The Effect of Gentrification on Two Different

Areas of London: Croydon and Brixton.

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the economic effects of regeneration to both businesses and local residents in two areas of London, Croydon and Brixton. It seeks to discover whether the impacts experienced by two different areas of London are similar and whether they are beneficial to the areas or if they generate negative impacts such as the loss of local businesses and residents. The understanding of regeneration and the impacts of regeneration is a field of study which has experienced increasing importance due to the policies and methods constantly adapting to reflect the requirements and factors of importance at the time of regeneration. The research undertaken adopted a mixed-methods approach, comprising of interviews, questionnaires and secondary data. Through which the information gathered identified the direct and indirect economic benefits of the regeneration schemes within the areas of Croydon and Brixton. The findings in this report indicate that the regeneration schemes, with a specific focus on Boxpark and Pop Brixton, have aided the economic improvement of both Croydon and Brixton. It highlighted that despite the differentiation in areas, the similar regeneration schemes both had a vast amount of beneficial impacts for the area. Despite much literature focusing on the negative impacts of regeneration, such as business loss and displacement, although, this did occur within both areas, the negative impacts were very insignificant in light of the positive economic impacts the area has felt. This study also highlights the significance of the role of media in the regeneration schemes. Following such findings, this dissertation offers suggestions into a new research approach and correlations to further be examined within different regeneration projects which are occurring.

Keywords: London, regeneration, mixed-methods approach, displacement, effect, economy.

1. Introduction

Regeneration is a phenomenon which is widely experienced (Roberts and Sykes, 1999:3). In the UK, regeneration was sparked by the post-industrial decline within cities of the 1980's. The decline of once prominent industries within cities led to economic, social, environmental and physical decline of the cities (Tsenkova and Beswick, 2002), creating a need for the cities to be rejuvenated and given a new lease of life. It is widely recognised that a conscious effort from local and regional development agencies is required to recreate an economic base for an area which has been subject to decline (Paddison, 1993). Thus, inward investment is often sought after to establish regeneration within a city or area of a city, leading to the creation of new sites which attract people to the area. Alongside the creation of new sites, the reuse of brownfield land and existing buildings is also emphasised, due to a lack of space for new sites to be created within cities (Hall, 1996).

In respect of this, it is important to understand the challenges facing the regeneration of an area, as there is an increasing need for regeneration to encapsulate the lasting culture and legacy of the individuals and businesses residing in the area. Stevenson, (2013) mentions the growing impact and consideration for culture and legacy on regeneration. The importance of design and purpose of the regeneration has become the forefront of planning changes for an area. The World Bank, (no date) suggests that the design of the regeneration of an area is key as it not only generates economic value but also social and environmental value. Nonetheless, not only do regeneration projects need to be physically appealing and beneficial for the area, they need to enhance the area without completely eradicating what is already there (Roberts, Sykes and Granger, 2016) In conjunction with this, as regeneration is often linked to an escalation of wealth within an area, which can lead to displacement, requiring councils to implement mitigating policies. (The World Bank, no date b) However, the benefits are often overlooked, as they are shadowed by the negative impacts such as displacement and urban problems (Atkinson, 2003; Newman and Wyly, 2016). Regeneration has been found to improve the crime rate in an area, thus, making an individual feel safer and secure within the area (Kearns, 2003). There is a great deal of literature around the process of regeneration as well as case studies examining the effectiveness of urban regeneration, within the UK

and many other cities globally. It is evident that the impacts of regeneration have been looked at extensively and are widely understood by researchers, however, the main impact focused on within literature is displacement and there is little research regarding the economic impacts of urban regeneration in specific areas.

Although research has looked at the impacts of regeneration, it is argued that urban problems differ from place to place (The Local Government Organisation, 1989:1) Therefore, further research regarding such a complex, widely experienced phenomenon will add to the debate. This dissertation seeks to examine a variety of effects of regeneration, how the regeneration has affected the views of those who use the area, exploring the degree to which regeneration impacts the local economy, looking at both businesses and residents within the areas. The main research objectives are: i) To evaluate how regeneration has impacted the economy within the selected areas of Croydon and Brixton; ii) To investigate the impact urban regeneration in Croydon and Brixton has affected local businesses and; iii) To explore if regeneration has affected the reputation of the area and whether this brings more people to the area.

The dissertation has six main chapters, beginning with a literature review of previous research that exists, focusing on how regeneration has changed overtime to equate to an economic focus and the impacts of regeneration. Following on from this, it then creates an outline and justification of the various data collection and analysis methods adopted. Before moving on to discuss the findings in relation to literature and approaches mentioned in previous chapters. Finally, it concludes by looking at the findings within a wider context, drawing out the impacts in relation to those seen in previous research and exploring what could be learnt from the regeneration occurring in these areas and how this has developed upon and aided previous research.

2. Literature Review

In order to examine the effects of regeneration in two areas of London, this literature review will evaluate the existing academic work on regeneration, observing changes to regeneration throughout history. Furthermore, the concept of economic importance within a regeneration concept will be introduced. Additionally, a line of

study within the concept of the impacts of regeneration will be explored, with the discussion on the known impacts and how other places have been affected by regeneration. With the intention of demonstrating how these three aspects have shaped the current regeneration practices, highlighting why this study is both highly important but also interesting.

2.1. What is regeneration? A history

(Roberts, Sykes and Granger, 2016) define regeneration as a:

'Comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities for improvement'

This is a widely accepted definition for urban regeneration and it has been acknowledged as the definition used for many studies, including but not restricted to, Balsas (2007:233), Tallon (2010:5), Balaban, (2012:32). It is important to highlight that regeneration engages with three areas for improvement, economic, physical and social. In light of this definition, urban regeneration has adapted over the years to suit the requirements of both the place and time. Urban regeneration was first developed after World War II, in the form of rebuilding the destructed towns and cities (Couch, Sykes and Cocks, 2013:34). However, this focused largely on the rebuild of housing. A new form of urban regeneration emerged when the 'modern city' was established, due to the rebuilding of industrial cities (Fox-Przeworski, Goddard and De Jong, 1991:2). The economic crisis of the 1970s caused mass economic restructuring, the cities whose economies previously relied on industrial sectors such as mining or steel, were hardest hit (Couch, Sykes and Cocks, 2013). As the deindustrialisation lead to the rapid decline and dereliction of towns and cities, there was a need to improve and bring the areas purpose and life again (Tallon, 2010). Causing a movement from the development of housing as an urban regeneration focus to local economic development (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993). There was a growing need to generate more employment opportunities, through which the UK government opted to back Urban Development Corporations (UDCs). UCDs were bought into an area to bring use to derelict buildings and land, the development of these sites bought new appeal and industry to the areas, in turn

created jobs (Imrie and Thomas, 1999). It is evident that urban regeneration policy within the UK continued to focus on economic development and prosperity as, The Local Government Organisation (1989) notes that in 'The Queens Speech' (1987) she states 'action will be taken to encourage investment and to increase enterprise and employment'. It is therefore, evident that economic improvement is a continuing theme of urban regeneration.

Despite a continuing theme of economic development being the forefront of urban regeneration, as times change so do other factors impacting urban regeneration. (Roberts and Sykes, 1999), understand that 'each generation faces its own particular set of problems, has its own priorities and works in ways which reflect these priorities'. It is evident these priorities have changed throughout time and depend on what is seen as important. For example, (Couch, Sykes and Cocks, 2013) recognise that in the 1960s the conservation of urban heritage was considered of increasing importance, something which had previously been of low importance. Therefore, coming from the 1960s forward, sites deemed of importance to a place in terms of culture and heritage were protected. Another example (Couch, Sykes and Cocks, 2013) note is that more recently both traffic and social considerations have been key in urban regeneration plans. As well as this, environmental issues and sustainability have also been highlighted as an urban regeneration problem (Roberts, Sykes and Granger, 2016). It is important that as each generation faces its own problems it also learns from previous experience (Roberts and Sykes, 1999). Therefore, it is clear to see that overtime different aspects have been considered a priority when regenerating a city and planning the regeneration of a city. Thus, reflecting the importance of time and location within city regeneration. (Roberts and Sykes, 1999), recognise that change within cities is inevitable and happens overtime, making regeneration something that should be viewed as beneficial.

Regeneration is now a phenomenon widely experienced within cities or parts of a city, in an attempt to 'reverse the 'vicious spiral' in which physical, economic and social problems reinforce each other' (Coombes, Raybould and Wong, 1992:2). Therefore, it is widely recognised that regeneration is linked to improving areas which have been subject to recent decline (Home, 1982; Tallon, 2010; Leigh and Blakely, 2016). The decline of a city affects multiple factors, from these, the

economic, social and physical aspects of a city are recognised to be at the forefront of regeneration plans (Home, 1982; Leary and McCarthy, 2013:1;(Turok, 2005)as cited in Tallon, 2010). Within these umbrella concepts are many challenges developers and local governing bodies face, subject to the areas demands and needs. (Roberts and Sykes, 1999), understand that to tackle these problems and make a lasting change, all available resources, both human and financial must be optimised.

