LONDON PROJECT

MIGRANT AND ETHNIC TRADERS

Addressing Social Inclusion in the New London Plan

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Section 1: Introduction

a. Aim

This report summarises work undertaken by a group of eleven UCL Urban Planning MSc students between September and December 2015 (see appendix 5 for a list of team members and responsibilities). The work was focused on addressing social inclusion of ethnic and migrant traders (EMTs) in the context of the development of the new London Plan. We were supported in our work by two organisations, Just Space and Latin Elephant. Just Space is 'an informal alliance of community groups, campaigns and concerned independent organisation and was formed in 2006 to act as a voice for Londoners at grass-roots level during the formulation of London's major planning strategy' (Just Space Economy and Planning Group, 2015). Latin Elephant, which is a member of Just Space, is focused specifically on the inclusion of Latin American Londoners in processes of urban regeneration in London.

This report proposes a new London Plan policy specifically aimed at social inclusion of EMTs. Section 1 introduces the key concepts of the report and the methodology. Section 2 is our proposed policy, presented in the 'pink box' to mirror how it would be presented in the London Plan. Section 3 is the justification for our policy, drawing on a variety of research methods and analytical tools (including fieldwork carried out in Seven Sisters). Finally, section 4 concludes that EMTs continue to be excluded from actively participating in urban development processes in London and the lack of effective policies that contribute to a more inclusive economic development represents a case of social exclusion. We believe that a new and progressive London Plan policy can help to address this.

b. Key concepts

London's diversity is well documented. More than 300 languages are spoken in London's schools, 29% of the population belong to a minority ethnic group, and the author Leo Benedictus has made the case that 'London can lay claim to be the most diverse city ever' (Telegraph, 2015; GLA, 2013; Guardian, 2005). Equally well documented is London's status as a city of sole traders and small businesses. 80% of London's enterprises have fewer than five employees and just 0.4% have more than 250 employees (Office of National Statistics, 2015).

Putting these two trends together, it is unsurprising that London is home to a large and diverse population of EMTs (Carter et al., 2015). EMTs are not clearly defined and they are a very diverse group, often referring to businesses linked to a certain immigrant group, which strictly depend on their ethnic group for subsistence. A broader definition includes businesses that are not restricted to customers of the same ethnicity but are simply owned by a foreign national (European Commission, 2008). Regardless of definition, these businesses are characterised by three main factors. Firstly, EMTs are often an initial job opportunity for migrants entering host economies, who may be low skilled or whose qualifications may not be recognised. Working for EMTs can help migrants break certain barriers such as language, low skills and even discrimination. Secondly, successful EMTs create jobs for other migrants who are new to the host economy. Thirdly and most importantly, EMTs become gathering points for community members where the owner may act as a local leader (Rath, 2006).

We were asked to focus on EMTs through three trader typologies: traders in regeneration; high street traders and clusters. From our analysis, we chose to focus particularly on high street traders and clusters of traders as they are all effected by regeneration processes.

Although official statistics are patchy, research suggests that between 6% and 8% of small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) are EMTs (Carter et al., 2015). As can be observed by walking around any one of inner London's hundreds of district centres, the proportion is much higher in urban areas (see figure 1). Of the more than 40 businesses we surveyed in Seven Sisters just six identified their ethnicity or nationality as British. In our survey, we identified 21 nationalities and ethnicities and we know this is probably an underestimate because certain nationalities were under-represented (see appendix 2). At the London scale, dominant policy discourses on diversity have taken on a consensual form and been used to legitimate policies that promote 'equal life chances' for all of Londoners, while less attention is given to tangible interventions which can promote

diverse encounters or to the redistribution of economic opportunities for different groups (Raco et al., 2014).

Figure 1: Montage of EMT shop fronts on West Green Road, Seven Sisters

London's urban growth has turned areas that have hosted EMTs for decades into areas that are attractive to investors (Sassen, 2015). However, those investments have been frequently focused on spatial renewal based on policies and strategies that fail to address EMTs' priorities, disregard their social value and jeopardise the community cohesion that they help to support.

Conflicts have emerged in numerous Boroughs around London. For example, members of the Brixton community have mobilised to "save Brixton arches" claiming that the proposed investment by the council will possibly push local traders out, most of which are part of the Afro-Caribbean community. The protesters argue that they are causing small businesses that have been in the area for three generations to disappear. People fear that multiculturalism will be replaced with a monoculture of corporate retail chains (Hill, 2015).

Another example is the struggle between Latin American traders and Southwark Council (Roman, 2015). Through Latin Elephant, the community has shown their concerns of the disconnections that exist between what has been planned for regeneration and the current economic activities that are taking place. Also, they have advocated to be recognised for the contribution that EMTs provide to the UK economy, as well as to community cohesion. Latin Elephant's response has been focused on demonstrating how the London Plan and particularly Southwark Council is neglecting support for local enterprises and leaving them out of the regeneration process.

Figure 2 is a map of all of the district town centres identified in the London Plan that are considered "in need of regeneration". This map helps us to predict where conflicts such as those described above are likely to occur.

Figure 2: District town centres identified in the London Plan as "in need of regeneration" (GLA, 2015)

Considering this broad context and in order to build arguments to support a new policy box for the new London Plan that reflects the interests of EMTs, it is helpful to clarify the three core concepts that underpin our policy proposal: regeneration, inclusive economic development and social exclusion.

