

I Introduction

OVERVIEW

- *Defining urban regeneration*: explores the origins of the term and how it has come to be used within contemporary policy.
- *Scale of change*: gives the context for regeneration, looking at the scale of development in the UK and examining the importance of sustainability as a guiding concept.
- *From boom to bust*: examines how wider global and economic trends have impacted on the way regeneration is carried out and the political response to this.
- *Scope and structure of this book*: provides a breakdown of the different chapters within the book.
- *How to use this book*: outlines some of the ways this book can help to develop an understanding of urban regeneration.

Introduction

For the decade leading up to 2008, towns and cities across the UK were undergoing a series of dramatic reconfigurations, the scale of which had not been seen since the 1960s. Shiny buildings in glass and steel seemed to spring up overnight and cranes dominated the skyline of our major cities. Older buildings and sometimes whole districts were razed to the ground to be replaced by new kinds of urban development. Terms like ‘sustainable’, ‘mixed use’, ‘café culture’ and ‘waterfront redevelopment’ became commonplace. The process profoundly transformed aspects of urban life – both the way towns and cities look and how we live in them. A spirit of optimism dominated the process, with regeneration seen as an important opportunity to rectify the mistakes of the past to create attractive, sustainable places for people to live, work and play.

During his time as Chancellor, Gordon Brown spoke of the need to end the cycle of boom and bust that had plagued the British economy since the end of World War II. The **credit crunch** of 2008 and subsequent recession put paid to the dream that the UK had entered a period of sustainable growth. Major building projects were suddenly put on hold or cancelled altogether as finance dried up and firms started to go bust. As the economy slowly starts to recover, regeneration activity is also starting to build up again, though in a somewhat less feverish way than at the height of the boom. The credit crunch injected a healthy dose of reality into the UK’s overheated property market and gave an opportunity to think again about what regeneration is trying to achieve in terms of improving our towns and cities, rather than simply how regeneration can be used to maximise profits for private firms and individuals. In short, it is a very good time to be interested in urban regeneration. But what does ‘urban regeneration’ actually mean, how does it work and what does it do? These are the questions this book sets out to answer

Defining ‘urban regeneration’

Cities are never finished objects; land-uses change, neighbourhoods are redeveloped, the urban area itself expands and, occasionally, shrinks. Pressure to change land-uses can come about for a number of reasons, whether it be changes in the economy, environment or social need, or a combination of these. The large-scale process of adapting the existing built environment, with varying degrees of direction from the state, is today generally referred to in the UK as urban regeneration. Some of the core elements of regeneration have appeared in urban policy before, albeit with slightly different labels. In post-war Britain there was a **discourse** of reconstruction, not only addressing areas which had suffered the destruction of wartime bombing, but also demolishing the large areas of slum housing that had been jerry built during the nineteenth century to house a growing urban industrial workforce. This

post-war reconstruction was somewhat akin to urban renewal in the United States, wherein large parts of the inner cities were demolished and replaced with major new roads, state-sponsored mass housing and new pieces of urban infrastructure.

Urban regeneration is a newer concept, which arose during the 1980s and, as a label, indicates that the process is about something more than simply demolition and rebuilding. The urban sociologist Rob Furbey has written about the origins of the term, reflecting that 'regeneration' in Latin means 'rebirth' and embodies a series of Judaeo-Christian values about being born again. This notion was particularly appealing during the 1980s, when urban policy under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher swung towards the **neoliberal** and was influenced by a very particular vision of Christianity, centred on the individual rather than the broader community. In a sense, therefore, regeneration – as opposed to mere 'redevelopment' – became akin to a moral crusade, rescuing not only the economy but also the soul of the nation. The phrase also functions as a biological metaphor, with run-down areas seen as sores or cancers requiring regeneration activity to heal the body of the city (Furbey, 1999).

One of the most significant figures in the early history of urban regeneration was Michael Heseltine who served as Secretary of State at the Department of the Environment between 1979 and 1983. This was a crucial period in the history of British cities, partly because Heseltine drove through the right-to-buy legislation which allowed tenants to buy their council houses at substantial discounts – a part-privatisation of social housing that massively increased owner occupation. Perhaps more significantly, Heseltine also led the government's response to the 1981 riots in the deprived inner city areas of Handsworth in Birmingham and Toxteth in Liverpool. Heseltine concluded that something dramatic needed to be done and there followed a series of policy interventions attempting to redevelop derelict and under-utilised sites, bringing economic activity and social change to deprived areas.