2.2 Economy as the driver for regeneration

In light of research distinguishing three main aspects of urban regeneration, it is argued that the most prominent of the three is the economic aspect. From the 1980s, the economy has been a driving force for development and regeneration, with a focus on a strong economy bringing new vitality to cities ('Prime Ministers Speech', 1988, as cited in (The Local Government Organisation, 1989:4). It can be seen that 'many local communities have 'become dependent on money coming from outside and going straight out again, not circulating locally and supporting local work'' (Robertson, 1987:59 as cited in Stöhr, 1990:36). The economic restructuring and decline of an area often leads to the need to regenerate, as it can have severe consequences (Couch, Sykes and Cocks, 2013). Consequences such as dereliction of buildings and land, as the area becomes rundown. Thus, people are less likely to visit it, leading to the closure of businesses due to a decrease in income causing a loss in earning which subsequently, leads to further decline.

However, in terms of regeneration, derelict buildings 'provide a convenient physical focus for action to bring about economic restructuring' (Turok, 1992:373) and investment creates use for obsolete buildings and vacant land (McArthur, 1993). There has been a focus on the development of brownfield sites and derelict buildings within cities as, there is a growing lack of space which can be developed upon (Leigh and Blakely, 2016). Aldous (1988), notes that landscape is important when designing a new development, considering that derelict land and buildings provide a hotspot for regeneration projects to occur. There is an argument regarding the sustainability of upcycling and reuse of buildings for a new purpose rather than simply restoring or destroying them (Aldous, 1988; Ball, 1999; Bullen and Love, 2011; Couch and Dennemann, 2000). Following from this, (Aldous, 1988) also recognises that existing

buildings have value as established elements in the townscape, adding to the areas identity. Supporting this, places and place attachment are perceived as important within people's lives (Ujang and Zakariya, 2015, p. 710), significant structural elements add self-identity, sense of community and sense of place to an area (Ujang and Zakariya, 2015, p. 710). Therefore, to give the building a new use attracts attention and excitement, a new buzz, in turn bringing people to the area, to generate more income to the area.

The economy is the basis for urban redevelopment (Couch and Dennemann, 2000, p. 137), through which inward investment brings high prospects and a brighter future to an area, by generating long term aid and job creation (Coombes, Raybould and Wong, 1992). It is understood that the more money that goes into a project, the better the outcome, as it is typically nicer and more desirable (Aldous, 1988). Therefore, the more money that goes into a regeneration project, the more prosperous the outcome. Government policies were created to help aid regeneration in areas most in need (The White Paper, 1977 as cited in The Local Government Organisation, 1989). An example of government policies can be seen as:

'Urban regeneration programmes whose priorities as set out in 'Action for Cities' (The Cabinet Office, 1988), are to; encourage enterprise, improve job prospects, make areas attractive to residents and business; and make inner city areas safe and attractive places' (Coombes, Raybould and Wong, 1992, pg.2).

Therefore, to improve an area, it is widely understood that economic values are important, as three out of the four priorities mentioned above relate to the generation of economic gain and prosperity. The improvement of a city's economy provides hope and prospect for better things to come (Henderson, 2002). With the improvement of a city's economy comes a number of impacts which lead to the overall improvement of the area, which is at the forefront of urban regeneration design. Department of the Environment (1994:158 as cited in Couch and Dennemann, 2000) recognise that the sustainable development of cities encompasses the areas in the most efficient way whilst improving the aesthetics of the area for work, leisure and living. Understanding that economic regeneration will bring work and people to the area. Depleted economies need investment to bring money in and start money circulating the economy again, once this begins the area

will improve and improvements will last. This can be achieved through a number of means, both from private and public investment.

In 1978, the Urban Areas Act gave local authorities more power to help industry within the area, allowing for economic gain (Gibson and Langstaff, 1982). For regeneration projects to be successful, it is argued that a mix of both public and private regeneration schemes is ideal, despite private investment becoming a key driver for regeneration (Roberts and Sykes, 1999). The Local Government Organisation (1989) states that 'there is increasingly wide acceptance that the private sector is the primary engine of urban regeneration and that the public sectors role is to facilitate the process'. Local governments are able to aid regeneration through the allocation of land to businesses and developers at decreased rates in order to generate jobs (Morrison, 1987). Moreover, it is understood that influence from and communication between a variety of groups is key in developing lasting, effective and purposeful regeneration projects. Roberts and Sykes (1999) agree that 'regeneration involves the public, private, community and voluntary sectors working together towards a clear simple aim - to improve the quality of life for all.' Enhancing the idea that regeneration projects need to encompass a mix of schemes from differing investment bodies.

Public investment from the government and local governing bodies provides both leadership and encourages enterprise (The Local Government Organisation, 1989, p. 14). The role of the local governments in urban regeneration is important as they have the means to promote their areas to investors and companies to draw money and developments to the area (Friedman, Gerlowski and Silberman, 1992). As well as this, local governments have the means to improve education and training as arguably the most important limitation to economic development is the supply of a well-educated and trained labour force (The Local Government Organisation, 1989, p. 13). Therefore, new businesses coming into an area is only beneficial if there is a workforce with the skills and requirements to carry out the work. Local governments also provide support to independent businesses through means of financial aid, training to ensure they have adequate workers and schemes to help local businesses adapt their business plans (Blair, 1998). Links can be generated between disadvantaged social groups and the private sector through the council,

which would hopefully ensure that all groups benefit from the regeneration of an area (The Local Government Organisation, 1989). It is evident that the Local Governments see the benefit of working with private investors, this is important as private investment is now the driver for urban regeneration projects.

While investment is seen as a necessary part of economic development, it often comes from private investors, companies bought into an area for cheap land on which to create their business. A variety of private investor schemes are seen within urban regeneration, one that has been prominent is the development of shopping centres and flagship stores (Coombes, Raybould and Wong, 1992, p. 9). Flagship stores can aid regeneration as they create a sense of prestige through which other stores, chains and regeneration projects follow (Kent and Brown, 2009, p. 8). (Bianchini, Dawson and Evans, 1992) defined flagship projects as 'significant, high profile developments that play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration, which can be justified if they attract other investment'. Therefore, retail developments can prove important in the redevelopment of a city, as they create further economic activity (Smith, 1994) explaining why they have become significant in regeneration schemes (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, p. 300).

Another example of a private investment regeneration project is the transformation of derelict buildings or brownfield sites into workspaces, as well as the creation of new places for workspaces. 'There are over 800,000 small and medium-sized enterprises within London' (Mayor of London, 2015:3) not including others who also work independently. With it becoming increasingly hard to find affordable workspace, there is a huge market in which to provide accessible and affordable workspace for these people. With buildings empty and rotting away, the development of workspaces is both an appealing venture and highly beneficial to start-up businesses (Ferm, 2014, p. 18). Especially if an area is also regenerating through other means at the same time, as the other regeneration projects will bring attention and appeal to the area, bringing with it, businesses who now wish to locate within this area (Adair *et al.*, 2009). Thus, supporting the earlier point that retail and flagship regeneration projects generate further appeal for the area from other business sectors.

2.3 Impacts of regeneration

It is understood that 'the more economically depressed an area is, the more it needs really superlative quality in redevelopment in order to repair its fortunes and reputations' (Aldous, 1988). The quality of regeneration is important as it is meant to be a lasting improvement, the more declined an area, the worse the pretence for regeneration is so more work is needed. However, it can be hard for councils to find private investors to kick start the regeneration of an area as reputation is a key element to attracting private investment (Anholt, 2007, p. 2). Reputation of an area is important as it is not only linked to the attraction of businesses and private investors to an area but also to the attraction of visitors to the area (Maruthaiah and Rashid, 2014) If an area is run down it is likely to be seen as a poor area, high crime rates are also linked to areas in need of regeneration (Hancock, 2013, p. 129) therefore, people do not wish to visit the area. An approach to change this is for public led investment to focus on creating a clean and safe environment as it will put the city in a better position to attract both town users and investors (Otsuka and Reeve, 2007, p. 445). Otsuka and Reeve (2007, p. 445), suggest that a safe and attractive environment is key to sustain a city's economic vitality and generate investment. This is reiterated by McArthur (1993, p. 73) in evaluating the strategies taken to improve job prospects in Glasgow he mentions there was a strategy to create an attractive, modern and well-serviced environment for business. The improvement of an areas reputation and the attraction of both businesses, investment and public leisure leading to expenditure, is an impact of regeneration and aids the increase and development of an area's economy further.

However, an impact of city centre regeneration and the improvement of reputation is that it can transform the area and create a sense of exclusivity for those who are well off (Otsuka and Reeve, 2007, p. 445). It is often argued that economic regeneration as a focus for development causes the 'removal of low-income working-class groups as potential users of prestige developments' (Otsuka and Reeve, 2007, p. 445). Therefore, causing segregation and displacement, two negative impacts of urban regeneration which are highly publicised and reviewed within both literature and the media (The World Bank, no date b; Turok, 1992; Smith, 2002; Cameron, 2003; Lees, 2013) Despite this, many councils and governing bodies implement policies to try and mitigate displacement of both residents and local, independent businesses.

Through the training of residents so they have the skills required to take up the new job opportunities present through the regeneration.

Job creation is an important impact of urban regeneration as it allows for local residents to benefit from the regeneration. As local residents benefit from jobs and more disposable income, the town centres also benefit from a new array of leisure activities allowing increased expenditure being kept within the area, rather than being spent in surrounding areas like it once was (Otsuka and Reeve, 2007, p. 453.). However, job creation may not always benefit the disadvantaged and marginal workers (McArthur, 1993). Many local governments aid the disadvantaged by providing further training and education to get those less fortunate into work. An example of this can be seen in the Department for Communities and Local Government (2012) where the Welfare Reform policy was generated to help give people the support they need to encourage them to get back into work.