Regeneration programmes are supported in the current London Plan as a strategy "to drive and shape growth in London's town and economic centres and high streets." Besides, the same policy argues that 'the Mayor will expect regeneration programmes to demonstrate active engagement with residents, businesses and other appropriate stakeholders' (London Plan, supporting text of policy 2.14). In practice, the housing-led regeneration programmes happen more often than not in many areas in London, going against one of the principles of regeneration that 'seek participation and consensus amongst stakeholders' (Roberts, 2000) and giving insufficient attention to some pivotal neighbourhood dimensions (e.g. diverse and resilient local economy and existing sense of community). It has been noted that in many cases regeneration initiatives are 'seen as destroying local networks and community' (Smith, 2011), with many activities local people need most as well as those disadvantaged groups replaced. This disconnect between urban policy and migrant and ethnic economies trickles down to borough level where the mechanisms to manage change are not robust enough to ensure that existing small migrant and ethnic economies remain viable and vital (Latin Elephant, 2015).

In the view of Arjan De Haan (1998), **social exclusion** is a rupture of social bonds - a continuous process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from participation in the society within which they live. Hence, the on-going process of exclusion of EMTs from actively participating in regeneration projects is a case of social exclusion. By alienating them from the process of regeneration, traders are hampered economically and socially. As we demonstrate in this report, ultimately this will undermine the rich cultural diversity of London.

In this sense, 'to drive and shape growth' in order to include ETMs' needs and support them to develop their businesses, it is important to consider specific policies and strategies that contribute to a more **inclusive economic development**, which means a need to open up space through sustainable growth that makes opportunities available to all members of society (Asian Development Bank, 2007). The processes of regeneration for example, can only be seen as a strategy of *inclusive* economic development if it is able to empower local businesses and communities, allowing them to strengthen and thrive.

To better understand the problems that EMTs face in London, the Seven Sisters town centre in the London Borough of Haringey was selected as a case study.

c. Methodology

Our methodology is summarised in table 1 below. Along with a literature review and critique of the current London Plan, the group also carried out field work and interviews focused on the case study of Seven Sisters in London Borough of Haringey (see figure 3 for a map of the field work area and appendix 4 for a summary of Wards Corner). The two main objectives of the field work methodology were: to conduct a survey created by Latin Elephant as a way to support their research about migrant and ethnic economies in London, and to recognise their main priorities considering their specificities.

First, a site visit was conducted to explore the market area and to set boundaries for the research. The boundaries were drawn around the market. Each shop found in the determined area was categorized according to business type and its basic information was collected to produce a database. Of the 187 different business found outside of Seven Sisters indoor market, 183 were identified as EMTs.

After collecting the data, a second visit was arranged to conduct Latin Elephant's survey in the selected businesses. The survey maintained Latin Elephant's exact questions for the data to be rigorous and easily comparable. Only the survey's introduction had minor changes to clearly state its

purpose and to specify that it was conducted by UCL students. Nine of the eleven group members were given 20 businesses outside the indoor market to survey each. Whilst, the other two surveyed businesses inside the indoor market. An initial interview with Carlos Burgos, a representative of Pedro Achata Trust who has been working with the traders in the indoor market for more than 8 years, was carried out to discuss the current issues the traders are facing. Following the interview, he introduced the group members to the traders, which was key for the process of surveying as from the indoor market, only these people were willing to participate in the study. [1]

Figure 3: Fieldwork area in Seven Sisters, London Borough of Haringey

The surveys had a response rate of 20%, most of which were traders outside the indoor market. Despite the low response rate an additional five extended interviews were arranged with high street traders for the following week. The group created a second questionnaire to explore the issues of social inclusion using semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 3 for the questions). Additionally, a second interview with Carlos Burgos, two representatives of the Wards Corner Collision, and a trader from the indoor market was undertaken to further discuss the trader's issues. Finally, a meeting with

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[1] The traders inside the Seven Sisters market are facing eviction as they are fighting an on-going battle with a private developer. More on the story of the market and the Wards Corner Coalition can be found in appendix 4.

Jennifer Peters, the Planning Policy Manager at the Greater London Authority, was arranged to better understand the organisation, its structure and the formulation of the London Plan.

To design our policy proposal, the team arranged several meetings to analyse and discuss all the data and information collected. In order to scale up the EMT's priorities from the case study, three main topics were defined: recognition and participation, inclusive economic development, and EMTs as social infrastructure.

The Policy Box was structured based on these three topics and following the current London Plan framework that divides policies into: strategic vision, planning decisions and LDF preparations, supported by a complementary text that justify each one.

Table 1: Overview of methodology

Method	Instrument	Result	Final Product
Literature review	Local authority reports, community-based organisation (CBO) reports and academic texts	Diagnosis of EMT's current standing in London and the challenges they face	Report on the main characteristics of EMT.
Site recognition	Mapping	Boundaries to database Recollection of the names and number of stores in the area	Map of the area of study Identification and classification of the stores.
Field Work 1	Latin Elephant survey	42 surveys collected (including 5 from the indoor market)	Quantitative and qualitative data
Field Work 2	Semi-structured interviews	5 High street traders interviews	Qualitative data
Field Work 3	Unstructured interview	Meetings with Carlos Burgos , two members of Wards Corner Coalition and one representative of market traders.	Qualitative Data and Background information

Expert Interview	Meeting with Jennifer Peters, GLA Planning Policy Manager	Notes on the London Plan writing process and structure	Background information
Final Analysis	Group meetings	Policies, conclusions report structure	Final Report

Section 2: Alternative London Plan policy

Strategic policy

The Mayor, boroughs and other stakeholders should recognise and celebrate the economic and social value of London's ethnic and migrant traders (EMTs). They should promote economic development that is inclusive of EMTs, recognising that their continued strength is vital to achieving sustainable development. This is particularly important in areas undergoing regeneration and growth, where the Mayor and boroughs should protect clusters of EMTs, which have a unique and irreplaceable character and assist communities to be resilient in the face of rapid change.

