such as dilapidated buildings, over-crowding, support for small traditional businesses and management of the impact of mass tourism.[248]

Two further mechanisms were established around 2013–14. Beijing Dashilar Liulichang Cultural Development Limited was established under BDI, to continue to coordinate and push forward the regeneration of the area. This includes coordinating with all stakeholders (including residents and local businesses), continuing to support activity showcased in Beijing Design Week, and introducing new commercial and cultural uses into selected buildings in the area. To help do this, discounts were made available on rent of commercial premises and subsidies for new tenants wishing to carry out building repairs.

The second mechanism is Dashilar Platform. Launched in 2014, its production and maintenance was designed to be a collective effort involving the government, business and the community, bringing all parties together under the same goals – improving the built environment, recognising and celebrating local cultural assets, and creating a sustainable community. The Platform aimed to showcase ideas, models and best practice developed by all stakeholders, including through the Dashilar Pilot scheme, in order to encourage knowledge sharing and participation.[249] The Platform continues to be active online today.

9.12.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

The 'nodal' model may not seem like a very new idea from the Western European perspective, but the Dashilan Renewal project is arguably the first example of mixed-use regeneration in Beijing (and possibly China) that also retains existing buildings and the majority of existing residents and businesses.

The impact of specific elements of the 'nodal' approach have been variable. Engaging with Beijing Design Week as part of an event-led strategy has been extremely successful in changing perceptions of the area among Beijingers and younger independent travellers from other cities or abroad. It has put Dashilan

on the map, continues to collaborate with and share the stories of existing residents and businesses with young people, and remains one of the most popular parts of Beijing Design Week today.

The Dashilan Pilot scheme provided the opportunity for innovative ideas around regeneration to be shared with the public, the creative community and project stakeholders. However, the vast majority of these projects did not develop beyond the conceptual level, and were at best realised as temporary exhibitions or pop-ups. The Pilot scheme did not continue to run beyond 2016.

The introduction of new independent retail and food businesses to the area has arguably made the most tangible and lasting impact. This was made possible by the increasing exposure generated from Beijing Design Week, and by subsidies for both rent and repairs made available through BDI. In terms of conservation, new tenants have arguably carried out more sensitive repairs than a centrally organised body would have done, not least because these types of businesses see the value of the original buildings to their brand.

In many other countries, this process would quickly speed up, spiralling into gentrification. In Beijing however there are restrictions on the percentage of buildings that can be used for commercial premises in a designated conservation district and restrictions on the size and shape of buildings (meaning that floor plates cannot be expanded to accommodate large chain businesses). The pace at which new businesses have established has therefore been gradual.

From the perspective of the local government and developer partnership, the outcomes have been better than those delivered by the first phase of development in East Qianmen, in terms of aesthetics at the very least. Commercial outcomes have however been underwhelming. Increasingly strict tenancy protections have resulted in a high proportion of existing tenants remaining in place and large compensation payments to those that do agree to move. With the addition of subsidies to new commercial tenants, income from any new leases is insignificant when compared to upfront costs.

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[248] http://www.dashilar.org/index.htm#A!/A/A2_C2013.html

[249] http://www.dashilar.org

Although local residents have been involved in activities related to Beijing Design Week and the Dashilar Pilot in particular, they have not been involved in decision-making as to the future of the district in general and any research into perceptions among local businesses or residents is unfortunately not available. A resident committee is in place to facilitate communication between residents and the developer–government partnership delivering the regeneration of the area. This has largely been used to facilitate the process of identifying tenants for existing buildings, negotiating compensation and carrying out repairs to the public realm.

Overall, the most significant impact of the Dashilan Renewal project is arguably to show those implementing future projects that there are alternatives to wholesale demolition. It could be that the 'nodal' approach simply made a virtue of necessity. Increasing protection for historic buildings and tenancy rights, the lesson of commercial failure on Qianmen Street, increasing political focus on Chinese culture, as well as new policies restricting inner-city density all came together to make the previous 'raze and rebuild' approach increasingly unfeasible. All these factors remain in place. The 'nodal' model may therefore be an interesting starting point of an evolution in regeneration approaches more considerate to the historic built environment.

9.13 Evergreen Brick Works, Toronto

Don Valley Brick Works was established as a quarry and industrial brick-making facility within Toronto's ravine system in 1889. Between the 1880s and 1950s, the site was where *"many of the bricks that define the city's architectural fabric were pulled from the earth, formed and baked"*, producing between 85,000 and 100,000 bricks per day with clay from the land onsite.[250]

After being owned by a number of individuals, the Brick Works was sold to an investment company in 1928 and renamed the Toronto Brick Company, by which point over 25 million bricks were produced onsite annually. Production

capacity eventually reduced around World War II and a fire in 1946 wiped out some of the facilities.

By the 1980s the quarry became depleted and the owners sold the site to the company Torvalley Associates for $4 million CAD intending for it to be rezoned and developed as housing.[251] The development was ultimately deemed by the City of Toronto to be an unsafe area to live or work due to its location on an environmentally sensitive floodplain.

Around the same period, a coalition of community groups and citizens called Friends of the Valley including *"representatives of local historical, architectural, pottery, gardening, ratepayer and archaeological societies"* [252] pushed for the expropriation of the Brick Works by the Toronto Regional Conservation Authority (TRCA). The campaign was successful and the City paid $14 million CAD to purchase the land in 1987 and rezone it from residential.

From the late 1980s, the Brick Works sat abandoned with the buildings onsite continuing to deteriorate and the site becoming a dumping ground and location for antisocial behaviour.

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[250] A. Bozikovic. 'Industrial Evolution'. *Canadian Architect*. 2018.
https://www.canadianarchitect.com/features/industrial-evolution/

[251] Evergreen Brick Works Primer 2010.
[252] Ibid.

1889	1880s–1950s	1980s	1980s–early 2000s
Founding of Don Valley Brick Works industrial site and quarry	Brick Works produces over 25 million bricks that build the city's iconic architecture	The City of Toronto and TRCA purchase the site after housing development plans determined unviable	Don Valley Brick Works becomes an abandoned site once the quarry is depleted

Early 2000s	2003	2003–10	2010
Non-profit environmental organisation Evergreen approaches the city about adaptively repurposing the site as a holistic community centre	Request For Proposal (RFP) issued by the City of Toronto and TRCA for proposals to redevelop Don Valley Brick Works and ultimately awarded to Evergreen	Development of Evergreen Brick Works through fundraising, design, feasibility studies and construction	Development of Evergreen Brick Works completed and opened to the public

9.13.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

In the years following, the City of Toronto hoped to sell off the site and have the land redeveloped, but a series of proposals fell through due to potential purchasers' inability to adapt to the environmentally sensitive nature of the site.