A further impact of regeneration is the improvement of infrastructure within the area. These infrastructure improvements are usually to facilitate the rise in footfall and people moving to the areas, ensuring the train stations, roads and pavements can handle the extra traffic, as well as, the provision of extra housing to help mitigate displacement. Examples of infrastructure improvements are highlighted in a book on the Aspects of Britain Urban Regeneration, produced by the Central Office of Information, 1995, presenting the infrastructural developments of Birmingham Heartlands and the Black Country. (Central Office of Information, 1995) notes that the infrastructure improvements within these areas help to aid business within the areas as there is improved access to the area.

Therefore, it is clear to see that there are many impacts of regeneration projects, spanning a vast range of areas. It is also evident that the extensive impacts of regeneration have both positive and negative effects on those residing or working within and using the area. A final point to note is that the impacts of regeneration often interlink and with one impact usually comes another, for example, the improvement of infrastructure or reputation will bring attraction from businesses, which in turn creates jobs.

3. Methodology

3.1 Study Sites

The study focused on two areas of London (Figure 1); Croydon (Figure 2) and Brixton (Figure 3), both located in South London. These locations were chosen as they are both areas of London which have recently and are continuing to regenerate. As Brixton is more central to London, with Croydon located slightly further away, into the suburbs, an interesting dichotomy is created between the two locations. Both locations are alike as there are some similar regeneration initiatives occurring in the areas, Pop Brixton (Brixton, seen in Figures 4 and 5) and Boxpark (Croydon, seen in Figures 6 and 7). The population composition of the areas along with the economic status of both areas creates an interesting comparison with some figures similar and others quite differing.

The total population of Brixton as of 2015 is 82,516 (Lambeth and Southwark's Public Health Intelligence Team, 2015) and the total population of Lambeth is 327,900 (Nomis, 2018b), this is very different to Croydon, where the population is 382,300 (Department of Public Health, 2017). The ethnic mix within both areas differs slightly, with 49.3% of Croydon's population being white and 50.6% Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) (Department of Public Health, 2017). Lambeth's population is 56% white and 44% BAME (Lambeth and Southwark's Public Health Intelligence Team, 2015). The population composition differs in age between both Lambeth and Croydon as the economically active population (those who are aged 16-64) of Croydon is 64.7%, whereas the working age population in Lambeth is considerably higher at 74.6% (Nomis, 2018a). Therefore, the amount of people within each area who can contribute to the economy is considerably different. Furthermore, the average gross weekly pay of residents in Croydon is £631.80 compared to Lambeth which is £670.50 (Nomis, 2018a). It is evident from these statistics that there are some clear similarities and differences between the population composition of the two areas that will provide for an interesting comparison.

However, it is evident that they differ in their proximity to central London, their socio-economic composition and despite the similar regeneration projects, the areas

approach to regeneration is also quite different, allowing for interesting comparisons of the two sites.

3.2 Method Overview

To gather relevant data, a mixed methods approach was adopted. As a mixed methods approach allows for a wider range of data collection providing both qualitative and quantitative research methods to be used, generating a robust collection of comparative data ((Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 16). A large data set can be obtained through the mixed methods approach as it allows for a range of respondents to be questioned through different means (Woolyrch *et al.* 2007). Within this, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were adopted to generate the data. (Neuman, 2011, p. 11) suggests that the best approach to data collection is a mixed methods approach through which qualitative and quantitative methods are used to complement each other, drawing out the strengths of each type of research.

Primary data collection comprised of three main methods: a questionnaire survey; semi-structured interviews and discussions. Neuman (2011, pp. 308–9) notes that surveys are the most widely used social science data-gathering technique as they gather information from a large number of people and measure a range of variables all at once. Therefore, ensuring that a large amount of data is collected at once allowing for a range of information to be analysed. The study also integrated secondary data from statistics, generated nationally, regionally and locally. (McNeill, 1990) suggests that secondary data collection can be used to enhance and strengthen a study as it draws information from a prolonged period of time. The statistics and information gathered from secondary research allowed the information obtained through primary data collection to be set into context.

3.3. Interviews and Discussions

Data obtained through semi-structured interviews (Appendix B) allows the participant to express their views freely and provides reliable and comparable information (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). Therefore, semi-structured interviews compliment other research methods well (Mathers *et al.* 2008, as cited in North, 2017). (Denscombe, 2014) recognises semi structured interviews as an important research technique, as

they create a greater understanding of varying perspectives on the same issues. The interviews were conducted through a variety of means, interview questions were emailed to various organisations and businesses, such as, Croydon Council. Emailing questions ensured that probing and influence of the interviewee was avoided, as McCrossan (1991) notes that it is important that interviewer has no influence on the sinterviewee and their responses. However, through emailing questions, this limited the responses gained as answers given could not be developed upon. (McNeill, 1990) notes that the more structured an interview is, the more limits there are to the respondent's answers.

As well as this, phone interviews were conducted. Unlike the structured questions which were emailed to some participants, phone interviews allow for vague or general answers to be developed upon by the interviewer (Burke and Miller, 2001). Thus, creating extensive answers, providing vast information regarding the questions asked. Phone interviews also allowed the participants to ask questions when they were unsure about a question or wanted more information, which meant that the given responses were detailed. The final method of interview collection was through approaching business owners to grasp their take on the regeneration and how it has impacted their business. All interviews conducted on the phone or in person were recorded and transcribed. The technique of voice recording and then transcribing an interview is noted by Cohen and Crabtree (2006) as an effective way to gain the most from an interview, ensuring no information received is missed. The information obtained from the interviews was used in conjunction to the information gained from the questionnaires, enforcing the mixed-method approach.

3.4 Questionnaires

Questionnaire surveys generate information through asking participants questions, Schutt (2015) argues that asking questions is the most common and versatile way to measure social variables. Questionnaires are a key component of the methodology. A questionnaire survey was devised and can be seen in Appendix C and D, through which a random sample of questionnaire respondents were collected, thus permitting an unbiased approach to data collection (Dattalo, 2010, p. 20)In. The questionnaires were carried out at selected sites in both locations (Figures 2 and 3). The questionnaire was conducted using a sample of volunteer participants, through those

who chose to participate and respond. This method of sampling was identified as the most appropriate and effective in gaining the optimum response rate. As it allowed a variety of different people to be accessed for the study at once.

The questionnaire was distributed using two methods; an online survey and through approaching passers-by on the street in the selected areas. Surveys can produce a large set of data in a short amount of time (Kelley *et al.*, 2003). In total, 104 questionnaires were obtained through approaching members of the public on the street in the selected areas, 56 in Croydon and 48 in Brixton. The areas chosen to approach the public see in Figures 2 and 3 were chosen for the following reasons; the stations provide a vast amount of through traffic, allowing for a wider amount of people to be reached and a constant flow of people to ask. Also, other sites were chosen as they were near the sites of regeneration within the areas of Croydon and Brixton. Therefore, allowing the participants to be situated in the areas they are talking about. Finally, the highstreets were chosen, as these are a main place for people to travel through, allowing for a large sample size to be accessed. The method of sampling used at these sites is availability sampling, which creates an understanding of prevailing attitudes regarding issues asked in the questionnaire (Schutt, 2015).

Alongside this, an online copy of the questionnaire was created using SurveyMonkey. A link to this questionnaire was distributed through social media and also by public organisations based in the areas (Figure 8), Wright (2005) understands that online research provides access to a wider variety of people. Examples of the website posts and the online questionnaire layout can be seen in Appendices C and D. The online survey distribution method was used to generate quick responses and a large sample size (Schutt, 2015). The online questionnaires received 42 responses regarding the Croydon survey and 34 regarding the Brixton survey. The combination of both, paper, in-person questionnaires and the electronic version of the questionnaire was seen as essential to ensure there was access to a wider sample size. As, not everyone will subscribe to the posts from the organisations who sent out the questionnaire, and many people may not have access to the internet either. A total of 180 questionnaire responses were gained through these methods. The questionnaires required attentive preparation to ensure

the wording and layout of the questionnaire were clear. As Brace (2008) suggests that planning is essential to optimise the results of the questionnaires, as even question order can affect the responses given. As well as this, the length of the questionnaire needed to be kept to a minimum whilst still obtaining the results required.

3.5 Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data is 'data originally collected for a different purpose and reused for another research question' (Hox and Boeije, 2005, p. 593). The secondary data obtained was footfall information of Brixton and Croydon stations seen in Table 1, from Transport for London (TfL). Footfall information provides information about the amount of people who use the stations each day, showing who passes through the area and will potentially be participating in leisure activities within the area (Lowe, 2005). It is understood that the more people who pass through the area the more opportunity there is for economic gain (Woodcock *et al.*, 2011).