Planning decisions

1. Ensure that proposals have engaged with EMTs and that such traders have had an opportunity to shape development plans at an early stage, particularly where a neighbourhood plan is in place.
2. Support inclusive economic development of town centres and high streets by following these principles:
   - applications should support existing EMTs' commercial activities by helping to address the challenges identified by the borough (see LDF preparation 2)
   - an impact assessment of proposed developments should be undertaken taking into account not only EMTs' economic contribution, but also their social value and their role in supporting social cohesion
3. Protect and improve social infrastructure by ensuring successful and irreplaceable clusters of EMTs are retained and strengthened in redevelopment proposals.

LDF Preparation

1. Promote retail and town centre development that is inclusive of EMTs by seeking to understand their nature, profile, strengths and challenges, and adopting tools to enable them to participate in the planning process (e.g. through the use of neighbourhood plans, and local protected characteristic in EQiAs).
2. Address the challenges faced by EMTs, taking into account practical necessities including space to grow, flexible lease options, public realm, transport facilities and access to training and financial services. Help them adapt to change so they can benefit from regeneration processes.
3. Identify the spatial distribution of EMTs, recognise when they constitute social infrastructure, and ensure that plans for the area protect and enhance this infrastructure.

Section 3: Justification

a. Strategic

> **Strategic policy**
>
> The Mayor, boroughs and other stakeholders should recognise and celebrate the economic and social value of London's ethnic and migrant traders (EMTs). They should promote economic development that is inclusive of EMTs, re cognising that their continued strength is vital to achieving sustainable development. This is particularly important in areas undergoing regeneration and growth, where the Mayor and boroughs should protect clusters of EMTs, which have a unique and irreplaceable character and assist communities to be resilient in the face of rapid change.

We have decided to recommend a brand new London Plan policy specifically related to EMTs. This is in recognition of the fact that EMTs face specific threats from processes of regeneration and economic development that are a result of a planning policy framework that does not recognise them. Our proposed strategic policy encapsulates three themes that we believe are central to achieving social inclusion for EMTs within the next London Plan. These themes are:

- Recognition and participation (planning policy 1 and LDF preparation 1)
- Inclusive economic development (planning policy 2 and LDF preparation 2)
- EMTs as social infrastructure (planning policy 3 and LDF preparation 3).

b. Recognition and participation

> **Planning policy 1**
>
> Ensure that proposals have engaged with EMTs and that such traders have had an opportunity to shape development plans at an early stage, particularly where a neighbourhood plan is in place.
>
> **LDF preparation 1**
>
> Promote retail and town centre development that is inclusive of EMTs by seeking to understand their nature, profile, strengths and challenges, and adopting tools to enable them to participate in the planning process (e.g. through the use of neighbourhood plans and local protected characteristic in EQiAs).

The first part of our policy is about recognition and participation, which we believe is a prerequisite to achieving socially inclusive planning policy for EMTs. In the strategic policy we use the word

"celebrate" because this verb often accompanies statements about diversity of individuals and we see no reason why it shouldn't also be applied to diversity of businesses. We have also mentioned "social value" because this was a key finding of our research: once EMTs are recognised and understood, their wider value in supporting diverse communities and community cohesion becomes clear (more detail on social value is included in section (c) below).

We believe that boroughs should be strongly encouraged to integrate their understanding of diversity on the one hand and local economies and spatial planning on the other. The Planning for Equality and Diversity in London Supplementary Planning Guidance (SPG) (GLA, 2007) includes detailed guidance on how planning policies and proposals can be used to address the specific spatial needs of London's diverse communities and some overarching principles for effective community engagement. In terms of the relationship between spatial and social issues, the SPG points out that while land-use unquestionably remains the main focus of spatial planning, more attention should be given to its interaction with and impact on wider social issues, which 'are understood and tackled as an integral part of the planning approach, not as a separate issue' (Planning for Equality and Diversity in London SPG, 2007). The GLA's London Town Centre Health Check, detailed in the Town Centres SPG, already includes the following instruction to boroughs: 'When conducting more local health checks boroughs are encouraged to supplement the strategic health check indicators with more locally sensitive data including for local and more neighbourhood centres.' Although the business plan of the London Strategic Migration Partnership (LSMP) covers key areas of integration for refugees and migrants, the role of EMTs is not acknowledged and there are few linkages between the Mayor's migration policies and his economic and planning policies. If EMTs were properly recognised then the policies outlined above would be reflected more effectively in the London Plan. LDFs should include specific reference to ethnic dimensions of town centres, high streets and markets.

One of the most important tools that public authorities can use to assess the impact of their policies and practice on different groups is equality impact assessments (EqIAs). The Equality Act 2010, which is the legislation underpinning EqIAs, considers aspects of social inclusion by stating that decision-making by a public authority or any person who exercises public functions must have due regard to the need to eliminate discrimination, harassment and victimisation, advance equality of opportunity and foster good relations. This has led to a new culture in local government of undertaking and publishing assessments of the equality impacts of decisions taken by public authorities. For example, Haringey's LDF (2013) includes a commitment to 'ensur[e] that the impact of development on the social fabric of communities is considered and taken into account'

(paragraph 1.4.31). However, the responsibilities set out in anti-discrimination legislation focus on what are called "protected characteristics", which can lead to overly narrow interpretations of addressing social inclusion. For example, there is no "protected characteristic" relating to immigration status, and EQiAs tend to apply to individuals rather than to businesses, both of which are a particularly relevant consideration for the EMT group.

Experience of regeneration and gentrification of London's neighbourhoods has shown time and time again that these processes disproportionately negatively impact EMTs because EMTs tend to be concentrated in relatively low value areas that are attractive to planners and developers as areas for redevelopment. A standard EQiA will not pick up this kind of indirect discrimination because, for example, it doesn't seek to understand how many people in an affected area are migrant traders as opposed to traders who happen to be non- White British This means that decision makers are not presented with the full implications of their decisions. We think that the London Plan should encourage boroughs to be more flexible in the application of EQiAs. Very diverse boroughs should consider amending their EqIA tool to make it more relevant to the borough. For example, it could incorporate migration status as a 'local protected characteristic', recognising the very large numbers of migrants and residents from diverse backgrounds living in the borough. Local authorities should also give greater attention to collecting qualitative data regarding the interaction between different groups of residents in the area to better understand the implications of regeneration plans on community cohesion.