Evergreen, a community-centred environmental non-profit, in the 1990s had begun a process of 'greening' formerly industrial areas outside Toronto and approached the City with an interest in creatively repurposing the Bricks Works site. Following those conversations, in 2003 the City of Toronto and TRCA

issued an RFP for proposals to fundraise and lead the development of the adaptive re-use of the heritage structures onsite *"to create a centre for environmental learning and urban ecology"*.[253] Proposals were assessed on their ability to develop *"a self-sustaining project that would protect and interpret the site's geological, ecological and industrial significance"*.[254]

Evergreen responded to the RFP with a vision developed by their CEO to create a community centre focused on sustainability that would operate on a social enterprise model. To their surprise they were ultimately selected in spite of hesitation by the City that they were under-resourced and lacked the expertise to meet the challenge of redeveloping the entire multi-hectare site. The City of Toronto and Evergreen signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) assuming responsibility for all of the formerly industrial buildings on site.[255]

As an expert on the project interviewed reflected on the context: *"They're located in the heart of a natural system that is in the dead centre of the city. So there were no direct neighbours, but they almost have the entire city within a couple of kilometres, including some of the poorest and wealthiest neighbourhoods in the city."*

The redevelopment of the Brick Works buildings follows on from wider redevelopment of the adjacent land by the City of Toronto, filling in the degraded quarry in the 1990s to create a new public park and greenspace.[256]

Element 2: Ownership

The City of Toronto and the TRCA entered in to a three-party agreement with Evergreen, offering a 21-year lease for $1 a year [257], with the land owned by the TRCA and managed by the City of Toronto.

Evergreen then launched an ambitious $55 million capital campaign led by the organisation's fundraising and development staff to raise the necessary funds for the design and redevelopment of the Brick Works. Evergreen met their goal

[253] Evergreen Brick Works – Amendment to Credit Facilities Terms. City of Toronto. 2001. https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2011/ex/bgrd/backgroundfile-41844.pdf

[254] Evergreen Brick Works Primer. 2010.

[255] According to the interviewee.

[256] Case Study: Evergreen Brick Works. World Cities Culture Forum. http://www.worldcitiescultureforum.com/case_studies/evergreen-brick-works

[257] Evergreen Brick Works Primer. 2010.

with a mix of public and private funds including $20 million from the federal government under the Canada Strategic Infrastructure Fund and $25 million in donations from corporations, foundations and individuals.[258]

The City of Toronto provided Evergreen with a $55.6 million capital loan guarantee in order to secure the project's construction financing. [259/260]

Elements 3 & 4: Restoration & reuse

Between 2003 and 2010, Evergreen entered an intensive period of development, fundraising and design; an interviewee describes it as, *"selling the vision and figuring out the feasibility and cost".*[261]

Given the sensitive environmental and heritage considerations for the site, a series of feasibility studies were carried out around heritage, contamination, flooding, which buildings it would be possible to develop structurally, what transportation would be required, (given the site's location in an isolated area), a broader environmental survey of the site, and more generally the feasibility of bringing their vision to life and what that would cost.

According to an expert from the organisation, the City had very little in terms of existing policy and planning regulations and tools to support the development of the project since there was little precedent for it in the city.[262]

Community consultation was an integral part of the design and development process, especially given that there was little community interest and engagement with the project to start. *"There wasn't an existing community asking [the City] to do this. Because it wasn't immediately in anyone's backyard, there weren't strong feelings around it".*[263] Part of Evergreen's approach in the lead up to construction was a series of public prototypes of concepts for the new

facilities, allowing them to test ideas with the community while the project was still being developed.

Evergreen brought on a team of 14 consulting firms to develop the project including architects, landscape architects, environmental engineers, and transportation and interpretation specialists. Needing to respond to the preservation and interpretation demands of the site's heritage designation ended up "costing them millions" in ensuring the buildings would be fit for purpose and safe for the public to access.

The development and construction activity has focused on adaptive reuse and rehabilitation of the historic buildings with an eye toward environmental sustainability. Nearly all of the 16 existing buildings were reused, with the addition of one new building – a LEED Platinum certified Centre for Green Cities.[264]

According to Evergreen Brick Works*, "Preserving this industrial heritage was central to the design of Evergreen Brick Works. Yes, we have removed a couple of buildings, taken the roof off another and constructed a new LEED Platinum office building – but the overall feel of the site still evokes its gritty past. We have also reused and adapted existing materials as much as possible in the redevelopment of the site, giving new life to old bones."*[265]

The redesign of the buildings applied a 'loose fit, light touch' approach, with the existing steel and brick frame of the industrial and heritage structures designed in a flexible way.[266] Heritage preservation elements of the project have been undertaken by Evergreen in collaboration with the City of Toronto Heritage Preservation Services and the Ontario Heritage Trust.[267]

[258] J. Green. 'Toronto's Genius Project: Evergreen Brickworks'. *American Society of Landscape Architects: The Dirt.* 2011. https://dirt.asla.org/2011/10/06/torontos-genius-project-evergreen-brickworks/

[259] Evergreen Brick Works – Amendment to Credit Facilities Terms. City of Toronto. 2001. https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2011/ex/bgrd/backgroundfile-41844.pdf

[260] A Capital Loan Guarantee of $7.5 million was approved at the expiration of the previous loan in 2014.

[261] According to the interviewee.

[262] Ibid.

[263] Ibid.

[264] 'Construction starts on $55 million Evergreen Brick Works project' (Press Release). Evergreen. https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/construction-starts-on-55-million-evergreen-brick-works-project-536924351.html

[265] Evergreen Brick Works Primer. 2010.

[266] J. Green. 'Toronto's Genius Project: Evergreen Brickworks'. *American Society of Landscape Architects: The Dirt.* 2011. https://dirt.asla.org/2011/10/06/torontos-genius-project-evergreen-brickworks/

[267] K. McCracken. *Heritage Preservation and Adaptive Reuse: Evergreen Brick Works.*2011. http://krista-mccracken.blogspot.com/2011/04/heritage-preservation-and-adaptive.html

Evergreen Brick Works was completed and opened to the public in 2010 as "*an environmental community centre and national hub for urban sustainability nestled in the heart of Toronto*". The site now includes Brick Works Heritage Centre, a 52,000-square-foot space *"that will preserve and celebrate the factory's industrial heritage"* [268] and the Centre for Green Cities, which includes *"a welcome centre, retail and amenity space, administrative offices, and workspace for the programme partners"*[269]

Current functions and activities across Evergreen Brick Works buildings include workspaces for social enterprises in the green tech space, a restaurant and café, conference facilities, land stewardship programme, weekly farmers' market, children's play facility, visitors centre, ice skating rink, native plant nursery, and demonstration gardens.[270] *"All activities combine ecology, design, technology and the arts in a hands-on, multi-sensory, educational experience."*[271]

Evergreen now has a staff of around 100 spanning fundraising, programming, marketing, business development, and partnerships. In 2014, Evergreen brought all building and facility management functions in house.[272]

Element 5: Sustainability

Evergreen Brick Works operates with a social enterprise model in which their earned revenue, generated through property management, third-party events (including serving as a venue for parties, seminars and conferences), programming, parking, and their garden centre, completely covers their operating costs. Evergreen Brick Works also acts as a landlord to 'likeminded tenants' including the outdoor retailer Timberland and environmentally minded organisations and education groups.[273]

Any additional profits generated are reinvested in new programmes, services and activities in line with the organisation's mission including educational and public art programming.[274]

Evergreen has a host of volunteers through a community stewardship programme who help to restore, maintain and improve the landscape onsite.