The Conservative approach during the 1980s doubtless had its flaws, but it set a trend for large-scale interventions reconfiguring the urban fabric of areas suffering from economic decline following the shift away from a manufacturing-led economy. From relatively modest beginnings in the 1980s, regeneration has become a tool applied in almost all urban areas in the UK, reaching a peak of activity in 2008 before the property bubble burst as a consequence of the global economic collapse.

Regeneration is, however, a somewhat ambiguous term. Some approaches to regeneration argue that it is necessary to tackle physical, social and economic problems in an integrated way. In practice, however, dealing with questions around social inequality and community cohesion tend to be separated off from regeneration. Indeed, under the New Labour governments, a separate discourse of neighbourhood *renewal* was devised to tackle social problems (not to be confused with urban renewal as practised in the United States during the 1950s–70s). Urban regeneration, meanwhile, has come to represent strategies to change the built environment in order to stimulate economic growth. It is in this area, rather than in community policy, that this book finds its focus.

The scale of change

Urban regeneration policies helped to create and shape the pre-2008 property development boom. The growth figures for UK construction since 1997 are quite startling (ONS, 2011). Using the value of sterling in 2005, the overall value of outputs from the construction industry in England grew from £51bn in 1997 to nearly £110bn in 2008. Although this figure fell back after the credit crunch, it was still £99.5bn in 2010. The scale of growth was similar in Scotland (£5.6bn in 1997 growing to £10.9bn in 2010), somewhat slower in Wales (£2.7bn in 1997 growing to £3.9bn in 2010) and trending downwards in Northern Ireland (£3.2bn in 2001, the earliest year available for this dataset, falling to £2.4bn in 2010). These numbers represent all construction activity, not just regeneration, but demonstrate just how quickly the UK has been building. Further, this growth in construction has been concentrated in urban areas. Although in land-use terms, only around 10% of the UK's land surface is urbanised, the percentage of total new residences built in urban areas grew from under 50% in 1985 to over 65% in 2003 (Karadimitriou, 2005).

The frenzy of building in UK towns and cities is not simply a product of economic growth, but reflects broader demographic shifts. People are living longer than ever before and, at the other end of the age scale, people are waiting longer to have children, both of which mean a decrease in average household size which, combined with a growing population means that the number of households is increasing rapidly. As a result, the number of households in England alone is predicted to rise from just over 21 million in 2004 to nearly 26.5 million in 2029 with 70% of that increase taking the form of one-person households (CLG, 2007b).

Table 1.1 shows the net annual increase in the number of homes in the UK, adding together new build and conversion of existing properties minus the rate of demolition. These data show fairly steady increases each year, with an unsurprising dip in the rate of growth after 2008. What is more interesting, however, is comparing this rate of growth as against forecasts for rates of household formation. Estimates for Scotland predict a net increase of households 2008–33 of around 19,250 per year, which is broadly in line with the rate of overall increase in housing stock (Scottish Government, 2010). Similarly, Northern Ireland is predicting an increase of around 8,100 households per year 2008–23, which is not dissimilar to its rate of stock increase (NISRA, 2010). More seriously, however, Wales is predicting household growth of 12,300 per year, 2006–31, well below the rate of stock increase (Statistics for Wales, 2010). In England the situation is even more acute, with a predicted 232,000 additional households per year 2008–33, far outstripping the number of new dwellings being added each year even at the most frenzied point of the economic boom (CLG, 2010).

Table 1.1 Number of dwellings added to total housing stock per year.

	England	Wales	Scotland	NI
2003	144,000	7,000	18,000	11,000
2004	155,000	8,000	19,000	5,000
2005	169,000	8,000	21,000	14,000
2006	187,000	8,000	19,000	8,000
2007	198,000	10,000	22,000	7,000
2008	208,000	8,000	22,000	17,000
2009	166,000	7,000	17,000	7,000
2010	129,000	6,000	14,000	9,000

Source: DCLG Live tables on dwelling stock (<http://www.communities.gov.uk/housing/housingresearch/housingstatistics/housingstatisticsby/stockincludingvacants/livetable/>, accessed 22 September 2011).