The London Plan includes various policies designed to encourage participation of Londoners in the planning process, including town centre management and regeneration processes. For example, policy 2.15 states that boroughs should 'support and encourage community engagement, town centre management, partnerships and strategies including business improvement districts to promote safety, security, environmental quality and town centre renewal' and policy 2.14 says 'the Mayor will work with strategic and local partners to co-ordinate their sustained renewal by prioritising them for neighbourhood-based action and investment'. However, these policies are very generic and largely fail to ensure that all groups and communities are given an equal opportunity to participate in the whole planning process. Priority to shape development plans is often given to more powerful groups, including landowners, developers and big businesses, while those disadvantaged and vulnerable grassroots groups, particularly EMTs in retail and office space, tend to be excluded from the participatory process. For example, at Wards Corner, Haringey council is actively supporting the planning approval secured by Grainger PLC at the expense of the planning

approval secured by the Wards Corner Coalition. But from the perspective of local traders, this kind of proposal is not tailored to the specific needs of the community (see appendix 3 and 4).

In recognition that local encounters, as the basis for political discussion, can take place in a positive and progressive manner, and that communities do not have access to the tools they need with which to participate in the planning system, the Localism Act (2011) introduced a system of neighbourhood planning. Neighbourhood plans are difficult to establish and take time, but once in place they are formally adopted as part of the local development plan and must be taken into account by the borough. There are a few emerging examples of lower and middle income groups with a diverse ethnic composition forming alliances to defend their neighbourhood against large-scale urban regeneration and property development activities which threaten areas with further gentrification (e.g. in Seven Sisters). The problem is that, on the one hand, too often, neighbourhood plans are developed in relatively wealthy areas, as is showed in Figure 4 (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015), suggesting that where neighbourhood plans are in development or approved in London are mostly in wealthier west London.

Figure 4: Neighbourhood plans under development or approved in London as of October 2015
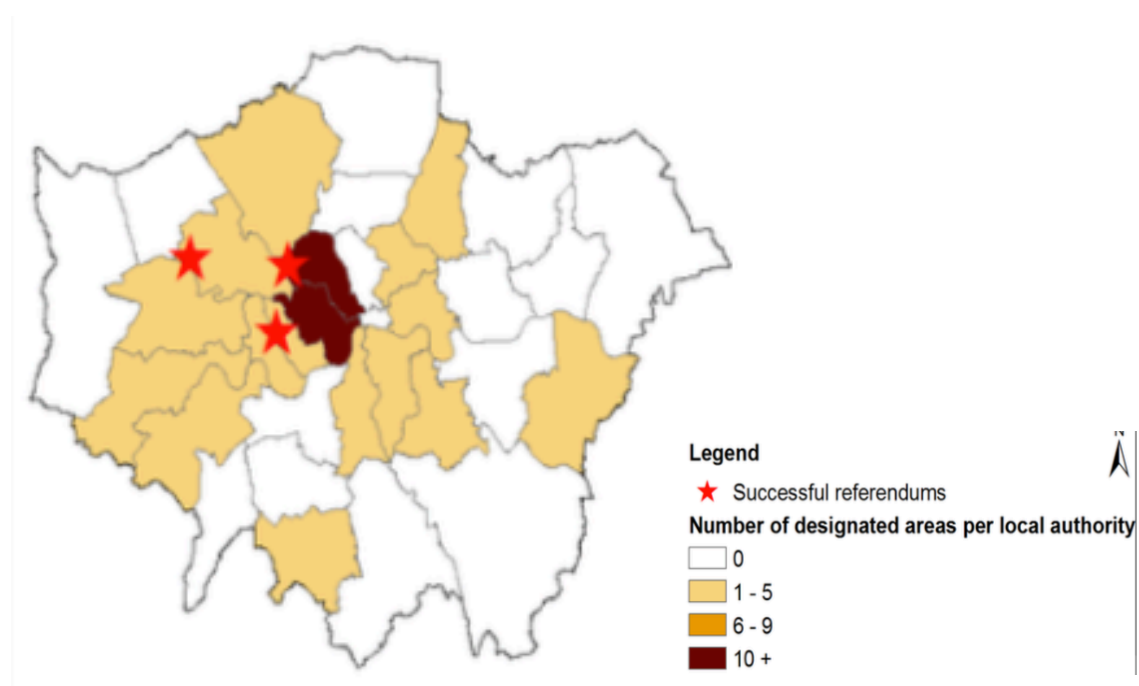
On the other, the lack of a strong coordinating framework for policy, recognition of the structural inequalities and transfers of resources which may impede the participation of specific groups and individuals in the process means that neighbourhood planning may be used by dominant coalitions of local interests to further their particular interests in ways that could be exclusionary to other

groups or may not be progressive (e.g. in Stamford Hill in North Hackney (Booth, 2013)). In several cases of neighbourhood plans happening in regeneration areas, they, more often than not, are developed merely as a reaction to development (which means they are often too late, or just as proposals of 'an alternative' unlikely to be made happen). Our research has persuaded us that in areas like Seven Sisters it is important to have a neighbourhood plan in place before regeneration and economic development processes begin in earnest. Policy 7.1 of the London Plan says that 'boroughs should work with and support their local communities to set goals or priorities for their neighbourhoods and strategies for achieving them through neighbourhood planning mechanisms', but we think this needs to be emphasised in areas earmarked for regeneration and where local communities, including EMTs, are particularly unengaged with the planning system. Boroughs should be actively encouraging and facilitating the creation of neighbourhood plans in these areas, to achieve the genuine, effective and inclusive bottom-up community participation, pushing for the early engagement of communities into the whole local planning process.

c. Inclusive economic development

Planning policy 2

Support inclusive economic development of town centres and high streets by following these principles:

- applications should support existing EMTs' commercial activities by helping to address the challenges identified by the borough (see LDF preparation 2)
- an impact assessment of proposed developments should be undertaken taking into account not only EMTs' economic contribution, but also their social value and their role in supporting social cohesion

LDF preparation 2

Address the challenges faced by EMTs, taking into account practical necessities including space to grow, flexible lease options, public realm, transport facilities and access to training and financial services. Help them adapt to change so they can benefit from regeneration processes.