The UK census data was also used. A census is data regarding the entire population (Gomez and Jones, 2010), it allows the data to be sorted into various categories. The data collection for the census is held every 10 years in the form of a questionnaire, it is a compulsory questionnaire (Office for National Statistics, 2018). Thus, allowing for complete and conclusive data on the population. The information from the census was obtained from both the Office of National Statistics (ONS) archives on their website and their partnership database known as 'Nomis'. This information was used to compare the results of the questionnaires to actual statistics in the area and to generate a further understanding of the areas. However, an issue with the census to consider is that, it is only taken every 10 years, causing the data to become outdated and questionable to its reliability. With the last census being taken in 2011, it is clear the census data may be considered out of date. Despite this, it was still seen that the best place to gain data regarding the populations within the areas was the Nomis database, as this was identified as the most reliable source. The data from Nomis was obtained by searching the local authority profile on the Nomis website (www.nomisweb.co.uk). Through this a selected area could be searched for, in this case, Croydon and Lambeth were searched for. The option to compare the two areas was given, providing comparing information for the two

areas. On top of this, the option to compare the data regarding the selected areas to that of Great Britain. This provided an insight into the population and economic status of the areas in comparison to that of the UK in general.

A problem which arose regarding secondary data on Brixton is that, due to the size of Brixton an area which is only a town, compared to the area of Croydon, a London Borough, there was considerably less information regarding the population and economic composition. Therefore, data from the area of Lambeth was chosen to be compared instead, which does not represent Brixton solely, but the whole borough. Leaving room for differentiation between the results obtained by questionnaires and from the census and Nomis data.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

The questionnaire responses were completed with anonymity and confidentially (Dowling, 2010). The use of anonymised surveys which are generated through volunteer and availability sampling reduces the ethical concerns when including participants over 65, ensuring the sample size was broad and inclusive. The participation of the questionnaire was always made clear that it was optional. The participants were also given clear information regarding the study so they were aware of what the information they were providing was being used for.

3.7 Data Analysis

The SPSS Matrix was used to code and analyse the questionnaire data as it is the most widely-used survey analysis allowing for raw data to be transformed into information which can be used to support research objectives (Kent, 2001, pp. 2, 74). SPSS was used to generate a series of tables and graphs displaying the information of closed questions such as the gender and age of the participants as well as, whether they felt regeneration was occurring within the areas. The graphs which were produced can be seen in Figures 11 and 12.

4. Analysis and discussion of results

4.1 Economic impact of regeneration projects

Developing leisure and night time economy as a regeneration scheme is understood to have clear economic benefits (Cinderby *et al.*, 2007), the results from this study

show that the direct economic impacts from the regeneration projects occurring in Croydon and Brixton have been huge for the areas. The Pop Brixton development has generates £18 million revenue each year (Lambeth Council, 2017). With a Gross Value Added (GVA) of £8.9 million and a gross annual salary revenue of £5.6 million (Lambeth Council, 2017). The council benefit from a 50% share of the profits (Foster, 2017, pp. 1–4), therefore, £9 million a year goes directly back to the area (Lambeth Council, 2017, pp. 1–4). On top of this, Pop Brixton will begin to pay rent (Foster, 2017, pp. 1–4), which it has been subsidised since opening in 2015. Boxpark has had similar impacts with £9 million GVA per year (Boxpark, 2017), while Boxpark itself will not make any profit in the 5-year lease it currently has, this will not restrict the benefits experience by those in the area (Sheppard-Jones, 2017). So far, these regeneration projects have generated a lot of direct economy for the areas. These figures confirm that the regeneration of Brixton and Croydon has been economically beneficial to the areas. As the main aim of regeneration projects such as the Boxpark and Pop Brixton developments is to create a direct economic benefit to the area, as well as, generate a new found 'buzz' about the area, which in turn brings indirect economic impacts to the area (Boxpark, 2017; Lambeth Council, 2017). It is evident that both schemes either already have or are on their way to achieving the economic goals they set out to achieve. As well as this, the regeneration of these areas has been a catalysis for further regeneration projects, thus, creating further economic boosts (Loftman and Nevin, 1995), an impact of regeneration which has been seen in many areas before.

These economic gains relative to the effects of similar regeneration projects, suggests that this type of regeneration projects generate further income for those in the area, which in turn generates more expenditure within the areas (Morrison, 1987). However, there need to be sufficient things to do within the area, other than the developments for people to stay within the area to spend their extra disposable income, instead of travelling to surrounding towns or cities to spend their money (Morrison, 1987). On top of this, there have been indirect economic benefits as a result of the regeneration projects, such as job creation and office space occupancy rates increasing, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.2 Job creation through regeneration projects

A review of a variety of regeneration projects in the UK, conducted by Crisp *et al.* (2014), suggests that despite the promise of jobs, the amount of jobs that are actually added to the areas are slim. This is due to firms relocating and bringing existing workers with them (Morrison, 1987). However, (English Partnerships, 2008) as cited in Crisp *et al.*, 2014) recommended 32% as the standard for new job creation. Against this information, my findings show that the Boxpark Development in East Croydon has generated 200 new jobs, of which the actual company recruited 60 people, amount of jobs of which they have allocated out of the 60 to local residents is 45. Showing an additional job creation rate of 75% for the company themselves, with an estimated 50% of jobs allocated by the occupiers of their units also going to local residents (Table 2). Therefore, this project is well above the recommended additional job creation quota. As well as this, the Westfield-Hammerson development project aims to create 5,000 new local jobs. In light of these findings it can be concluded that the developments within Croydon have generated and will continue to generate large amounts of local job prospects. Table 3 shows that the unemployment rate within Croydon is 6.5% (Nomis, 2018), which is higher than the Inner London average, at 5.7%. Through which both the current and planned regeneration projects hope to have improved these figures.

Similarly, Pop Brixton in Brixton has generated 200 jobs, of which 70% have been allocated to Lambeth residents. Therefore, in relation to the English Partnerships recommendations, this project has also achieved a much higher rate of new job creation and allocation to local residents. In light of these findings it can be concluded that the developments within Brixton have generated a high percentage of local job prospects. As well as this, the vacation of International House by the council aims to bring 500 people to work within this building. Table 3 shows that the unemployment rate within Brixton is 5.7% (Nomis, 2018), which is lower than the unemployment rates in Croydon. Through which both the current and future planned regeneration projects aim to improve.

There are a number of reasons why the additional job creation within the areas from the current regeneration projects is considerably higher than the recommended additional job creation rates. One reason is, that within both Boxpark and Pop Brixton, the tenants are not moving their businesses, they are either start-up

organisations or they are opening another branch to expand their businesses (Boxpark, 2017; Lambeth Council, 2017). Therefore, they require new staff as they either do not have existing staff members or their staff are already working at other sites (Nabi, Holden and Walmsley, 2006). Whilst they will transfer some experienced members of staff to ensure their business is kept to the standard of the other locations, new local staff will be required. Another reason for this high percentage could be that the sites used for both regeneration projects were previously derelict or brownfield sites, meaning that there were no previous jobs lost in the creation of these sites (Lange *et al.*, 2004; Leigh and Blakely, 2016; Lambeth Council, 2017). Thus, allowing for a higher creation of job prospects, as well as, an absence of redundancy and displacement of work. A final reason is that the purpose of the regeneration projects was to create new local job prospects, therefore, the majority of workers were directly sourced through employment agencies within the areas (Lambeth Council, 2017; Appendix G; Table), ensuring that the aims of the developments were met.

4.3 The impact of regeneration on existing local businesses

The impacts on existing local businesses have been varied, it is clear that there is a concern for local businesses due to regeneration (Soni, 2011). This is evident in the questionnaire data where in Croydon, 42% of respondents expressed concern regarding displacement and unaffordability for small businesses (Table 4). Similarly, 50% of respondents from Brixton expressed concerns regarding displacement and the impact on independent businesses (Table 4). Despite much research regarding displacement associates it with gentrification and the reluctant movement of lower class people due to an increase in cost of living within an area, there are recent developments on the displacement of businesses and jobs (see Curran, 2007). Upon conducting the questionnaires, it is evident that many people, when regarding displacement also consider that it occurs to businesses as well as, people (Appendix F).

Despite concerns regarding small, independent businesses within the areas, it is clear to see that few businesses within the areas have been negatively impacted by the regeneration. With two businesses in Croydon mentioning that the regeneration will eventually be a good thing, and a further two businesses in Brixton stating that

the regeneration projects have helped business (Appendix G). Boxpark argues that the businesses within the area have benefitted from the positive coverage Boxpark has bought to the area and that businesses directly opposite the development, who are likely to be most affected are thriving (Appendix E), this can also be seen through footfall (Table 1), showing large numbers of people coming to both Brixton and Croydon. Although, it can be argued that this opinion is biased, as, representatives from the regeneration project would not like to think they are having a negative impact. Moreover, Lloyd *et al.* (2003) understand that urban regeneration has large benefits for local businesses within the area and can help small businesses which were previously struggling.

However, there is evidence of one business in each of the areas has suffered due to the regeneration projects, however, in Brixton the loss of a fish monger who had been located in the area for 4/5 generations is a clear indication that the regeneration has impacted independent businesses. The impact of regeneration within Croydon is different, as the business has been impacted due to the regeneration being too slow, meaning the flow of customers needed is not there, causing them to locate. Lambeth Council ran a project to help mitigate the impacts of the regeneration on local businesses, through which they collaborated with the Brixton Business District to help businesses adapt their business models and enable them to use social media in order to promote their business (Appendix G). Local councils should do as much as they can to help mitigate the impacts of urban regeneration on local businesses and residents.