The project is also literally sustainable, having achieved LEED Platinum, the highest environment certification in North America for green building. Evergreen has an intention for all facilities to be carbon neutral with the introduction of geothermal heating and cooling as part of the project redevelopment and environmental resilience measures introduced including floodproofing of all buildings.[275]

9.13.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

According to a representative from Evergreen, the project has turned what for decades was a forgotten asset of the city into a major cultural destination seeing over half a million visitors per year. It has also 'reawakened' the city to its natural ravine system, resulting in the City producing a ravine strategy and asset plan.

Evergreen has demonstrated what a thoughtful and successful adaptive reuse of industrial heritage structures in the city can look like. *"The reason that Evergreen is celebrated and interesting to people is because of this adaptive reuse process of these old assets which are complicated and difficult to*

[268] https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/construction-starts-on-55-million-evergreen-brick-works-project-536924351.html

[269] Centre for Cities, Evergreen Brick Works (project page). Diamond Schmitt Architects. https://dsai.ca/projects/centre-for-green-cities-evergreen-brick-works/
[270] Evergreen at the Brick Works (project page). Eastern Construction. http://www.easternconstruction.com/portfolio/public/evergreen-brick-works

[271] Case Study: Evergreen Brick Works. World Cities Culture Forum. http://www.worldcitiescultureforum.com/case_studies/evergreen-brick-works

[272] Image credit: World Cities Culture Forum.

[273] J. Green. 'Toronto's Genius Project: Evergreen Brickworks'. *American Society of Landscape Architects: The Dirt.* 2011. https://dirt.asla.org/2011/10/06/torontos-genius-project-evergreen-brickworks/
[274] Evergreen Brick Works Primer. 2010.

[275] A. Bozikovic. 'Industrial Evolution'. *Canadian Architect.* 2018. https://www.canadianarchitect.com/features/industrial-evolution/

repurpose. So it's a shining example of an architecturally compelling mix of old and new."[276]

Evergreen has also, over time, built community interest and engagement with the site, "*bringing a whole generation of families outside and into the public realm"* through its ongoing programming and weekly farmers' market (which has become the biggest in the city of Toronto and is now 'a city institution').

The City has also acknowledged that it can play a stronger and more useful enabling role in the development of projects like Evergreen in the future, recently hiring Evergreen's general manager who had led the project's development to the Chief City Planner's office with a mandate to enact policy and planning measures making it easier for organisations like Evergreen to come to fruition.[277]

Key success and problem factors throughout the journey

Evergreen attributes the team's ethos to the success of the project – *"We had a big vision, a lot of courage and a lot of ambition and without those a site like this is not possible."*

Evergreen's organisational background in community engagement enabled them to build trust and buy-in with residents of the city by prioritising listening events and reflecting community voices in the project's design and development process, particularly the prototyping exercises mentioned in the section on Elements 3 & 4.

Evergreen Brick Works has adopted a 'triple bottom line' approach to their business model and how they view success, where social / cultural, environmental and financial impact are all viewed as equally important.

Their ability to bring in the right team members and like-minded partners throughout the city across universities, corporations, local businesses and non-

profits, and their foundations were also noted as critical enabling factors in the project's success.

While the project is now viewed as a success and an important cultural and environmental landmark in the city, Evergreen faced tremendous uphill challenges in the project's development. "It was a hugely ambitious project for Evergreen financially and capacity wise – we didn't do real estate development and our operating budget was around $5 million and this was a $55 million capital campaign'. The amount of the capital campaign changed numerous times and it took many studies and partners to figure out what the project would need to do to achieve their vision in a way that would be financially feasible, particularly given its location on a floodplain and the imperative from its industrial heritage designation.

The former Evergreen chief operating officer reflected on the process in the journal *Technology Innovation Management Review*:

 "Given the complexities of redeveloping the site (brownfield, heritage designated, and located in a floodplain, among other realities), our green design ambitions, and a tight budget, problem solving was a daily occurrence. Evergreen worked hard to facilitate solutions among multiple partners and stakeholder audiences while not losing site of the vision."[278]

Key success and problem factors for ongoing sustainability

Evergreen's pioneering social enterprise model has allowed the organisation to continue to cover all of their own operating costs without any additional public funding. Although it was admitted that learning to develop the business model was a challenge and at points it has been "painful [operating] without a safety net", they've now developed a sustainable operating and events model and have figured out how to effectively bring in income from third-party events (conferences, weddings, etc.) while maintaining public access to the site. "Figuring out the right social enterprise mix has been huge achievement."[279]

[276] According to the interviewee.
[277] Ibid.

[278] S. Irvine. 'Evergreen Brick Works: An Innovation and Sustainability Case Study'. *Technology Innovation Management Review*. 2012. https://timreview.ca/sites/default/files/article_PDF/Irvine_TIMReview_July2012_0.pdf
[279] According to the interviewee.

1844–48	1970s–1990s	1991–02	1993–present
Construction of Santa Caterina Market building. By 1865, 532 stall holders.	Stall holder numbers at markets across Barcelona suffer due to increasing competition with supermarkets	(1991) Municipal Institute of Barcelona Markets (IMMB) set up by the City Council; (1992) IMMB does study of all markets	IMMB and city council establish model to refurbish all Barcelona markets (26 refurbished to date)

1997–2005	2005	2018
Closure, archaeological investigation, restoration of Santa Caterina Market building	Re-opening of Santa Caterina Market with 59 food stalls, restaurant, small supermarket, event space	Over 220,000 visits per month, no further drops in number of market stalls

They attribute bringing in the right staff members and building the right partnerships across sectors as what's enabled them to succeed in spite of an initial lack of expertise and capacity.

9.14 Mercado de Santa Caterina, Barcelona

Santa Caterina Market is located in the 14-acre eastern sector of the Santa Caterina neighbourhood, right in the centre of Barcelona, on the coast. It's part of the larger (430 hectare) Ciutat Vella (Gothic Quarter), the target of considerable regeneration efforts and resources between 1983 and 2004.

Santa Caterina Market was built between 1844 and 1848 on the ruins of a late Roman necropolis, the city's first wholly Gothic church dating from 1241, and the foundations of a substantial Dominican monastery that had been torched by anti-clerical Catalan revolutionaries in 1835.[280]

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[280] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/aug/08/spain.foodanddrink

[281] https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2018/may/26/sant-antoni-brings-life-barcelona-celebrates-70m-market-revamp

Barcelona's *barrios*, or neighbourhoods, revolve around their markets. There are 39 food markets in the city and no-one is more than a 10-minute walk away.[281] Santa Caterina is an early example of one of these covered markets, all built from the late 19th to the early 20th centuries. By the 1980s, however, the buildings were in disrepair and losing market vendors, who were locked in competition with supermarkets.[282] Santa Caterina was no exception. The total number of market stalls had dropped from 532 in the 1860s to around 100. According to the interviewee, *"the building was old and deteriorated [....] It was unsustainable… it was about to disappear due to closure of half its stalls"*.