The overall shortage of dwellings in England is one of many complex issues that drove high rates of house price inflation up to 2008. There was a range of other factors at work, including rising professional salaries, historically low rates of interest, the increased willingness of banks to lend more money to people with much less **equity** and, quite simply, a belief that house prices would keep rising which encouraged people to pay higher and higher sums for property. Nonetheless, the underlying structural shortage of housing became a real source of concern under the Labour governments 1997–2010. The Treasury in particular was concerned that housing shortage was acting as a brake on economic growth, particularly in the overcrowded south east. A series of policies were pursued to help increase the level of house-building, including reforms to the planning system. A target to increase house-building in England to 200,000 new properties per year (HM Treasury, 2005) was, only briefly, met at the peak of the boom. The broadly neoliberal politics of the UK puts an emphasis on the private sector to deliver on housing targets with a belief that reducing state regulation will allow the housing market to find a ‘natural’ balance of supply and demand. Unfortunately, relying on the private sector does not work well at a time when the housing market is sluggish and banks are less willing to lend. There is also little incentive for house-building firms to greatly increase activity if the intention is to reduce the price of their end product. Generations of politicians in England have failed to square this circle; periodic economic downturns cool house price inflation, but do nothing for the underlying structural problems in the English housing market.

A great deal of the growth in the overall number of households is being driven by increasing numbers of people living alone. In England the prediction is that by 2033, 19% of the population will live alone, compared to 14% in 2008 (CLG, 2010). In Scotland this demographic transition is even more dramatic with single-adult households predicted to increase from an already high 38% in 2008 to 45% by 2033 (Scottish Government, 2010). This has huge significance for the kinds of homes that

are required. This is less of a problem in Scotland, which has a much greater tradition of people choosing to live in apartments. In England, however, the idea of the *house* is deeply embedded in the culture. While there has been a boom of apartment building since the late 1990s, the English do not seem to have fully embraced this housing form.

The boom in apartment construction, however, wrought a tremendous transformation upon English cities. High-density living in the heart of the city came back into fashion for the English middle classes who had largely abandoned the city core after the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike the Scots, apartment dwelling for the contemporary English middle class is very much a 'young' stage in the lifecourse. In the Netherlands, new inner city developments are built as large, airy apartments designed for families, with new schools to serve the incoming population. In England, new-build apartments tend to be well appointed but quite small, with a predominance of one and two bedroom units not designed with families in mind. At the same time, local authorities have not responded to the trend for inner city living by building new schools for incoming populations. Existing schools within the English inner cities tend to be of poorer quality and middle-class parents generally use their higher incomes to move to areas with good schools. Thus more than a decade of redevelopment in the core of English cities has left them with transitory populations of younger professionals, who stay for a few years to enjoy the bright lights and amenities of the city centre, before moving out to raise children in the suburbs. English city centres now have a *population*, but little in the way of *community*.

Of course there is more to urban regeneration than the rebuilding of city cores – a point that is directly addressed in Chapter 7 which considers regeneration in the suburbs. Nonetheless, it is the city centres that have grabbed the headlines and the imagination. Cities have gone to considerable efforts to re-image their central areas to make them more attractive to visitors and help to build the city as a brand in an attempt to generate inward investment. Stepping out of the train station in Sheffield in the mid-1990s visitors were greeted by a rather grim view of bus stops, a busy road and no obvious way into the city centre. Today there is a plaza paved in natural stone, an iconic curving fountain and a highly legible pedestrian routeway leading into the heart of the city. Similar transformations have taken place across the UK, with cities competing to produce iconic buildings (Selfridges in Birmingham, the Wales Millennium Centre in Cardiff, the Shard on the South Bank in London), create new public spaces and put on spectacular events.

These physical transformations of the urban fabric are seen as a critical part of the symbolic transformation of a city's fortunes into the kind of place where people want to come to live, play and do business. Cities increasingly see themselves as competing in a global marketplace making branding – writ large in steel and glass – a crucial part of their strategies for economic development. This does, of course, open cities up to the criticism of putting style before substance, or even form before function. One architectural critic reviewing Colchester's new Firstsite gallery, for example, commented that despite being a stunning building, the dramatic curved walls were not particularly well set up for the hanging of art (Moore, 2011).