Overall, it is evident that the impact of regeneration on local businesses is predominantly positive, there is always going to be some businesses which cannot survive. But it is clear that within the areas of Croydon and Brixton, the majority of businesses have benefitted. It could be argued that these businesses have benefitted from the regeneration, as has been seen in studies previous (see, Lloyd *et al.*, 2003).

4.4 The creation and use of office space

Croydon has a long history as a major commercial office location, however, it was subject to decline when the central London markets prospered (GVA, 2016). Thus, causing many businesses to relocate, leaving a large number of Croydon's office

spaces empty. However, since the Boxpark development opened in 2016, the rate of office take-up has increased significantly with vacancy rates within Croydon have dropped from 50% to just 4% (Boxpark, 2017). This figure is slightly above the average for London, being 5.6% (Savills, 2018). This is supported by a report generated by Savills regarding the obtainment of the Ruskin Square development (located directly next to Boxpark, see Figure 9) by HMRC as a record renting figure within the Croydon market, where 185,000 square foot was rented (Savills, 2016). An increase in price of office space has also been seen since Boxpark opened, from a rate of £22, a mark that hadn't been surpassed in 10 years to £35 a square foot (Appendix G). This figure is considerably lower than the London average, £62.40 (Savills, 2018), however, the increase is still quite significant and it is important to note that the area of Croydon is still improving.

Therefore, the regeneration of Croydon has had an indirect impact on the office space market within the areas. This will not only bring income through the rental market but also, jobs can be created as an additional benefit, as when companies locate, some employees may not be able to relocate with them, opening up vacancies which need to be filled (Morrison, 1987). Brixton has plans to create office spaces, with the International House building, however, so far there has not been much creation or change in occupancy rates of the current office spaces within Brixton. There are a number of reason as to why the office space occupation increases due to regeneration projects opening within the area. For example, regeneration projects bring with them a lot of good press as they create better prospects for the areas, with this press comes a better reputation (Deephouse, 2000). As Croydon has been a long established 'back office' in London (Butler and Hamnett, 2010, p. 47), it has always had attention from businesses, however, the decline of the area meant it was no longer appealing for businesses to be located here (GVA, 2016). The regeneration and improvements of the area have bought new and exciting prospects for the areas office space, with high occupancy rates and increased rent prices.

4.5 The impact of regeneration projects on reputation of the areas.

There is a clear correlation between the publics views on the area and the impact the regeneration has had to this, as well as, the reputation of an area affecting the

businesses drawn to the areas (Deephouse, 2000). However, the regeneration of an area is not always seen as a positive impact. While 59.2% of people in Croydon agree that the area is improving as a direct effect of the regeneration, 28.6% of people disagree and believe the area has been subject to further decline in recent years (as seen in figure 11). It can be argued that the reasoning for these conflicting views regarding the improvement and decline of the area is due to the fact that, the regeneration in Croydon so far is only experienced within certain areas (Morrison, 1987). As well as this, the promises of regeneration projects such as the Westfield-Hammerson development are yet to begin, therefore, the area has not improved hugely yet, leaving some areas in major need of regeneration still declining. Therefore, scepticism has been generated around the regeneration of Croydon and whether it will ever happen or actually have much impact as it is taking too long (this can be seen in the following news articles; (Inside Croydon, 2017); (Sean Creighton, 2017); (Tobin, 2017). As well as this, 11 people stated that to help the area, regeneration plans needed to be brought forward and finished quicker. Therefore, there is rising concern regarding the regeneration of the area and the speed at which it is occurring, despite regeneration being seen largely as beneficial for the area.

Similarly, in Brixton, 61 people agree that the area is improving as a direct impact of the regeneration (figure 12). Despite this, 2 people disagree and believe the area has declined in recent years, with a further 5 people perceiving the area as dangerous. This is quite different to the responses of Croydon, arguably because more regeneration has occurred within Brixton over recent years so more benefits have been felt. It is evident that the reputation of an area can have a big impact on the economic rate of the area, as areas with high crime and derelict buildings tend to be avoided.

It is evident that the public's perceptions of the areas have changed as, 58 people in Croydon said their current perceptions of the area are that it is improving, and they stated that their opinions have changed over time due to the area improving (Figure 11). This is similar to Brixton where 61 respondents said they currently felt that the area was improving and in relation to their previous views of the area and felt it had improved in relation to previous years (Figure 12). Therefore, it is evident the regeneration projects have been beneficial to the reputation of the areas.

When asked what the public thought had contributed to the regeneration of the area, answers between Brixton and Croydon highlighted the recent regeneration projects. With 14 respondents noting the Boxpark development and a further 13 believing that the East Croydon development has also impacted the regeneration (Table 5), which includes the Boxpark development, located directly next to East Croydon station (Figure 10). A further, 7 noted that the shopping and leisure improvements have contributed to the regeneration and 6 stated new businesses have also had an impact (Table 5). These statements can also be linked to the Boxpark regeneration as, not only does Boxpark provide Croydon with a new place for leisure activities but it has also bought new businesses to the area, both directly and indirectly, through the new businesses located within Boxpark, the increased office space occupancy and new high street stores coming to the area since Boxpark opened, for example, Superdrug.

In Brixton, the contributions to the regeneration have been understood to have been Pop Brixton, with 24 respondents mentioning this (Table 5). Leisure activities such as bars, restaurants and shops were also mentioned by 19 respondents, which would include the Pop Brixton development as well as the markets, which have been subject to regeneration, however, with less media coverage (Table 5). The Electric Avenue regeneration was also mentioned, however at a much lower frequency with only 8 respondents recognising it as having a contribution to the regeneration of Brixton (Table 5).

It is understood that the media has a large impact on the publics perceptions of an area, therefore, the more media coverage a regeneration project gets the better prospects it brings to the area. Figures generated by (Boxpark, 2017), in an overview of the progress of the development have shown that £2.8 Million In PR revenue and £924,498 in media coverage has been generated for Croydon. This positive media coverage can be linked to the improving reputation of the area, which in turn links to the new businesses and office space occupancies occurring in the area, and the amount of people coming to the area increasing. Therefore, media coverage can have a large impact in the regeneration of an area.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear from these findings and discussion, that the economic impacts of the regeneration in both Brixton and Croydon have been extensive. From the findings, it can be concluded that the Boxpark and Pop Brixton regeneration projects have led to the addition of jobs and GVA, as well as, benefitting most businesses within both areas. It can also be concluded that urban regeneration has a robust impact on the reputation of an area, which through the research is clearly shown to have a strong correlation to the subsequent impacts of the regeneration.

The close inspection of the impacts stated above is beneficial to local governments, policy makers and investors looking to develop similar sites. Despite the extensive literature on urban regeneration, the impacts associated with this and case studies, this research adds to the knowledge about the economic impacts of regeneration. A comparison of two different areas, with similar regeneration schemes has provided information regarding the similar impacts generated by this type of regeneration project despite the differing areas. As the impacts of regeneration often emphasise the negatives (Atkinson, 2003; Newman and Wyly, 2016), it is evident that in the case of Croydon and Brixton, the positives out-weigh the negatives and councils are constantly creating mitigation plans to support the local businesses and residents with the changing area. Thus, adding to the literature that local governments play an increasing role in the regeneration of areas, despite the projects being led by private investors.

Further findings from this study, particularly the role of media representation in changing the reputation of an area, suggest that regeneration projects which have extensive media coverage are likely to have huge economic impacts on an area. Suggesting that, flagship developments generate a much needed 'buzz' in rundown areas, which proposes, developers and local councils should seek to publicise the regeneration projects as much as possible to enhance the impacts the regeneration has (Smith, 1994). By doing so, it is evident from this study the likely impacts of both the regeneration and publicity, all link to improving the economic status of the area, which is the primary objective of regeneration, (Roberts and Sykes, 1999; Couch and Dennemann, 2000; Couch, Sykes and Cocks, 2013) Thus, proving the benefits of economic regeneration in this instance outweigh the negative impacts.

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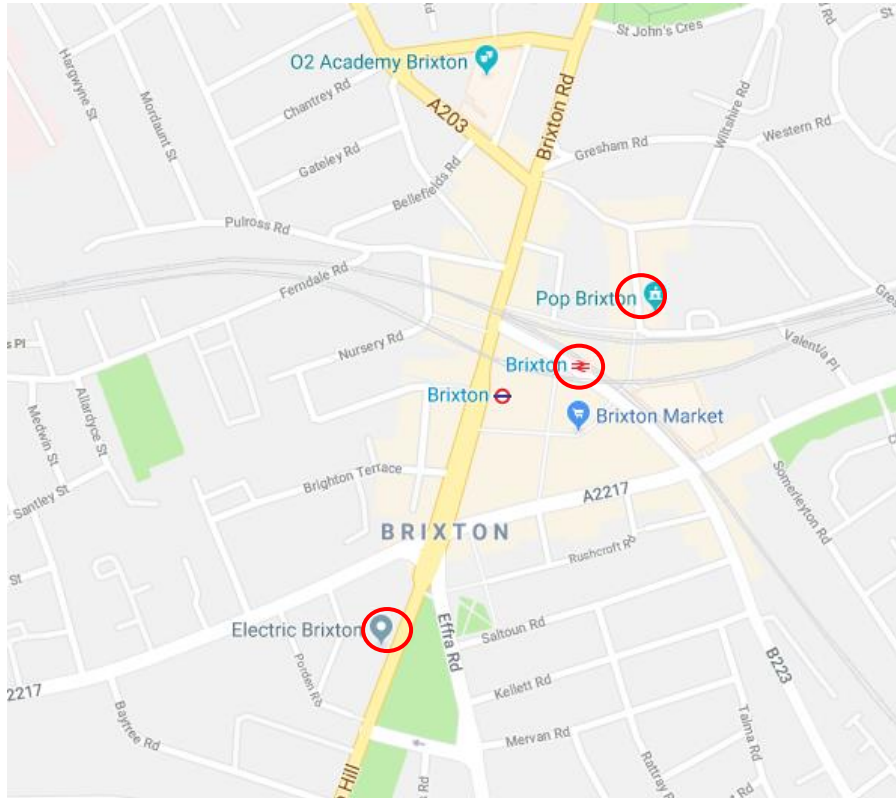