The second part of our policy builds on our definition of inclusive economic development (see section 1b) and we have sought to ground this in the concept of 'sustainable development', which is central to the English planning system. The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF, 2012) begins with the sentence 'the purpose of planning is to help achieve sustainable development', while the current London Plan sets out a series of six overarching objectives that aim to achieve sustainable development. It is our contention that in many of London's communities, which are highly diverse

and changing very rapidly, development and regeneration cannot be said to be sustainable unless all parts of the economy are included within it.

The primary focus of policy narratives at the city level is on fostering recognition, which, however, is a pragmatic concern with selective recognition (Raco et. al, 2014). Diversity is something to be promoted as a commodity, which can facilitate economic growth and enhance the attraction of London of international investments and events. The 'talent-driven' positive view of diversity and immigration justifies the migration policies targeting at foreign students and high skilled migrants, which are seen as 'an enabler of jobs and growth' (in the words of a GLA representative), while, there is little recognition that relatively low-skilled and low-paid ethnic and migrant workers who are fundamental in diverse interconnected sectors and businesses, have made great contributions to the healthy and resilient local economy, to the city's welfare services and further to London's economic, social and cultural diversity and sustainability.

In a report by Centre for Entrepreneurs and DueDil (2014), important economic and social contributions of EMTs are highlighted, including growing the economy, generating jobs and opportunities for local people, providing essential services and goods for communities and more importantly, forming valuable social hubs which act as vehicles for social inclusion and cohesion. Governments have also sought to promote the success of EMTs because of their contribution to social cohesion and multiculturalism, their economic contribution (estimated to be £3 billion gross value added (GVA) per year), and their role in supporting new migrants (Carter et al., 2015). The second planning decision therefore suggests that the economic development of town centres should be supported first by addressing the challenges that EMTs face in their work environment, which are shared by all traders in these environments, and second by addressing the obstacles which are inherent to the structure and nature of EMT businesses and are amplified in the context of regeneration.

Indeed, EMTs have a particular structure, which exclude them from necessary services to set up a successful business: the access to financial services, the access to the market and the lack of management skills (Carter, 2015). First, EMTs suffer from poorer access to credit. For instance, Fraser (2009) identified that certain ethnic minorities, e.g. Black African firms are four times as likely as White firms to be denied loans. Evidence also shows that they face indirect discrimination through the application of standard risk factors in bank lending system, e.g. age of business and lack of financial track records. Second, EMTs are generally concentrated in industries with low costs of entry because they have less access to resources in terms of human and financial capital. This can lead to market-saturation and a high competition where the price becomes the main parameter for

customers (European Commission, 2008). Finally, EMTs lack of educational and business experience, which excludes them to engage in knowledge-based activities (Thompson et al., 2010).

In this context, the community remains the best way to avoid these obstacles because it represents both their customer base and also their way to finance their activities without appealing to formal institutions (European Commission, 2008). From our fieldwork, it was implied that migrants chose Seven Sisters to set a business due to the ethnic diversity in the area.

However, some of the local traders in Seven Sisters are willing to diversify their customer base, and are, therefore, optimistic about the regeneration projects in the area because they think this could attract potential wealthy customers. Yet, evidence show that regeneration projects will eventually affect their competitiveness. Raco (2010) documented the impacts of the Olympic Games on urban policies interventions in London and demonstrated that redevelopment forced small businesses to, either reallocate their activities, or make important investments to adapt both to a different customer base and new competitors.

The London Plan chapter on London's economy includes several policies where EMTs should be a relevant consideration including policy 4.7 on retail and town centre development, policy 4.8 on supporting a successful and diverse retail sector, and policy 4.9 on small shops. In the 2014 Further Alterations to the London Plan (FALP), groups including Latin Elephant lobbied for an amendment to policy 4.8 with some success. 4.8 now includes a reference to 'managing clusters of uses' including their 'potential to realise the economic benefits of London's diversity' (Latin Elephant, 2015). As is claimed in The Planning for Equality and Diversity in London SPG Implementation Point 4.7a: 'The Mayor supports the use of the planning system to secure suitable and affordable premises for SMEs and encourages the boroughs to do likewise'.

However, given the challenges EMTs face, we think the London Plan should be more explicit. Therefore, in our alternative London Plan, applicants should support existing EMTs' commercial activities by helping to address the challenges identified by the borough and detailed above. This could be done by ensuring multiple mechanisms applicable by the borough, which we will detail in LDF preparation 2, but also by the applicants. For instance, the developers should provide affordable space and facilities in the area affected by regeneration.

In relation to the challenges identified in the second planning decision, our second proposal for the LDF focuses on addressing the challenges faced by EMTs, taking into account practical necessities including space to grow, flexible lease options, public realm, transport facilities and also business support. The latter could include access to financial services or to start-up schemes, capacity building

programs, training regarding the legal frameworks or the language support, etc. In a few words, the borough should help them adapt to change so that they can benefit from regeneration processes. In relation to this, although we found some evidence in the Local Plan that a "fair compensation package" is available to traders affected by regeneration plans, but the scope appears to be quite narrow and doesn't include those traders affected indirectly (London Borough of Haringey, 2014, p.7).