9.14.1 The project journey

Element 1: Identification

The vitality of Barcelona's markets is ingrained in both the fabric of the city and the municipal government's strategic plan. Barcelona aims to develop as a city *"with Mediterranean character"*, which means *"putting services closer to people in an urban fabric that favours human relationships"*.[283]

Agustí Colom, Head of Commerce at the City Council and the man charged with implementing Barcelona's citywide market renovation plan, stated that markets are important due to their multiple roles: *"The market generates business, it's a point of attraction but it's also a social nexus. Spending on markets [therefore] is probably one of the investments with the biggest return, both economically and socially [as] this network of markets gives us a city that is structured much better than most."* The interviewee sums it up by saying that *"It was about transforming the city through transforming the markets"*.

The Municipal Institute of Barcelona Markets (IMMB) was set up in 1991 by the City Council, backed by broad consensus among municipal political party groups and market traders. It is responsible for regulating and administering municipal markets, including improving market infrastructure and services, modernising market products and introducing overall commercial promotion

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[282] https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/19/travel/in-barcelona-making-the-markets-fresh-again.html

[283] http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/mercats/en/canal/pla-municipal-de-mercats

policies. IMMB helps to streamline the development, regulation and administration of the city's markets, although each market retains management of its own budget.

IMMB is an autonomous organisation with representatives on the governing board from all political parties, local authorities and market traders. Each of the city's markets has a director, co-ordinating input from that market's traders up to IMMB. Barcelona City Council however needs to approve the opening and closing of markets, major alterations to markets, any regulations it chooses to introduce and the appointment of both IMMB officers and individual market directors.[284]

Since 2004 IMMB has produced Municipal Action Plans (PAM) every three years to guide the market improvement process across Barcelona. The aim is to create *"municipal markets that are competitive, with modern facilities, leisure activities and services demanded by the public, and which combine fresh food with other products"*.[285]

It was IMMB that *"first promoted and catalysed the Santa Caterina project"*, stated Martin, to secure *"the very survival of an economically depressed market"* and make it competitive once again. This was, however, part of city-wide goals to *"recover and create new public spaces"* and revitalise the economy of a *"dark neighbourhood that was not breathing and not welcoming for visitors"*, plagued by traffic congestion, noise pollution and rubbish.

Some of these wider issues would not be resolved by improvements to the market alone. Changes to Santa Caterina Market were in fact the final stage of enormous investment in the entirety of Cuitat Vella district to the tune of €1.3 billion, carried out from 1988 onwards, linked to Barcelona's successful bid to host the 1992 Olympic Games. Altogether this funded new public space, public housing, street improvements to prioritise pedestrians, over 40 new public facilities across education, health, social care, culture and the renovation of two more of the district's markets.

Element 2: Ownership / management

Following its establishment in 1991, Martin explained that IMMB spent almost a year carrying out an assessment of all of the markets in Barcelona, considering the buildings themselves, the number of stalls and rates of closure, the quality of the offer; they also considered local people, for example their shopping habits and satisfaction with the offer at the markets. The result of this was a ranking of all markets in order to prioritise intervention into those in the most precarious condition, with Santa Caterina among them.

The next step for IMMB was to carry out a commercial feasibility assessment, looking at demand and purchasing power in the local population in order to define the market's future mix in terms of products sold. This is part of a 'Barcelona remodelling model', a five-step process defined through the active participation and agreement of all market traders. It includes the following:

— Restoring the architectural value of the building and its artistic features

— Redefining the combination of shops (commercial mix), adapting it to make it commercially sustainable and introducing new operators to complete the offer

— Moving the market's logistics underground, creating parking spaces and unloading bays where possible

— Environmental commitment, including waste collection

— Promoting the markets through commercial marketing and communication campaigns and through disseminating the markets' own media content[286]

The 'Barcelona remodelling model' does not overlook how improvements to the city's markets will be financed. In the case of Santa Caterina, this represented a total investment of €17 million. Works to the 26 Barcelona markets improved to date (and the further four currently in progress) have been carried out with funding from the following three sources:

[284] http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/mercats/en/canal/institut-municipal-de-mercats-de-barcelona

[285] http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/mercats/en/canal/pla-municipal-de-mercats

[286] http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/mercats/en/canal/remodelacions

1. **City Council funding:** Works to Santa Caterina Market (or any other) and their budget need to first be approved by the City Council's Department of Urbanism. In the case of Santa Caterina, Martin stated, the City Council contributed a *"high percentage"* of the overall budget of €17m.

2. **Market traders:** Stall holders that wished to remain in the market after restoration were asked to contribute to restoration costs. Each contribution calculated by the area in square metres occupied by that stall holder, and this square metre rate was negotiated with the traders in advance. In the case of Santa Caterina in the early 1990s, this was calculated at €1,400 per square metre, bringing in a (symbolic) contribution of €28,000 to the restoration costs.

3. **Leases for new businesses in the market:** Leases were sold to the highest bidder via open competition, bringing in one-off and rental income to help the City Council recoup some of its upfront investment. In the case of Santa Caterina, leases were sold for a restaurant and a small supermarket. Colom insists that the supermarkets are not in competition with the stallholders as *"a supermarket attracts more people to the market and they shop in both."*[287]

Elements 3 & 4: Restoration & reuse

The Santa Caterina Market improvement project was first approved by the Department of Urbanism at the City Council, after consultation with representatives of the city's 10 districts. The restoration approach and process itself was then led by IMMB and the Santa Caterina Market Traders' Association. The Traders' Association took part in meetings with IMMB directors, and also held their own assemblies where they could be updated as to progress by IMMB representatives.

IMMB and the Traders' Association put out to tender contracts for both the architectural design and construction work required for Santa Caterina. In 1997, the architectural design tender was awarded to highly imaginative Catalan

practice EMBT. Their brief for the market building was to renovate the market itself, but to also add two blocks of low-rent social housing for senior citizens (59 homes in total), an underground car park for articulated lorries serving the market and 250 cars together with an 'organic waste depository' for the Santa Caterina and La Ribera districts of the city centre.[288] The design also delivered six non-food shops along the market building's façades and a 250-square metre multi-functional event space open for public use.

Works included restoration of the existing market's built fabric, with three of the four façades retained. EMBT's design approach involved housing the whole market under an ambitious and eye-catching roof, to provide both generous and uninterrupted shelter and a colourful sense of identity and place. The roof, hung with hand cut tiles from Seville, hangs from steel arches supported by a steel and timber frame. The work of ceramicist Toni Cumella, the many coloured roof tiles represent the fruit and vegetables sold from the market stalls.[289] A new public space, Joan Capri Square, was also created opposite the market's main entrance.

The Santa Caterina Market building project was however lengthy and over-budget due to the history of the site. The project hit problems when excavation began to add the underground car park and waste collection system. The remains of a Roman necropolis, Gothic church and Dominican monastery were discovered. The City Council's Archaeology service and the Department of Archaeology of Catalonia region were called and, due to additional related works, the project timescale and cost had to be modified.

Lastly, an additional part of the renovation of Barcelona's markets has been the addition of digital infrastructure and services. Across the markets this can include online shopping, home delivery and WIFI coverage.[290] At Santa Caterina, computers were installed that allowed around a third of the stalls to take orders from customers remotely.