Source: Google.co.uk (2018)

Figure 2: A map of Croydon, the red circles showing the three chosen areas where questionnaires were obtained
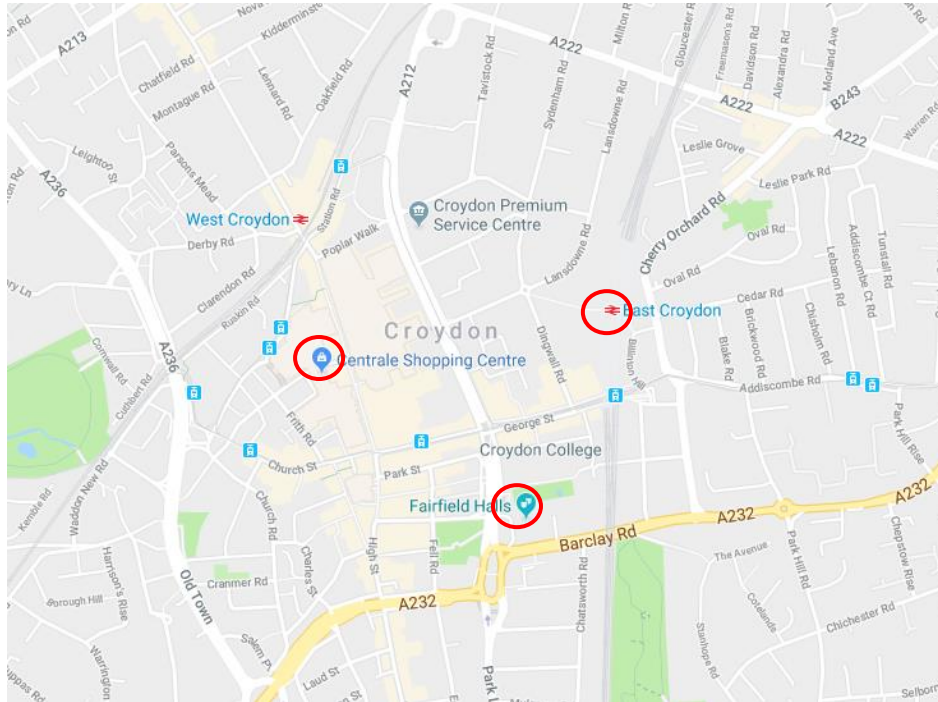
Source: Google.co.uk (2018)

Figure 3: A map of Brixton, the red circles showing the three chosen areas where questionnaires were obtained

Source: Google.co.uk (2018)

Figure 4: A Picture showing the outside of Pop Brixton

Source: Time Out London (2015), available at: https://now-here-this.timeout.com/2015/05/29/boxing-clever-pop-brixton-is-south-londons-newest-foodie-hotspot/

Accessed: 10/03/2018

Figure 5: A Picture showing the inside of Pop Brixton

Source: Canvas Events, no date, available at: http://www.canvas-events.co.uk/venues/754/pop-brixton
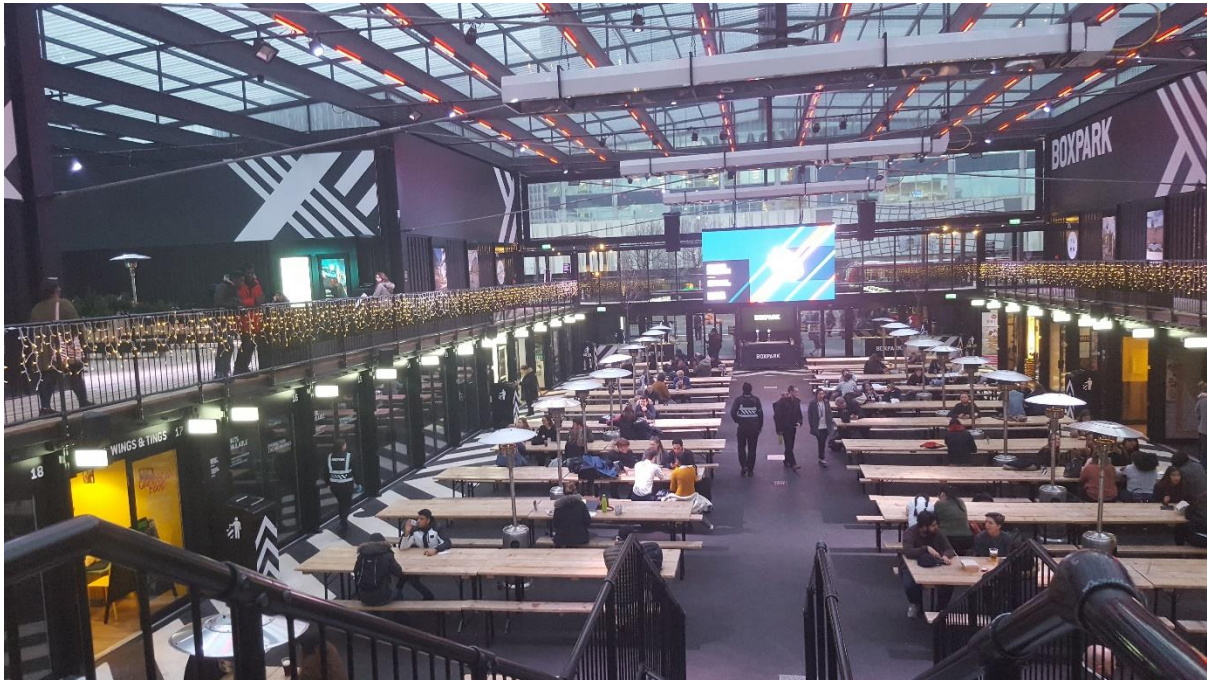
Accessed: 10/03/2018

Figure 6: A picture showing the outside of Boxpark

Source: Own Data, 2017

Figure 7: A picture showing the inside of Boxpark

Source: Own Data, 2017

Figure 8: An image showing the post about my questionnaire on East Croydon Community website.

HELP GEMMA BY COMPLETING HER SURVEY ON REGENERATION IN CROYDON

January 19, 2018 · by eastcroydon · in Surveys, Uncategorized.

Gemma North is a student at Loughborough University, who is writing a dissertation about the effects of regeneration on Croydon and Brixton. She would be grateful if you could complete a short survey, which really does take only 5 minutes.

If you would like to know more about this study, you can email gemma on g.north-14@student.lboro.ac.uk

Click here to complete the survey.

Source: East Croydon Community Website (2018)

https://eastcroydon.org.uk/2018/01/19/help-gemma-by-completing-her-survey-on-regeneration-in-croydon/

Table 1: A table showing the changes in footfall in Brixton and Croydon from 2008-2016. There is less data on Croydon and it is also outdated, the figures shown are in millions

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2014	2016
Brixton	20.88	21.28	22.51	24.82	29.37	33.46
Croydon	19.88	19.88	20.55	20.56	No Data	No Data

Data Source: Brixton footfall figures were obtained from TfL, accessed at:

https://tfl.gov.uk/cdn/static/cms/documents/multi-year-station-entry-exit-figures.xls

Croydon footfall figures were obtained at from the Office of Rail and Road, accessed at: http://orr.gov.uk/site-search?query=east+croydon+station&amp&start_rank=1

Table 2: A table showing the amount of jobs created in comparison to the amount of jobs given to local residents

	Pop Brixton	Boxpark
Job creation	200	60 / 140 (Boxpark/Unit holders)
Percentage of Jobs to local residents	70%	75% / 50%

Source: Lambeth Council, 2017 and Boxpark, 2017.