It is crucial for the London Plan to address EMTs' needs and help traders adjust their way of business in the face of economic development, including improving their floor space. It can be seen in the current London Plan 4.9 relating to small shops that the Mayor will provide or support affordable shop units suitable for small or independent retailers and /to strengthen and/or promote the retail offer attractiveness and competitiveness of centres. Yet in 2011 Haringey Council disregarded this, causing a riot to take place as Grainger, which is a large company, planned to build a luxurious shopping mall. It goes without doubts that the high-level shopping centre will marginalise these traders and higher rent of land and house will come along with (ourtottenham.org.uk, 2015) On basis of the survey, the negative thoughts of traders can be attributed to this contract between private sector and public sector. It may correspond the London Plan Chapter 4.7 that the Mayor supports a strong, partnership approach to assessing need and bringing forward capacity for retail, commercial, culture and leisure development in town centres', and it does not convey properly that the partnership is between local traders or big retailers.

Also, the Social Value Act 2012 gives public authorities the right to 'have regard to economic, social and environmental well-being in connection with public services contracts and for connected purposes'. In practice, the Social Value Act seeks to focus on the collective benefits for the community in the way public bodies choose to buy services. This follows the national development strategy in terms of sustainability strategies because it links corporate plans with the needs of a local area, which implies a participatory approach. Regarding its local impacts, statistics from the Social Value Act Review (Cabinet Office, 2015) seem to conclude that civil society is in favour of it: 'over 60 % of respondents believe that the Act had a positive effect on the local community, 82% […] on the local economy and 72% […] on local businesses'. Therefore, the Social Value Act is a useful tool that gives government bodies *room for manoeuvre* in implementing inclusive community-based projects.

In the case of Haringey, by giving planning permission to Grainger, the borough is supporting a regeneration plan that would completely exclude EMTs from the local area, either by reallocating them or because of the effects of the planning gain on their rents (i.e the increase of land's value resulting from a planning permission). However, the borough could also take a stance on the

proposals that are being made by imposing an assessment from a commissioner on the social value content of the project, along with an agreement on how private developers can involve in social activities and provide community value.

d. EMTs as social infrastructure

Planning policy 3

Protect and improve social infrastructure by ensuring successful and irreplaceable clusters of EMTs are retained and strengthened in redevelopment proposals.

LDF preparation 3

Identify the spatial distribution of EMTs, recognise when they constitute social infrastructure, and ensure that plans for the area protect and enhance this infrastructure.

The third part of our policy is about recognising the role of EMTs as social infrastructure. The London Plan has a broad definition of social infrastructure, which includes health, education, cultural, faith, community, play and recreation spaces. As is demonstrated in the London Plan Policy 3.16, boroughs should ensure the "adequate provision for social infrastructure", particularly in areas of regeneration, by regular assessments of the needs of local communities, and also encourage "collaborative engagement with social infrastructure providers and community organisations." However, it is not unusual that new developments or regeneration plans are developed and approved without sufficiently taking into account the local needs or identification of social infrastructure. For example, in the case of Seven Sisters, local traders and residents within the community consider the indoor market as "a meeting space of communities and the heritage buildings" (see appendix 4), where not only transactional, but social, activities happen on a daily basis (see appendix 3). When we were visiting the indoor market, we saw that children were running and playing, elder ones taking care of family members, meeting friends as well as running their business. Moreover, one of our team members saw customers and the owner of a Chinese shop on the High Street talking as friends when the interview was conducted. The owner stated that "after years of doing business here, you have been getting to know your customers more and becoming friends, as part of the life" during the interview (see appendix 3). To summarise, for London's communities, high streets and clusters are often crucial social infrastructure, providing important spaces for social and support networks and for community cohesion, yet this is rarely recognised by boroughs and other local stakeholders. We believe that their role is particularly important in areas undergoing rapid change and regeneration, where social infrastructure plays a vital role in assisting

existing communities and new arrivals to adapt, giving them sense of place, local identity and also sense of belonging within London.

Assets of Community Value is one of the various mechanisms that can be of great help to the provision and delivery of social infrastructure requirements, giving communities a right to identify a building or other places seen to be of significance to the community's social well-being. This process helps to solve the problem of testing the viability of community uses, and to judge whether the planning proposals for these premises of established local value and demonstrably viable uses are suitable and inclusive. However, on account of the lack of the close definition of community facilities in the London Plan policy 3.16 and even in the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), it is necessary to take inclusive approaches to recognise the buildings and places catering to local need for uses with a public benefit as forms of community facility and further to successfully apply the political commitment to support protection of valued community facilities. Various new powers under the Localism Act 2011 and Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012 have been introduced to enable local people to improve the physical and social environment of their areas as well as local services. Among them, the Community Right to Bid is the most useful power, which provides the opportunity to bid on registered Assets of Community Value and the possibility for counter proposals to be developed. Moreover, the Social Infrastructure SPG (2015) implementation point 7 advises boroughs to "encourage the registration of community facilities as assets of community value to provide proof of their importance in the determination of local planning applications." Despite of a wide range of political discourses and delivery mechanisms aimed to protect and enhance social infrastructure, they still seem to be relatively weak in the process of regeneration prioritisaing economic growth and urban renewal aiming to increase the capacity of housing and enhance the attractiveness to new investors.

The London Plan also makes a commitment to create 'a good quality environment in an active and supportive local community' for Londoners in their neighbourhoods. (London Plan, 2015) It develops the principles of Lifetime Neighbourhoods, which serve as a basis of the regeneration proposals, particularly in cases where active engagement with different local groups are demonstrated, and also play a central role in the development of social infrastructure. In the Accessible London SPG, social infrastructure is identified as "being integral to the creation of lifetime neighbourhoods" (Social Infrastructure SPG, 2015), with the aim of promoting social interaction to help bind communities together and closer. While only by well understanding what the distinctive users need and value, i.e., "putting 'people' back into 'place'" (Social Infrastructure SPG, 2015), can this kind of integration be achieved.