The *where* of regeneration is fairly straightforward to understand: concentrating on previously developed ('brownfield') land in urban areas in order to generate growth. In turn, understanding the broader political and economic context allows us to understand the *why* of regeneration: in a global economy where cities are competing to attract inward investment, making those cities an attractive place to live is paramount. Perhaps the more important question that this book seeks to answer is *how* that regeneration takes place. A key part of the answer to this question is the rise of sustainability as a core concept. Arguably, putting sustainability at the heart of urban policy is the most important change in the transition from urban redevelopment into something we now describe as urban regeneration. Developing from an obscure concept in the late 1980s, the principles of sustainable development and the need to balance economic, social and environmental factors cut across not only urban regeneration, but UK government policy in a whole range of areas. While the concept of sustainability is notoriously difficult to pin down, it implies a commitment to protecting the environment and ensuring equal access to social and environmental services as well as economic development (see Chapter 5). The idea of 'quality of life' has become common parlance, as the political agenda has subtly shifted toward creating environments in which people want to be. Urban regeneration therefore not only acts as a vehicle for reinventing the economies and tarnished reputations of declining industrial cities, but simultaneously helps deliver on a government commitment to sustainability. Related to these trends, urban regeneration has been caught up in the wider '**new urbanism**' movement that emphasises high-quality design and well-planned spaces (see Chapter 6). Another important new element in discussions of regeneration is the desire to create more 'resilient' cities which are better able to cope with the shock of changes to the wider economy and environment. In the aftermath of the 2008 credit crunch and ensuing financial crisis, questions of **resilience** have gained a new importance (as will be discussed in Chapter 8).

From boom to bust

One of the challenges of studying urban regeneration is that it is not an isolated process. Cities are affected by wider economic, political and environmental factors. The fortunes of cities are tied to the fortunes of nations and, ultimately, the global economy. This has a much longer history than simply considering the credit crunch of 2008 and its after-effects. Over the course of the twentieth century, cities in the Western world suffered from the loss of traditional industries that were either undercut by cheaper products from East Asia, or withered by the decline in colonial power. Across Europe and North America, urban regeneration began in earnest from the 1980s as an attempt to ameliorate the negative effects of de-industrialisation and enable cities to attract new investment in the global economy. The goal of policy was to direct development and investment towards those areas

in which it was most needed. Left to their own devices, developers would choose to locate developments on the cheapest land in areas with the highest demand. In the UK context this would result in pressure to relax constraints on greenfield development, particularly around London and the south east. At its heart, therefore, regeneration is a political strategy using a whole range of planning regulations and other policies to encourage developers to invest in run-down and derelict urban areas that the 'invisible hand' of the market would otherwise ignore.

The dangers of allowing urban policy to be driven by what the market 'wants' were amply demonstrated by the out-of-town development boom of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Large numbers of these developments were permitted under the free-market-inspired Conservative government of this period. Although economically successful in themselves, out-of-town developments damaged the economies of central cities while at the same time increasing car dependency and seriously disadvantaging those poorer communities dependent on local shops and services. In fairness to the Conservative government of the time, the problems raised by this strategy were recognised and measures put in place to restrict out-of-town development as the 1990s progressed. It was, however, the Labour government that came to power in 1997 which really brought a sea change in attitudes towards planning and development in UK towns and cities. **Brownfield** sites ('previously developed land') within existing urban areas became the key strategic target for meeting housing and development needs. This strategy was given formal expression in 2000 when Planning Policy Guidance note 3 was released, setting a target for local authorities to build 60% of new housing on brownfield sites. This 60% target gave a significant boost to the urban regeneration agenda by forcing local authorities and developers to look first to target sites within existing cities. Although estimates of total amounts of brownfield land are notoriously inaccurate, its distribution follows the geography of **deindustrialisation** and hence much of this land is located in urban areas. Derelict land is frequently considered an eyesore and its redevelopment is a critical element in regeneration, replacing an undesirable land use with high-quality housing. The definition of what comprises a brownfield site is drawn rather broadly, however, and can include some rather surprising types of land uses, not simply derelict industrial sites (a point that will be returned to in Chapter 5).

The 60% brownfield target helped shift the location of sites for new housing so that the majority was built in existing urban areas (Aldrick and Wallop, 2007). In turn this reinforced a new tendency for developers to build apartments rather than houses within cities in order to maximise the number of residential units fitted onto a development site. This helped local authorities meet their housing targets and enabled developers to maximise the returns from the purchase of expensive inner city land. What was clear, however, was that the policy emphasis on using more expensive brownfield sites was caught up in the property boom that developed from the late 1990s and which ran until the credit crunch of 2008. During this period, the proportion of new apartments being built each year grew rapidly in England, despite its lack of a flat-dwelling tradition, rising from 12% of new homes in 1997,

to 46% in 2008, before falling back to 30% post-credit crunch in 2010 (CLG, 2011b). After 1997 developers had much less freedom to build the kinds of properties they could easily make money from (large houses on greenfield sites, out-of-town shopping centres, etc.). Nonetheless, 1997–2008 was still a highly profitable period, properties even being built for which there was no traditional market.