Table 3: A table generated by Nomis (2018)

Labour Supply				
Employment and unemployment (Oct 2016-Sep 2017)				
	Inner London (Numbers)	Inner London (%)	Croydon (%)	Lambeth (%)
All People				
Economically Active†	2,042,200	77.6	82.4	86.9
In Employment†	1,926,100	73.1	77.0	82.5
Employees†	1,552,300	59.5	62.2	69.2
Self Employed†	359,600	13.1	14.4	13.1
Unemployed§	116,100	5.7	6.5	4.9
Males				
Economically Active†	1,113,800	83.5	88.4	88.0
In Employment†	1,056,800	79.1	82.0	85.2
Employees†	820,800	62.1	63.2	68.0
Self Employed†	230,000	16.7	18.4	17.2
Unemployed§	57,000	5.1	7.1	#
Females				
Economically Active†	928,300	71.5	76.7	85.8
In Employment†	869,200	66.8	72.2	79.7
Employees†	731,500	56.8	61.2	70.5
Self Employed†	129,500	9.5	10.5	8.9
Unemployed§	59,100	6.4	5.7	#

Source: ONS annual population survey
Sample size too small for reliable estimate
† - numbers are for those aged 16 and over, % are for those aged 16-64
§ - numbers and % are for those aged 16 and over. % is a proportion of economically active

Available at: https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157265/report.aspx?c1=2013265927&c2=1946157253

Accessed: 10/03/2018

Table 4: A table showing the percentages of tallied responses to the open question: 'Do you have any concerns about the regeneration of Brixton/Croydon? If so, please state any

Response	% of total responses Brixton	% of total responses Croydon
Displacement	50	42
Loss of Culture/Identity	11	11
Will not last	11	4.5
Unaffordable	9	12.5
Crime rates	11	0
Regeneration plans will not actually happen	0	17
Other	8	13

Source: Questionnaire responses, Own data (2018)

Figure 9: A map showing Ruskin Square, in relation to East Croydon station and Boxpark, the red square showing the Boxpark development
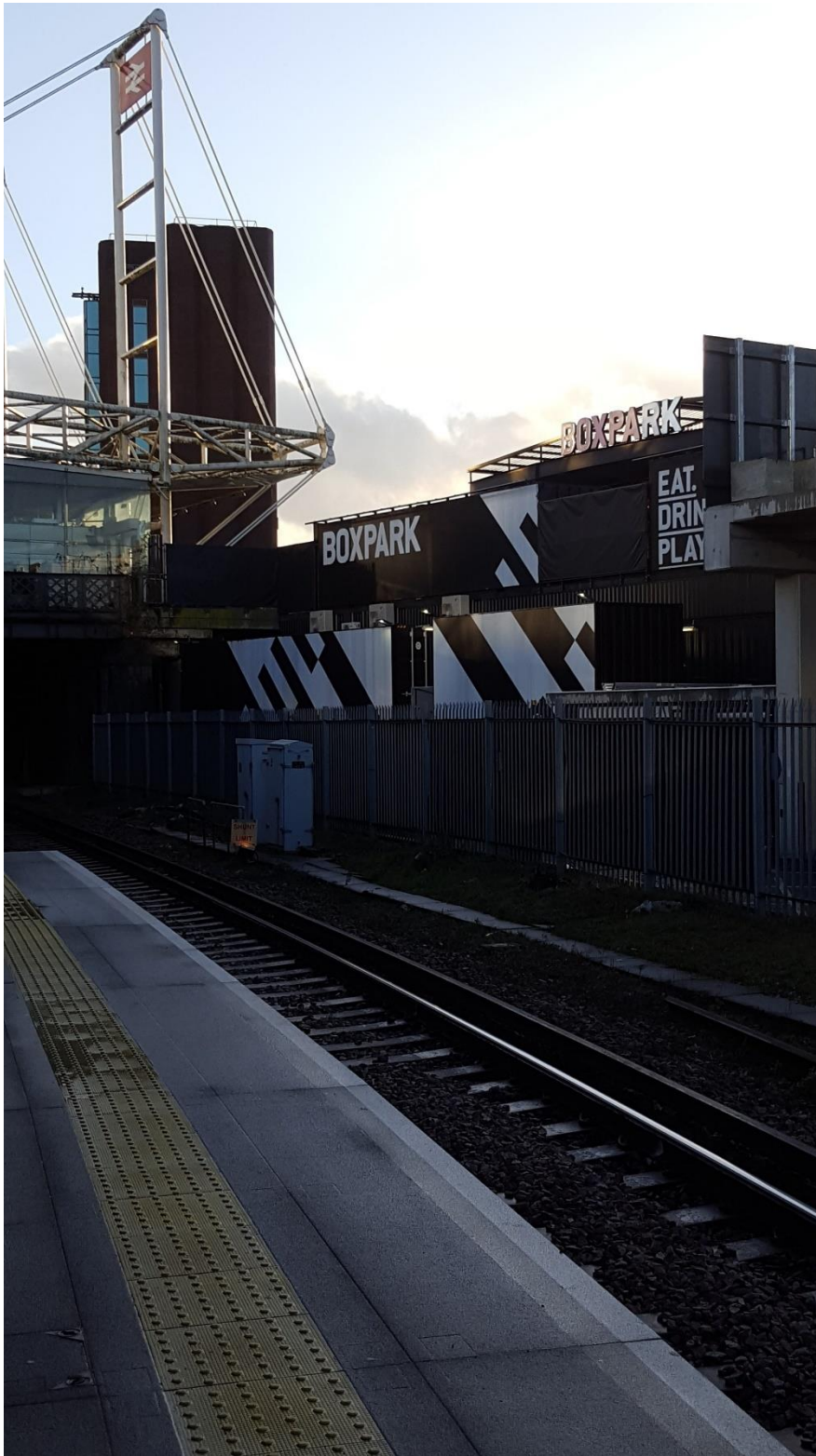

Source: Architects Journal (No date)

Accessed at: https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/home/foster-submits-ruskin-square-croydon-scheme/8612189.article

Figure 10: A picture showing Boxpark from Platform 1 at East Croydon Station

Source: Own data, 2017

Figure 11: A Graph showing the number of respondents in Croydon who believed the area was improving due to a direct response of regeneration, in answer to the question 'Do you feel the area of Croydon is improving through regeneration?'
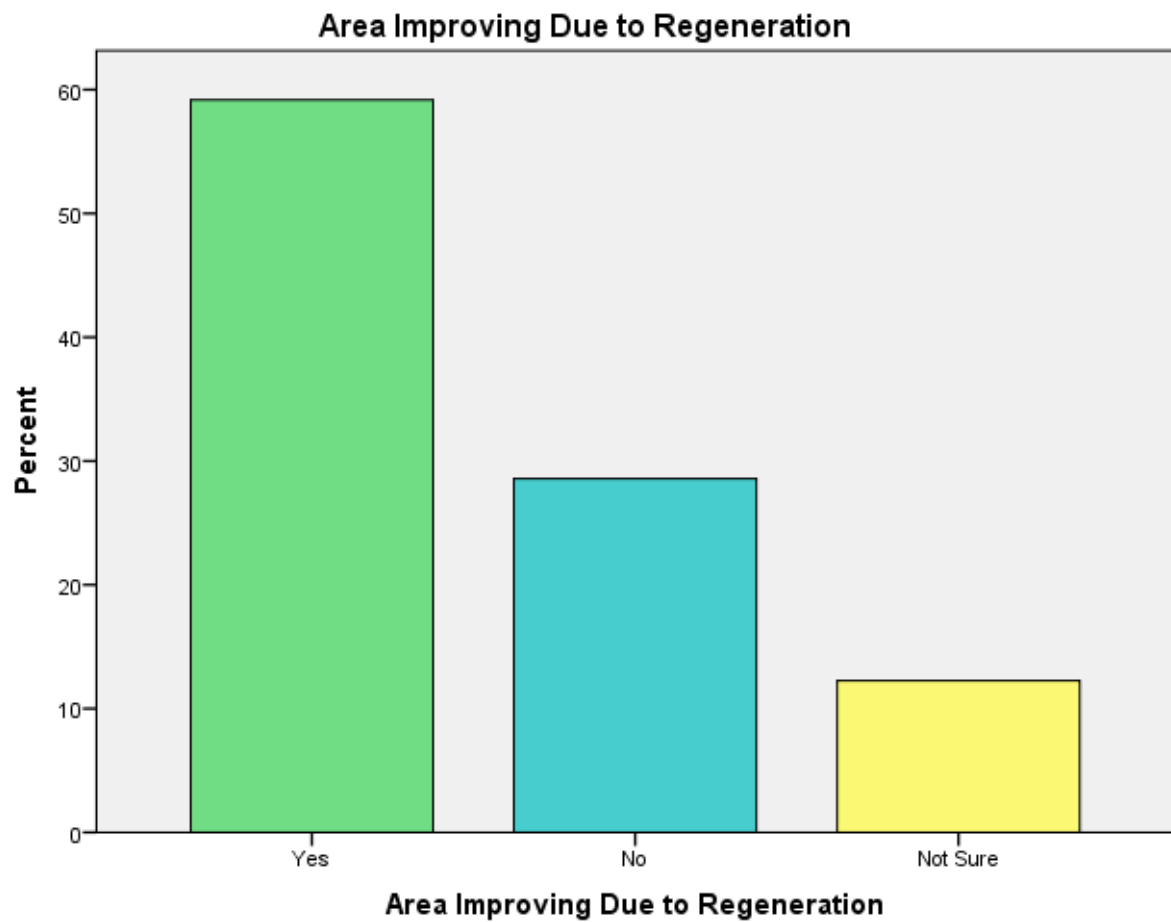
Source: Questionnaire responses, Own data, 2018