As it is articulated that 'maximise the opportunity for community diversity, inclusion and cohesion' and that 'boroughs should work with and support their local communities to set goals or priorities for their neighbourhoods and strategies for achieving them through neighbourhood planning mechanisms', this policy aims to build community-based voices and support locally-based (or community-led) engagement and neighbourhood plans for London planning, which echoes the strategies for regeneration programmes demonstrated in Policy 2.14 of the London Plan, to create a cohesive community through land use planning. Admittedly, as is reflected in our research, high streets and clusters are recognised by EMTs as physical facilities which are crucial nodes of social networks, while there is very little recognition in planning policy of the nature, profile, strengths and challenges faced by EMTs. Latin Elephant, in their response to the consultation version of the Tottenham Action Plan (2015a), highlighted a disconnection between migrant and ethnic communities and urban planning, little understanding of how EMTs participate in processes of urban regeneration, and little understanding of how public authorities and planners should engage with these communities. For many EMTs in high streets and town centres, they actually are optimistic about redevelopment and look forward to improving the physical and social environment, and moreover, they hope to be included in the planning process and have a say in the decision-making process, as can be reflected in our qualitative interviews in Seven Sisters (see appendix 3).

Section 4: Conclusion

This report has shown that the on-going process of exclusion of EMTs from actively participating in urban development processes and the lack of effective policies that contribute to a more inclusive economic development represent a case of social exclusion. By alienating them from these processes traders are hampered economically and socially.

As an attempt to promote social inclusion in the London Plan, this work intend to incorporate EMT's priorities and vision in order to defend the rich cultural diversity that the city of London so proudly defends. Incorporating traders in urban development processes and, moreover, supporting their businesses growth, can consequently help to strengthen minorities' perception of ownership of the boroughs, fostering the process of integration of communities that have been historically marginalised and ensuring that economic growth is inclusive.

In the words of the traders in High Road and the Wards Corner market we conducted qualitative interviews with, they appreciate the diversity and potential of Seven Sisters, where they acquire sense of place as well as local identity within London, and they also consider the existing market and small shops as a valuable community asset. We have tried to encapsulate this in our London Plan policies.

As a group, we also learnt some lessons from this project. Firstly, as many of us were new to London it was fantastic to experience London's incredible diversity first hand. Secondly, we faced many challenges undertaking our primary research. We underestimated how difficult it would be to gather survey responses, particularly from traders in the Seven Sisters indoor market, and ideally we would have spent more time trying to ingratiate ourselves with the community beforehand. This wasn't just a matter of language (our group speaks ten languages) but also the difficulties the traders were facing, particularly with evictions. Thirdly, we realised the importance of groups such as Just Space who can help highly localised community groups to engage with pan-London processes of urban regeneration that affect them.

Finally, we want to emphasise that changing the London Plan is one of many strategies that EMTs and their representative organisations should pursue for social inclusion. In particular, groups also need to engage at a political level - without political will the policies in the planning documents are less important.

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Appendix 1: Latin Elephant survey

Latin Elephant

Identify yourself (Name / Institution). We are doing a research on migrant and ethnic businesses to complement the work of Latin Elephant. This research will be used to support and inform urban policy on migrant and ethnic economies in London. Latin Elephant is a charity that promotes alternative and innovative ways of increasing participation of migrant and ethnic groups in urban regeneration processes in London.

You agree for all information collected to be used for the purpose stated above. _____

All information will be given on the basis of anonymity. Tick this box if you wish to opt out of anonymity _____

1. Name of Business _____

2. Business Type _____

3. Trading Address _____

_____

4. Contact Person & Position _____

5. Gender _____

6. Ethnicity and or Nationality _____

7. Where lives / Three first letters of Post code? _____

8. Birth Year (if not exact year then range): Year if given if not range:_____

  1940-1950   1951-1960   1961-1970   1971-1980   1981-1990

9. Birth Place _____ (If not UK, go to Q9, if UK skip Q9)

10. When Arrived: (if not exact date then range)

  1960s   1970s   1980s   1990s   2000   After 2010

11. Business opening Date or Year: Exact Date if Known: _____

  ☐ Before 1970s   ☐ 1970s   ☐ 1980s   ☐ 1990s   ☐ 2000s   ☐ Since 2010

12. Number of Employees:

  ☐ 1-5 ☐ 6-10   ☐ 11-15   ☐ 16-30   ☐ 31-50   ☐ 51-75   ☐ 75+

13. Approximate customers per day – RANGE

  ☐ 0-10   ☐ 10-30   ☐ 30-50   ☐ 50-75   ☐ 75-100   ☐ 100-150   ☐ 150+

14. Ethnicity of most customers – Majority ethnicity base   Only ethnicity defined   Mixed

15. What Languages do you speak? _____

Part II: Qualitative questions ----

1. What does this shop mean to you?

2. What do you think this shop means to your customers?

3. What is the value of having your shop here?

4. Are you aware of any regeneration projects or plans for this area? Have you considered what will be the impact on you and your business of the regeneration?

5. What do you need to know/ what kinds of support would be useful for you?

6. Would you like to join/ know more about Latin Elephant?

Appendix 2: Survey results

1. Methodology

For our surveys, we chose to divide the area into three zones: Seven Sisters Road, which included 63% of the shops we identified EMTs; West Green Road with 11%; and High Road with 26%. A fourth zone was the Seven Sisters indoor market, where we did fewer surveys.

Apart from the indoor market, we identified 184 shops as EMTs, out of which we only surveyed 42 because the majority were reluctant to participate or the owners were not present. This situation was particularly difficult in the indoor market, where other surveys had already been conducted in the past. Therefore, the results obtained can be biased because some ethnic groups, in particular the Latin American traders, are underrepresented in the sample.