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[287] https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2018/may/26/sant-antoni-brings-life-barcelona-celebrates-70m-market-revamp

[288] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/aug/08/spain.foodanddrink

[289] http://patrimoni.gencat.cat/en/collection/market-santa-caterina

[290] http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/mercats/en/canal/serveis-als-mercats

Stage 5: Sustainability

Santa Caterina Market is currently home to 59 food stalls within the market, six non-food stalls along the market building's façades, a supermarket, a restaurant, a multi-functional indoor event space and the new public square in front of the building. The latter two host activities organised by the market traders and other local businesses such as wine tastings and artisans fairs. This comes together into an overall offer with businesses around the market, including butchers, charcuterie, tobacco, bars and other fresh or prepared food stores.

All of Santa Caterina's market traders are obliged to become members of the Administrative Association of Traders of the Santa Caterina Market. The Association sits under a market director appointed by the City Council. The Association and director are responsible for the day-to-day running of the market, including its financial management, marketing and promotion, security, cleaning and building maintenance. The building itself remains the property of the City Council; IMMB streamlines the development, regulation and administration of all markets, with input from the Santa Caterina Market director.

According to the interviewee, interaction with the market's neighbours has become increasingly important. At the start of the project, ideas for the market's future were discussed with local people and *"there was almost no discrepancy and it was agreed unanimously that it was necessary to intervene the market"*. At present, there are frequent public assemblies (around once a month) in which citizens and local residents can participate in decisions around matters that affect them.

9.14.2 Reflections on the project

Impact of the project

Martin describes the impact of this project as *"tremendous…the whole environment was transformed"*. A new *"point of attraction"* was created through a *"spectacular"* colourful roof and indoor area. Around the market, new businesses opened in retail premises that were previously vacant, the surrounding streets are livelier and better lit, improving safety.

There has been direct local community benefit in the form of 59 new low-rent housing units for the elderly, as well as new public space and better waste management. No studies have been done on the economic impact of the market on the local economy or jobs, but IMMB considers the market itself to be functioning successfully. It boasts 220,000 visitors a month and in the 13 years since it reopened, there have been no further market stall closures. Additionally, *"flats and houses in the area have acquired much more value, although we haven't calculated this"*. From the perspective of the IMBB, there is *"something intangible in markets […] it's about preserving a market model that generates a place not just for trading but also for meeting others, creating cohesion as well as promoting the local economy"*.

Data is, however, available on the economic impact of Barcelona's markets in aggregate. Together, they have a turnover of between 950 million and €1.1 billion[291] and employ about 7,500 people.[292] They represent a 30–35% market share of the fresh food sold in Barcelona[293] and 10% of the city's commercial activity overall.[294]

Key success and problem factors throughout the journey

The interviewee describes the governance and management structures as a crucial success factor to the realisation of the project. This included putting in place IMMB as a specialist organisation focused on raising the competitiveness of the city's markets, commitment to detailed negotiation with and involvement of the market traders themselves throughout, and a governance structure that represented all parties (political parties, the City Council and market traders themselves). The latter allowed for discussion of many topics via weekly meetings until consensus was reached.

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[291] http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/mercats/en/content/direct-economic-impact-barcelonas-network-municipal-markets

[292] https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/19/travel/in-barcelona-making-the-markets-fresh-again.html

[293] http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/mercats/en/content/direct-economic-impact-barcelonas-network-municipal-markets

[294] https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/19/travel/in-barcelona-making-the-markets-fresh-again.html

Key success and problem factors for ongoing sustainability

The most important factor for long term sustainability, according to IMMB, is a commercially successful mixture of tenants in the market.

10. Appendix II: Summary of Policies and Programmes

This appendix provides introductions to policies and programmes currently available to support urban heritage throughout the elements of the journey. It should, however, be noted that while it endeavours to include the most important policies and programmes available, there are two important qualifying comments to make. Firstly, the list should not be taken as fully comprehensive but rather indicative; secondly, it presents policies and programmes only, rather than trying to analyse their effectiveness or take-up in any way.

10.1.1 Policies

Heritage at risk

Planning positively for the conservation and enjoyment of assets most at risk is a national policy requirement (National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) paragraph 126). Paragraph 126 of the NPPF and associated guidance require local authorities to set out a positive strategy for addressing assets most at risk, including identifying specific opportunities within their area.

In the London Plan, heritage at risk is identified as a key performance indicator, but there is no explicit reference to heritage at risk within the policy wording of the London Plan itself.

At a local level there are limited references to heritage at risk, or explicit support for their removal as part of heritage-led regeneration and place-making. There are exceptions, for example, the London Borough of Hackney's Core Strategy (2010) acknowledges the value of positively managing heritage at risk and contains associated indicators. Tower Hamlets has a stand-alone borough-wide Conservation Strategy (2016–2026), supported by a Historic Building Grant scheme. The London Borough of Redbridge's New Local Plan 2015–2030 contains specific policy support under policy LP33.

Overall, however, this means that the national requirement to plan for the conservation of assets most at risk is not being followed up at a local level, nor

does policy support align with the heritage sector's priority cases. This deficiency could be addressed through a dedicated policy in the forthcoming London Plan, and a requirement that Local Plan policies proactively target heritage at risk at all scales of plan making.

Historic England (2018): Risky Business? Investing in Heritage at Risk

Local heritage listing

In some areas, local authorities have created a 'local list' of 'non-designated heritage assets' as suggested in the Government's Planning Practice Guidance (paragraph 39). This advises local planning authorities to set out 'a positive strategy for the conservation and enjoyment of the historic environment' in their Local Plan.

Non-designated heritage assets are "buildings, monuments, sites, places, areas, or landscapes identified by local planning authorities as having a degree of significance meriting consideration in planning decisions but which are not formally designated". Emphasis is placed on "sustaining and enhancing the significance of heritage assets" and recognising that heritage assets are an "irreplaceable resource" and should be conserved "in a manner appropriate to their significance".

Inclusion on a local list delivers a sound, consistent and accountable way of identifying local heritage assets to the benefit of good strategic planning for the area and to the benefit of owners and developers wishing to fully understand local development opportunities and constraints. Local lists thus complement national designations in building a sense of place and history for localities and communities. Local heritage listing is intended to highlight heritage assets which are of local heritage interest in order to ensure that they are given due consideration when change is being proposed. This advice does not cover intangible cultural heritage which does not have a formal system of protection.

In deciding applications for planning permission that affect a locally listed heritage asset or its setting, the NPPF requires, among other things, both that local planning authorities should take into account the desirability of sustaining and enhancing the significance of such heritage assets and of putting them to viable uses consistent with their conservation and the consideration of the

positive contribution that conserving such heritage assets can make to sustainable communities, including their economic vitality (NPPF paragraphs 126 and 121). While local listing provides no additional planning controls, the fact that a building or site is on a local list means that its conservation as a heritage asset is an objective of the NPPF and a material consideration when determining the outcome of a planning application (NPPF, paragraph 17).

https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/local-heritage-listing-advice-note-7/heag018-local-heritage-listing/

Community Asset Transfer

The Labour Government introduced the 'Disposal of assets at less than best consideration' in 2003, which accelerated the concept of Community Asset Transfer.

Community Asset Transfer is the transfer of management and / or ownership of 'public' land and buildings from its owner (usually a local authority) to a community organisation for less than market value, in return for social, economic or environmental benefit locally. Less than half of all councils have a policy, known as a Community Asset Transfer policy, in place to support community ownership.