Up to 2008 it seemed as though urban regeneration was an unstoppable machine, with ever more ambitious schemes being dreamed up and delivered. Schemes that a dispassionate observer might have seen as marginal, rapidly sold out ‘off plan’ before a single brick was laid. Indeed, pre-selling became a major mechanism through which developers generated the necessary **capital** to actually deliver their projects (Boddy, 2007). Symbolic of the feverish atmosphere that prevailed prior to 2008, it was even possible to ‘flip’ apartments bought off plan, selling on for profit before these buildings even existed. During the pre-2008 period, a great many people chose to **buy-to-let**, with the intention that rental income from tenants would cover the mortgage payments, while rapidly increasing property prices would yield a profit when the property was sold. A survey of private landlords undertaken by CLG in 2008 revealed that some 70% saw increasing property value as generating some or all of the profit from their investment (Leyshon and French, 2009). Clearly this model only works if house prices continue to increase. As a result of the credit crunch of 2008, however, UK house prices fell sharply, with the price of apartments hit particularly hard. Subsequently prices stagnated as the market remained sluggish. The finances of regeneration have therefore needed to be rethought with pre-selling and buy-to-let no longer such attractive options to drive sales.

The credit crunch is the most dramatic example of how regeneration is tied into broader economic and social processes. The global banking system was thrown into crisis in 2008 as the subprime mortgage scandal in the United States started to unravel and ‘safe’ investments proved to be part of a giant pyramid scheme. Those banks that survived the immediate crisis found themselves having to improve the ratio of cash assets to their outstanding loans in order to make them resilient to further economic shocks. In turn this made banks more reluctant to lend money except where the loan was backed with significant capital assets. Developers needed to bring more to the table; for individuals, mortgages of more than 90% of house value were suddenly hard to find. The phenomenon of some banks being willing to loan house-buyers more than 100% of the property’s value (instant negative equity built on an assumption of continuing price rises) disappeared overnight. The buy-to-let market has been hit particularly hard by these changes, because its growth was highly leveraged and dependent on asset price rises which are no longer automatic in the current market. Meantime, repossession of homes in the UK peaked in 2009 at 47,900 properties (up from an unusually low 8,200 in 2004), but has since fallen. Indeed, figures for possession cases passing through the courts, the first stage in a repossession, fell sharply in 2010–11 to around the levels seen in 1995 (CLG, 2011c), suggesting some stability following a brutal cull of the most over-exposed households.

It needs to be emphasised that urban regeneration activity did not suddenly come to a halt after 2008. Many of the fundamentals underpinning regeneration activity remain the same. There is still a structural housing shortage in England that creates a market for house-building. The principle of reusing brownfield sites remains paramount. There is still money to be made from putting derelict land into new uses. Nonetheless, there are differences from what happened during the boom times and there have been different political responses to the changed financial circumstances. The **Coalition government**, elected in 2010, has introduced a series of reforms which change how regeneration operates, based on a distinct ideological approach compared to previous Labour regimes. Scrapping the regional development agencies (RDAs), for example, means that the large quantities of public money these bodies used to catalyse large schemes across England are no longer available. The intention is that the private sector should pick up the slack, though with continuing economic uncertainty this intention seems somewhat optimistic. Meanwhile, the Scottish National Party's rise to power in Holyrood since 2007 has seen a distinct approach developing in Scotland, with a much greater emphasis on using public money to redress social justice issues such as housing inequality. The political landscape therefore has a major impact on how regeneration is delivered and the form it takes. These are issues that will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

The scope and structure of this book

A book of this kind has a lot of ground to cover. Historically, our focus begins with the emergence of 'urban regeneration' as a serious policy domain in the early 1980s but concentrates on developments since the Labour government came to power in 1997. While various precursors to regeneration are mentioned where necessary, there is no space for a more general history of urban development. Similarly, while much regeneration practice involves drawing on successful ideas used in other countries, the focus here is on the UK. The UK is, of course, a country of many parts, with distinct legal-political substructures for England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. In terms of the case studies used to illustrate the discussion, examples have been drawn from these four regional blocks, although inevitably with greater weight given to England, being significantly larger in population and economic activity than the other three combined. Given the scale of regeneration activity in the UK over the past quarter century, it would be impossible to mention every interesting scheme which has been undertaken. While there is some degree of regional balance in the case studies chosen, there are inevitably omissions, particularly in terms of the smaller towns, whose regeneration schemes have tended to receive less attention and are often less innovative than those of the larger metropolitan areas.