Figure 12: A graph showing the percentage of respondents in Brixton who believed the area was improving due to a direct response of regeneration, in answer to the question 'Do you feel the area of Brixton is improving through regeneration?'
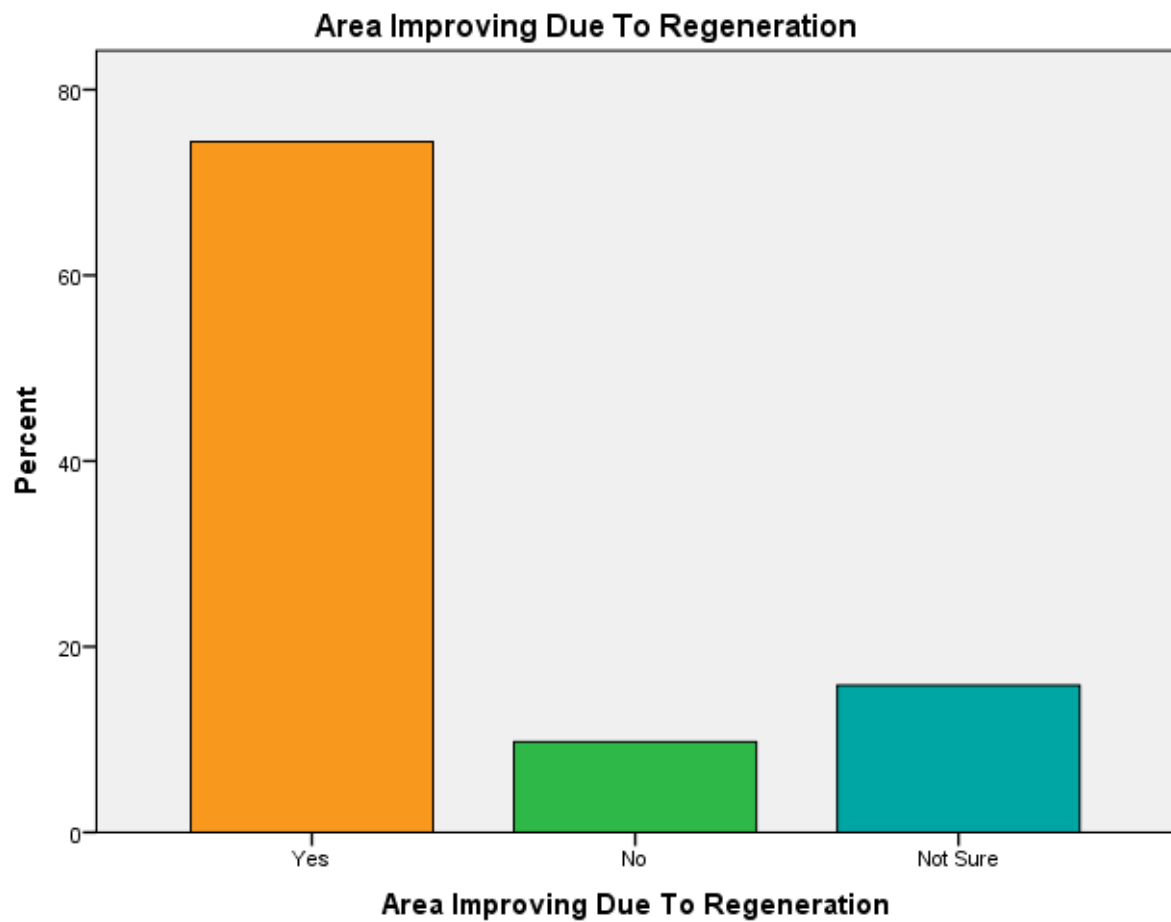
Source: Questionnaire responses, Own Data, 2018

Table 5: A table showing the tallied responses to the question 'What do you feel has contributed to the regeneration of Brixton/Croydon?'

Responses	Croydon	Brixton
Boxpark	14	0
East Croydon Station	13	0
Leisure/Shopping	7	19
New businesses	6	0
Pop Brixton	0	24
Electric Avenue	0	8

Source: Questionnaire responses, own data (2018)

Appendices

Appendix A: Dissertation meeting attendance sheet

Appendix A: Dissertation meeting attendance sheet

Appendix B: An example of the semi-structured interview questions

Interview Questions - Lambeth Council (Brixton)

1. What regeneration projects do you feel have had the most impact in Brixton and why?

2. Do you feel the regeneration of Brixton brings more people to the area? If yes, please explain why, do you feel these people are mainly tourists?

3. Do you think the regeneration of the area will lead to further regeneration occurring? If yes, are there any future plans for further regeneration in Brixton?

4. Do you think the regeneration of the area will lead to gentrification of the area of Brixton?

5. Do you think the regeneration has impacted local businesses? For the better or worse? Have local businesses been pushed out due to increasing lease prices and lesser customers?

6. Do you think Brixton is benefitting from urban regeneration and gentrification, in which case it will be an up and coming area of London? Do you feel that this will change people's perceptions of the area?

7. Many people perceive Brixton to be a dangerous area full of crime, do you think these perceptions of the area will/have changed due to the regeneration? Do you feel an effort is being made to try and change these opinions?

8. As regeneration and gentrification usually go hand in hand, as one occurs the other follows, will the urban regeneration and gentrification of the area cause displacement, like it has done in many other areas? If so, is there anything you are doing to help ease the displacement for those less off that were previously presiding in the area or anything that is planned for in case this were to happen?

Appendix C: A copy of the paper questionnaire

1. What is your gender?

   [ ] Male   [ ] Female   [ ] Prefer not to say

2. Which age range do you fit into?

   [ ] 18-24   [ ] 25-34   [ ] 35-54   [ ] 55-64   [ ] 65+   [ ] Prefer not to say

3. What is your occupation?

   [ ] Employed [ ] Unemployed [ ] Unable to work/retired [ ] Other

   [ ] Prefer not to say

4. What is your ethnicity?

   [ ] White [ ] Hispanic/Latino [ ] Black/Black British [ ] Asian/Asian British

   [ ] Other [ ] Prefer not to say

---

5. What are your current perceptions of Brixton?

---

6. Has your opinion of Brixton changed over time? If yes, please specify previous views in relation to those now, is this due to regeneration?

---

7. Do you feel the area of Brixton is improving through regeneration?

   [ ] Yes   [ ] No   [ ] Not Sure

---

8. If yes, what do you feel has contributed to the regeneration of Brixton?

---

9. Do you have any concerns about the regeneration of Brixton? Please state any

---

10. What do you think could be done to help the regeneration of Brixton?

Appendix D: An example of the online questionnaire layout, as one question is answered, the next appears, question 2 can be seen lightly below question 3

Thank you for taking the time to complete my survey

1 What is your gender?

   ◯ Female

   ◯ Male

   ◯ Prefer not to say

2 Which age range do you fit into?

   ◯ 18-24   ◯ 55-64

   ◯ 25-34   ◯ 65+

   ◯ 35-54   ◯ Prefer not to say

3 What is your type of employment?

Source: SurveyMonkey (2017)

Available at: https://www.surveymonkey.co.uk/r/7MHRVLS

Appendix E: Quotes taken from interviews with Lambeth Council and the Development Director at Boxpark. These quotes display the impacts that the Boxpark and Pop Brixton developments have had.

'The fish monger who was the fourth or fifth generation of his family to have run that fish mongers and then the rents went up and he couldn't afford it.'

Lambeth Council representative, 2018

'Commercial performance in the last lets say 10 year horizon, I think grade a rents and the office space in Croydon market has bumped along between £17-£22 a square foot. Nothing even within the property market of 2008-2012 sort of area, they went down but they never, even in that 10 years they still haven't breached the £22 as I understand, they are now trading at £35 a square foot which has been a direct result and directly happened just after Boxpark opened'

The Development Director of Boxpark

'If the demographics of Brixton are changing and peoples shopping habits are different then its accumbent on these businesses to change their business model and so if their rents are going up it may be that their business model is no longer suited to Brixton and it is suited to somewhere else or it may be that their business model needs to be adapted so they can attract more customers so they can pay more rent.'

Lambeth Council Representative

'We ran a project that we funded that the Brixton Business District led which is called Pivot Brixton which is about working with long standing businesses in Brixton to try and change their business models or to develop better business plans or to use social media or to use advertising in different ways to try and attract more customers and to adapt their business model'

Lambeth Council Representative

Source: Interviews, Authors own data (2018)

Appendix F: Quotes taken from answers by questionnaire respondents in response to the question: 'Do you have any concerns about the regeneration in Brixton/Croydon? Please state any'

The answers show that respondents relate displacement to both businesses and people.

'I am concerned about the displacement and out pricing of local, independent businesses'

(Croydon respondent)

'Displacement concerns me, where will the independent businesses go if they cannot afford the rents here anymore due to the regeneration'

(Croydon respondent)

'The local businesses may get displaced in the process'

(Croydon respondent)

'Local businesses will get displaced due to the regeneration'

(Brixton respondent)

'Local, independent businesses will suffer in the process, causing displacement'

(Brixton respondent)

Appendix G: Quotes taken from interviews with businesses in Croydon and Brixton in a response to the question 'Is regeneration affecting your business? For the better or worse?'

'Eventually, it will be for the better and we will benefit hugely, however, the regeneration is occurring too slow at the minute'

A Croydon business respondent

'The regeneration has bought new, much needed business to the area'

A Croydon business respondent

'It's going to take five years to develop Westfields; it's too long to survive, our website is doing extremely well and launching new sight next month. We are moving closer to East London Epping high street.'

A Croydon business respondent

'The regeneration has generated a lot more cliental of us'

A Brixton business respondent

'Since the regeneration, business has boomed for us'

A Brixton business respondent