Community rights: Localism Act 2011

The Coalition Government's Localism Act in 2011 launched Community Rights, which included Assets of Community Value (ACV) and the Community Right to Bid.

An Asset of Community Value can be any 'public or private' land or building(s), nominated by communities and meeting the criteria for listing as an ACV. Buildings and spaces can only be recognised as ACVs if they produce social benefit or wellbeing through their current or 'recent past' use, such as sport, community centres, culture or recreation. Once listed the ACV stays on the local authority register for up to five years, after which point it can be renominated.

Community Right to Bid places a six-month pause, or moratorium, on the sale of an Asset of Community Value to allow the community to raise funds to buy it. At

the end of the six-month period however, the owner does not have to sell to the community and they can sell at whatever price they choose.

Neighbourhood planning: Localism Act 2011

A Neighbourhood Plan is a document that sets out planning policies for the neighbourhood area, forming part of the development plan and sitting alongside the Local Plan prepared by the local planning authority. Decisions on planning applications will be made using both the Local Plan and the Neighbourhood Plan, and any other material considerations. These plans are written by the local community rather than the local planning authority. Communities that take a proactive approach by drawing up a Neighbourhood Plan or Development Order, and secure the consent of local people in a referendum, will benefit from 25% of the revenues from the Community Infrastructure Levy arising from the development that takes place in their area.

A Neighbourhood Development Order can grant planning permission for specific types of development in a specific neighbourhood area. It can cover building works, change of use or engineering operations.

A Community Right to Build Order is a form of Neighbourhood Development Order that can be used to grant planning permission for small-scale development for community benefit on a specific site or sites in a neighbourhood area. It can be used, for example, to approve the building of homes, shops, businesses, affordable housing for rent or sale, community facilities or playgrounds. Where the community organisation wishes to develop the land itself (subject to acquiring the land, if appropriate), then the resulting assets can only be disposed of, improved or developed in a manner which the organisation considers benefits the local community or a section of it.

Sale of local authority assets

Since April 2016, councils have also been able to spend the receipts from the sale of their surplus land on the revenue costs of service transformation. According to Locality, although there is no central source of information available about the number of public buildings and spaces that local authorities own, or the rate that they are being sold off into private hands, they are aware of

many examples from their members and from making a Freedom of Information request to every local authority in England in 2018.

Locality: Save our Spaces Campaign https://locality.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/The-Great-British-Sell-Off-FINAL.pdf

Locality (2018): Understanding Community Asset Transfer, a guide for community organisations

https://www.gov.uk/guidance/neighbourhood-planning--2

Social Investment Tax Relief (SITR)

SITR is a government tax relief scheme which aims to encourage individuals to support charities and social enterprises, by helping them access new sources of repayable finance. It was introduced to encourage investment in such organisations, and to *"level the playing field with tax reliefs currently available to more traditional business".* SITR was first brought in in 2014, with amendments implemented in 2017. Individuals can receive a 30% tax break when they chose to invest in an eligible organisation. The investment must be held for a minimum period of three years for the relief to be retained. Tax will instead be payable when the social investment is sold or redeemed. *"The main take-up of the tax relief has been from wealthy, sophisticated investors."*

While investments per recipient organisation were previously limited to €344,827 (about £250,000) over three years, the recent changes have increased this sum; up to £1.5m can now be raised by social enterprises. To be eligible recipients, organisations must be a registered charity, community benefit society or community interest company; have less than 250 employees and less than £15m assets; and not undertake a number of identified 'excluded activities'. Eligible investors include any individuals paying tax in the UK who do not have a material interest and do not hold any existing investments in the organisation (other than certain subscriber shares or investments for which they claimed SITR or other tax relief).

Funded projects so far *"have ranged from saving a village pub to expanding a community sports centre. But employment, training and education have emerged as the most common areas for investment."*

https://www.bigsocietycapital.com

https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/social-investment-tax-relief-factsheet/social-investment-tax-relief

https://www.ft.com/content/3f836274-ef75-11e6-ba01-119a44939bb6

10.1.2 Programmes

Programmes directly related to heritage

Model or tool: Heritage Action Zones (2017–present)

Where in the journey: Identification, restoration

Organisation: Historic England, in partnership with the relevant local authority or other local organisations

Heritage assets are grouped together under a single overall vision, with the aim of achieving local economic growth using heritage as a catalyst. An area needs to apply for Heritage Action Zone status, with current criteria including delivering sustainable long term growth based around local heritage assets (designated or not), delivery within three to five years, and delivery through partnership (including at least one local authority partner).

If an area is successful, it can access support from Historic England including funding for individual properties, funding for staff time coordinating delivery, specialist advice (legal, technical), research support (to identify asset significance or heritage interest), list entry updates, advice on tools for managing development (e.g. using Local Listed Building Consent Orders).

https://content.historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/haz/haz-explanatory-notes-guidance-may17.pdf

Model or tool: Resilient Heritage grant funding programme (2016–2019)

Where in the journey: Ownership, reuse, sustainability

Organisation: Heritage Lottery Fund

Small grants of £3,000–£10,000, or larger grants of £10,000–-£250,000 can help strengthen organisations and build the capacity of staff and volunteers to better manage heritage in the long term. This can be targeted at challenges around income and fundraising, or preparing to take on new forms of investment such as social investment.

The fund is targeted at not-for-profit organisations including, for example, charities, trusts, community groups, CIC companies, limited companies, local authorities, public sector organisations or social enterprises.

Examples of potential funded activity include:

— Viability appraisal or feasibility study looking at transforming the use of a historic building or other heritage asset

— Support for specialist work such as condition surveys and initial planning to demonstrate long-term financial sustainability, to help ensure an organisation is prepared to take on a future capital project

— Support for a group taking on new responsibility for heritage, such as working with a local authority on an asset transfer process

— Review of business and operating model, development of new business plan, governance review

— Exploration of alternative income streams; new approaches to fundraising

— Options for winding down or merging with another organisation, including getting support in passing on responsibility for a heritage asset

https://www.hlf.org.uk/looking-funding/our-grant-programmes/resilient-heritage

Model or tool: Heritage Enterprise Grant funding programme (2013–2018)

Where in the journey: Restoration, reuse

Organisation: Heritage Lottery Fund

In 2013, £12million of UK-wide funding was awarded to transform five important but neglected historic buildings back to commercial use. The last round of this programme under the current HLF Strategic Framework was in 2018.

Heritage Enterprise addresses 'market failure', where buildings have previously failed to attract investment or realise their commercial potential because the cost of repair has meant that they were not commercially viable. The programme bridges this financial gap, specifically by helping fund vital repairs and conservation works, converting buildings into safe, usable and inspirational spaces for new businesses.

Dame Jenny Abramsky, Chair of HLF, said: "In almost every town and city there is at least one historic building standing empty that at one time was at the heart of the local community. While much-loved, these buildings present huge financial challenges. This new scheme works to unlock the potential of these precious old buildings, encouraging private investors and encouraging regeneration. The result is good for us all – substantial economic growth, much-needed new jobs and a wonderful part of our heritage saved from further neglect."