Within the UK field of regeneration there is a vast amount of published material, and the proliferation of academic journals focusing on regeneration is a good barometer of scholarly interest in the topic. But, despite its importance, urban regeneration does not fit neatly into existing disciplinary and sub-disciplinary categories, not least because it spans social, economic and environmental dimensions. Regeneration is driven by applied practice, rather than academic research. As a result, research tends to be scattered across a variety of disciplines, from more obvious ones such as urban studies and planning, to regional studies, public policy, property development and engineering.

For the same reasons, regeneration involves a bewildering range of government departments, agencies and organisations all of which release reports, papers and research within the field. Government policy changes rapidly, as do the responses from various stakeholders. Further, many of the key organisations frequently change their names, making it even harder to keep tabs on the sector. For example, the government departments responsible for environment and communities were re-shuffled and renamed four times between 1996 and 2006. This pace of change can make it difficult for all but the most enthusiastic to keep up with moves in the sector.

This book aims to contextualise the regeneration agenda and synthesise existing research in a systematic way to provide a reference text for this important field. It is aimed primarily at an academic audience, as there are an increasing number of university courses dealing with urban regeneration. The book is designed for third year undergraduates, postgraduates and academics and will take the reader through the basic context of regeneration into state-of-the-art research. Accordingly, the topics have been chosen to reflect core themes from the academic literature, rather than to act as a practical guide on how to 'do' regeneration. So, for example, we have not chosen to cover the legal dimension of regeneration – while these aspects play a crucial role in work on the ground, the technical elements are probably of less interest to a general academic audience. We have also aimed to strike a balance between covering the wider context for regeneration, while retaining a focus on regeneration itself. Transport, for example, though playing a major role in where and how regeneration can be undertaken, is not covered separately. Similarly, while social issues are discussed to provide context for urban regeneration policies and case studies, these are not given chapters in their own right. A number of texts already cover these issues in more depth than is possible in a general review of regeneration activity and these are indicated where appropriate.

The remaining eight chapters of this book each cover a distinct aspect of regeneration with illustrative case studies used throughout. Chapter 2 deals with the policy framework, detailing the legislative context in which urban regeneration operates. A brief overview is given of post-industrial policy approaches during the 1980s and early 1990s, before moving on to critically review urban policy during the **New Labour** boom and how this has shaped the contemporary urban regeneration landscape. Chapter 3 considers issues of governance, in order to understand

the political processes through which urban regeneration is actually delivered. The notion of partnerships, which is central to contemporary regeneration, is critically analysed. Chapter 4 explores the strategies for economic growth that underpin urban regeneration through the idea of the ‘competitive city’. The chapter identifies key funding streams and approaches to urban economic regeneration and examines their success.

Chapter 5 tackles the issue of sustainability, which has become a central concept in all discussions of contemporary regeneration. Key social and environmental policies are reviewed and different approaches to integrated planning are assessed. Chapter 6 considers the visual transformation of the cityscape, examining issues of design and cultural elements of regeneration. A number of key tensions are explored surrounding architectural innovation and the retention of heritage as well as questions of culture and identity. Chapter 7 charts the extension of the urban regeneration agenda beyond central cities, asking whether a distinctly suburban mode of regeneration has evolved. Chapter 8 examines how the principles of regeneration operate on the mega-scale, looking at how large projects such as the Olympics can be delivered in a mature capitalist economy. The final chapter – Conclusions – then summarises and integrates the key themes that span each chapter, and explores the future direction of developments within the sector.

How to use this book

This book has a number of features that are intended to make it easier to use. Most importantly, it makes extensive use of case studies to demonstrate how concepts and policies work in practice. The case studies are primarily drawn from academic research and are used to think critically about the advantages and disadvantages of different ways of doing urban regeneration. The book aims to give detailed descriptions and explanations of how urban regeneration works, while also questioning dominant approaches. At the start of each chapter there is an overview, summarising the contents, arguments and overall structure of the chapter. Within each chapter the sections end with a list of key points, while the chapters themselves conclude with annotated reading lists that highlight key academic texts for each of the concepts addressed, and further reading about the wider ideas that frame regeneration. These lists allow the reader to undertake further research in specific areas of interest.

In addition to an index, the book also has a glossary of academic terms that are used, and an annotated list of acronyms to help guide the reader through the ‘alphabet soup’ of multiple agencies and policies. While the book has been designed as a coherent whole, with key concepts and cases cross-referenced within the text, each chapter can also be read as a stand-alone learning aid.