HLF Heritage Enterprise programme https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/lottery-investment-unlock-commercial-potential-five-unused

Model or tool: Community Heritage Support Fund (no longer operating)

Where in the journey: Ownership, sustainability

Organisation: The Architectural Heritage Fund

A blended investment programme that focuses on supporting not only a building or building project, but also on the activities and sustainability of those community and social businesses which are working with or within buildings of heritage significance, to enable organisations to become established, deliver and survive. The fund is available to enterprises which already trade, or those seeking funding to help secure the purchase or restoration of a building which is listed as an Asset of Community Value.

It's open to UK organisations with a built heritage focus, which operate on a not-for-private profit basis, and which bring about demonstrable and positive impacts upon their respective communities and society as a whole. Sums of between £15,000–£50,000 are available as loans.

Funded activity includes:

— Capital or other funding that helps increase revenue streams, deliver growth or financial sustainability (e.g. kitchen equipment, energy saving measures)

— Funding to assist and encourage further investment into those community businesses seeking to fund a new community project (e.g. purchase of a building)

— Short-term working capital support for community businesses

http://ahfund.org.uk/chsf/

Model or tool: Cultural Development Fund (2019 and 2022)

Where in the journey: Restoration, reuse

Organisation: DCMS funding, managed by Arts Council England

£20m in total is available between 2019 and 2022 to fund four to five projects to the tune of £3m–£7m each (although all projects are expected to secure at least 20% in match funding). Funding can be for a mixture of capital (asset) and resource (project activity) items. Some money has also been set aside for evaluation and contingency. DCMS, HLF, Historic England, Nesta and the Creative Industries Federation will all take part in the assessment and decision-making process.

This fund aims to support place-based cultural and creative industry initiatives in towns and cities outside London, where these help unlock economic returns and productivity increases, and the role of culture and heritage in making places vibrant and attractive to live, work, visit and invest.

Applications are expected to align with existing or proposed local strategies and strategic place-based initiatives, including Heritage Action Zones.

The fund will invest in activities such as:

— Resource investment in new cultural and creative programmes, events and activities

— Resource investment in upskilling local cultural and creative industries leaders

— Capital and resource investment in new skills development programmes that lead to employment in creative and cultural industries

— Capital investment in physical space for culture and the creative industries, including new cultural and community spaces, regeneration of existing assets including heritage, or adaptation or extension of existing venues

— Growing the local visitor economy through investment in the cultural and heritage capacity of destinations

— Business support for creative industries sector Small to Medium Enterprises

— Social investment

DCMS (2018): Cultural Development Fund, Guidance for Applicants

Programmes indirectly related to heritage

Model or tool: **Neighbourhood Planning Support (2018–2022)**

Where in the journey: Identification

Organisation: Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) funding, administered by Locality

£23m to be allocated between 2018 and 2022 to support the development of Neighbourhood Plans or Neighbourhood Development Orders.

Grants of up to £9,000 are available to groups based in England writing a Neighbourhood Development Plan or Neighbourhood Development Order. An additional funding stream is focused on funding access to professional support and advice on technical or process issues.

https://neighbourhoodplanning.org/

Model or tool: **Power to Change funding programmes**

Where in the journey: Ownership, restoration, sustainability

Organisation: Big Lottery Fund

Overall, this fund is investing £150m and comprises of:

— £10m Community Business Fund, offering £50,000–300,000 to community businesses to cover either 75% of building-related capital costs (e.g. purchasing, extending or renovating a building) or 75% of revenue costs for a project (e.g. staff salaries, professional fees)

— £3.85m England-wide More than a Pub programme, jointly funded with the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) aiming to increase the number of community-owned pubs open and trading and also to grow the range of services they offer to help the wider community. Includes bursary grants for feasibility stage and combined loan and grant packages for capital costs.

— £9 million, four-year Community Led Housing Programme (from summer 2018), providing seed grants of an average of £55,000 for feasibility and pre-development work for projects in Bristol, Leeds and Liverpool.

https://www.powertochange.org.uk/

Model or tool: Community Housing Fund (July 2018 and March 2020)

Where in the journey: Ownership, restoration, reuse

Organisation: Homes England

Community-led housing is currently less than 0.3% of housing output yet offers benefits such as local delivery of higher quality yet affordable homes on sites speculative builders cannot deliver, and benefits to the local economy.

In addition to new-build homes, the Fund will support activities which will lead to the conversion or refurbishment of existing buildings for housing where there is evidence of need for this form of development.

£163m will be available between July 2018 and March 2020, for projects outside London. The Government is working with the Greater London Authority (GLA) to develop a similar scheme in London.

The first phase will support applications for revenue funding for project-specific activities that support development of community-led housing proposals and capital bids.

Groups with affordable housing schemes that are sufficiently progressed so as to be ready to apply for capital subsidy for affordable housing products (not for 100% of costs) may be able to bid for funding through the Shared Ownership and Affordable Homes Programme 2016–21. In order to comply with State Aid restrictions, capital grants for local infrastructure projects will only be awarded to local authorities. Other kinds of organisations (such as community groups) need to request their local authority to submit an application on their behalf and to act as the accountable body for the grant.

Homes England (2018): Community Housing Fund

11. Appendix III: Snapshot of Local Heritage Studies Undertaken by England's Large Cities

Birmingham

— Council has 2013 register of locally listed buildings and 2015 register of statutory listed buildings available online

— Council does not appear to provide official register on 'heritage at risk'

— Alternate list of local 'heritage at risk' identified in local newspaper (2016), but no information on designation or comprehensiveness: https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/16-historic-buildings-birmingham-could-11178359

Manchester

— Council has register of statutory listed buildings available online

— Council does not appear to provide official register on 'heritage at risk'

— Alternate list of local 'heritage at risk' in local newspaper (2018), but no information on designation or comprehensiveness: https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/gallery/12-buildings-greater-manchester-deemed-14520226

Leeds

— Council links to National Heritage List for England to inform on local listed buildings

— Council has Buildings at Risk report and register available online with info on grading, but from 2012 (analysed above in main text): https://www.leeds.gov.uk/your-council/planning/heritage-assets-at-risk

Liverpool

— Council has register of statutory listed buildings available online, currently being updated

— Council does not appear to provide official register on 'heritage at risk'

— Alternate list of local 'heritage at risk' in local newspaper, 2015, but no information on designation or comprehensiveness: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/stop-rot-here-25-buildings-10310727

Newcastle upon Tyne

— Council has interactive map of locally listed buildings

— Newcastle appears to have an up-to-date register of Grade II buildings at risk, but not available on the web: https://www.newcastle.gov.uk/planning-and-buildings/conservation-heritage-and-urban-design/historic-environment-and-heritage/heritage-at-risk

Sheffield

— Council does not appear to provide a list of registered buildings online

— Council does not appear to provide official register on 'heritage at risk', other than in a document from 2009 which provides very little information on the buildings and it is unclear whether it is comprehensive: http://democracy.sheffield.gov.uk/Data/Economic%20and%20Environmental%20Wellbeing%20Scrutiny%20and%20Policy%20Development%20Committee/20090303/Agenda/$Listed%20Buildings%20Appendix%202.doc.pdf

— Alternate list of local 'heritage at risk' in local newspaper (2018), but no information on designation or comprehensiveness:

https://www.thestar.co.uk/news/listed-the-buildings-and-sites-in-sheffield-deemed-at-risk-by-historic-england-1-9118109

Nottingham

— Council does not appear to provide a list of registered buildings online

— Council appears to have an up-to-date register of Grade II buildings at risk, but not available on the web: http://www.nottinghamshire.gov.uk/culture-leisure/heritage/buildings-at-risk

Bristol

— Council has 2018 register of locally listed buildings

— Council does not appear to provide an official register on 'heritage at risk

12. Appendix IV: Key Sources for the Programme and Policy Review

Oakley, K (2015) Creating Space: A re-evaluation of the role of culture in regeneration

Crossick, G and Kaszynska, P (2016): Understanding the value of arts & culture, The AHRC Cultural Value Project

Homes England (2018): Community Housing Fund

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, Neighbourhood Planning Guidance https://www.gov.uk/guidance/neighbourhood-planning--2

DCMS (2018): Cultural Development Fund, Guidance for Applicants

https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/cultural-development-fund/9-things-you-need-know-about-cultural-development-fund

DCMS (2016): The Culture White Paper

DCMS (2017): The Taylor Review: Sustainability of English Churches and Cathedrals

Historic England (2010): A Thematic Research Strategy for the Urban Historic Environment

Historic England (2018): Risky Business? Investing in Heritage at Risk

Historic England (2017): Translating Good Growth for London's Historic Environment

Historic England, Heritage Action Zones https://content.historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/haz/haz-explanatory-notes-guidance-may17.pdf

Historic England (2016) Local Heritage Listing https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/local-heritage-listing-advice-note-7/heag018-local-heritage-listing/

HLF (2013) New Ideas Need Old Buildings

HLF (2018) Planning for the Future

HLF Heritage Enterprise programme https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/lottery-investment-unlock-commercial-potential-five-unused

RSA (2016) Networked Heritage https://medium.com/networked-heritage/networked-heritage-f89130ee643f

The Architectural Heritage Fund, Community Heritage Support Fund http://ahfund.org.uk/chsf/

Power to Change funding programmes https://www.powertochange.org.uk/

Locality (2018): Understanding Community Asset Transfer, a guide for community organisations

Locality, Save our Spaces Campaign https://locality.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/The-Great-British-Sell-Off-FINAL.pdf

Locality, Neighbourhood Planning Support https://neighbourhoodplanning.org/

Locality, funding sources for land and buildings, and funding sources for community enterprise: https://locality.org.uk/services-tools/funding/

13. Appendix V: Long List of Case Studies

The following provides a list of all considered case studies with those that were undertaken highlighted.

Community-based reuse of historic buildings
— Atmos Project, Totnes
— Creative Quarter, Triennial and Harbour, Folkestone
— St Mary's, Ipswich

Reuse of historic buildings for social enterprise / business
— Paintworks, Bristol
— **Toffee Factory, Ouseburn**
— The Sharp Project, Rochdale
— **Portland Works, Sheffield**
— **Underfall Boatyard, Bristol**
— Far Gosford Street, Coventry
— **Arnos Vale Cemetery, Bristol**
— Newman Bros Coffin Works, Birmingham
— Middleport, Stoke on Trent
— Sum Studios, Sheffield
— Verdant Works, Dundee
— Custom Lane, Edinburgh

Cultural venues
— Stockton Globe

— Band in the Wall, Manchester
— Hoxton Hall
— Saltdean Lido
— **Shoreditch Town Hall**

Projects that have proved 'challenging'
— **Hastings Pier, Hastings**
— Dreamland Margate, Margate
— Everton Library, Liverpool
— **Hornsey Town Hall, London**
— **Ancoats Dispensary, Manchester**
— Easington Colliery Junior School, Peterlee

Community spaces created within bigger regeneration schemes
— Skip Garden, King's Cross – Global Generation / Argent
— Print Works, Rotherhithe – Global Generation / British Land

Asset Transfer
— King Charles I pub, London
— OrganicLea, London

Reuse of historic buildings as commercial business
— **Anchor Mill, Oldham**

International case studies
— Arts Block, Chicago
— Maboneng Precinct, Johannesburg

— **Gängeviertel, Hamburg**

— **Santa Caterina Market, Barcelona**

— Sanboa Ceramic Art Institute, Jingdezhen

— **Dashila, Beijing**

— Kowloon East, Hong Kong

— **Merdeka Stadium, Kuala Lumpur**

— **Evergreen Brick Works, Toronto**

— Savamala District, Belgrade

14. Appendix VI: Interviewees

— Matthew Mckeague, Chief Executive, The Architectural Heritage Fund

— Janine Marriot, Public Engagement Manager, Arnos Vale Cemetery Trust

— Elizabeth Cardosa, President, Badan Warisan Malaysia (The Heritage of Malaysia Trust)

— Dan Paskins, Senior Head of Portfolio Development, National Lottery Community Fund[295]

— Roger Madelin CBE, Head of Canada Water Development, British Land

— Heather Clarke, Director of Strategy, Engagement and Impact, Canal and River Trust

— Isabel Assaly, Regeneration Manager, Churches Conservation Trust

— Cam Collyer, Director for Programs, Evergreen Brick Works

— Fazlul Haque, Founder and Owner, Eastern Concepts Ltd.

— Mark Pickering, Chairman of the Friends of Portland Works

— Jane Riddiford, Founding Director, Global Generation

— Darren Barker, Project Director, Great Yarmouth Preservation Trust; Great Yarmouth Borough Council

— Andy Jackson, Trust Manager, Heeley Development Trust

— Ros Kerslake, Chief Executive, The National Lottery Heritage Fund[296]

— Ian Morrison, Director of Policy and Evidence, Historic England

— Liz Sich, Chair, Hornsey Town Hall Trust

— Beverley Nielsen, Associate Professor and Director, IDEA, Birmingham City University

— Chris Brown, Executive Chair and Founder, igloo Regeneration

— Jess Steele, Founder and Director of Jericho Road Solutions and Trustee, Heart of Hastings Trust

— Stephen Rolph, Head of Community Assets and Enterprise, Locality

— Oscar Martin, Head of Innovation and Communication at the Municipal Institute of Barcelona Markets (IMMB)

— Dale Bolland, Trustee of Ouseburn Trust

— Derek Morton, former Chairman of the Portland Works Committee (via email)

— Tiva Montalbano, Senior Project Manager, Prince's Foundation

— Nick Giles, Associate Director of Shoreditch Town Hall

— Ian Wilkinson, Chair of Underfall Boatyard Trust

— René Gabriel, Verein Gängeviertel e.V., Hamburg

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[295] Note organisation name change from *Big Lottery Fund* to *National Lottery Community Fund* after completion of the full report (Jan 19). 'Big Lottery Fund' has therefore still been used throughout the main body of the report.

[296] Note organisation name change from *Heritage Lottery Fund* to *The National Lottery Heritage Fund* after completion of the full report (Jan 19). 'HLF' has therefore still been used throughout the main body of the report.

BOP
Consulting

Insight & Supporter Data