The following results correspond to both owners of the business as well as employees. In that sense, the results of the open questions are not presented extensively given that those questions were focus more on owners.

2. Diversity

There are a large number of male-led businesses in the area, which according to our survey, were 36 businesses (representing about 86%). On the other hand, the female-owned businesses were only 6 (constituting about 14%). Moreover, half of the respondents are middle aged between 25 and 44 years. Around one quarter (26%) were born before 1971. A considerable number (21%) preferred not to reveal their age.

The languages spoken in the area are evidence of its cultural diversity. It was found that the traders speak at least 25 different languages. Almost all the traders speak English (41 out of 42). Eight (8) traders speak Turkish whilst six (6) of them speak Spanish. Other languages spoken by the traders include Arabic, Kurdish, Portuguese, Italian and Chinese.

Moreover, figure 1 below shows the classification of trader's ethnicity or nationality by region of the world. 31% of the respondents classify themselves as an ethnicity or nationality related to the Middle East, mainly Turkish and Kurdish. The second ethnic group is constituted by Europeans; among them almost 14% of the Europeans are British (see table). Finally, communities from South America and East / South Asia, each represented 12% of the sample; while communities from Africa and the Caribbean each have a share of 7%.

Figure 1: Stated ethnicity by world region
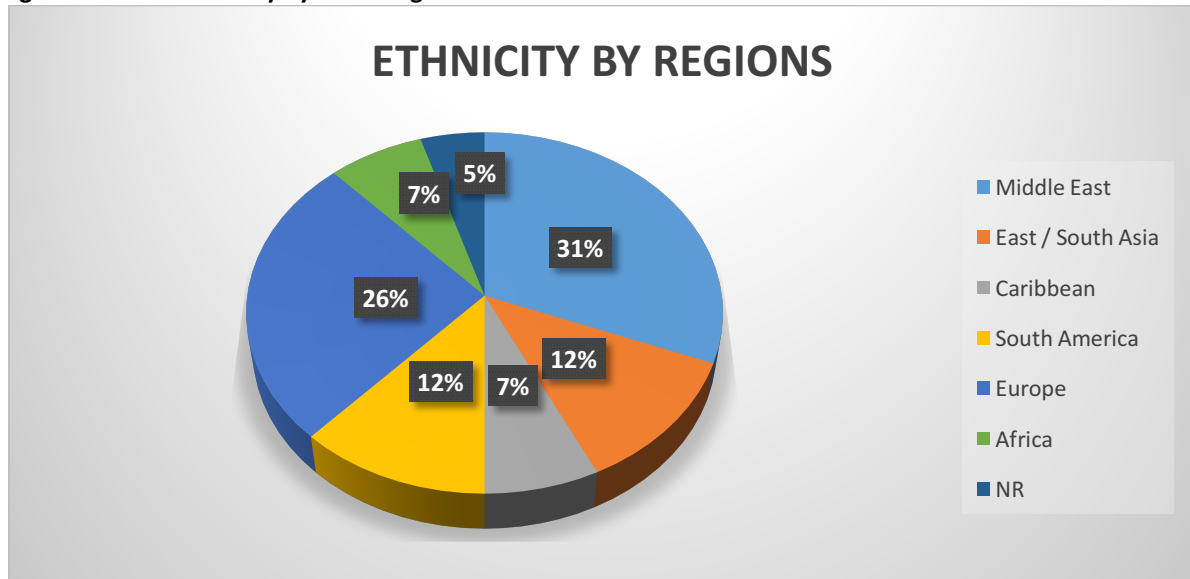
In order to disaggregate the ethnicities or nationalities of the sample we produced table 1, which summarizes the frequency of each ethnicity or nationality. In total, the traders identified themselves as representatives of 21 different ethnicities or nationalities. Europe and West Asia are the regions with more diversity with 5 different ethnicities/nationalities mentioned.

Table 1: Country and region of survey respondents

Caribbean	South America	Europe	Africa	Middle East	East / South Asia	No response
Jamaican (2)	Colombian (3)	British (6)	Ghanaian (1)	Turkish (6)	Pakistani (3)	(2)
Guyanese (1)	Ecuadorian (1)	Holland (2)	Algerian (1)	Kurdish (3)	Sri Lanka (1)	
	Brazilian (1)	Spanish (1)	African British (1)	Iranian (2)	Chinese (1)	
		Greek (1)		Italian Turkish		

|				(1)		
		Polish (1)		British Turkish (1)		

The ethnicity of the business is related to some extent with the place of birth. United Kingdom is the most common place of birth of respondents; 14.3% of them declare to be born in this country. The second most common place of birth is Turkey with 11.9%. Other places of birth include Pakistan (7.1%), Iran (7.1%), Sri Lanka (4.8%), Ghana (4.8%), Holland (4.8%) and Colombia (4.8%). It was noticeable that more people were willing to answer the ethnicity question than the place of birth question (92.9% vs 78.6%), presumably because the place of birth question is more sensitive due to its relation with migration status.

The diversity in the area is also reflected in the ethnicity of customers. Most of the traders define the ethnicity of their customers as 'mixed' (85%). This implies that, although their business may be focused on goods or services aimed at a particular ethnicity/nationality, they also service a wider market. Only 10% of the businesses reported that the ethnicity of their customers have 'an only ethnicity defined' or that one ethnicity predominates (5%).

3. Time settled

The majority of the respondents (43%) of our surveys told us that they arrived in the UK in the last 25 years. Among them, about 21% arrived in the 1990s, 17% came in the 2000s and most of them arrived in the last 5 years (representing about 29%). Their year of arrival gives us an estimation of the time they have been living in the UK, which can explain the strength of the networks that they have been building over the years. It is also important to mention that more than one-third did not participate in this question (36%).

Figure 2: Year of arrival to the UK of survey respondents
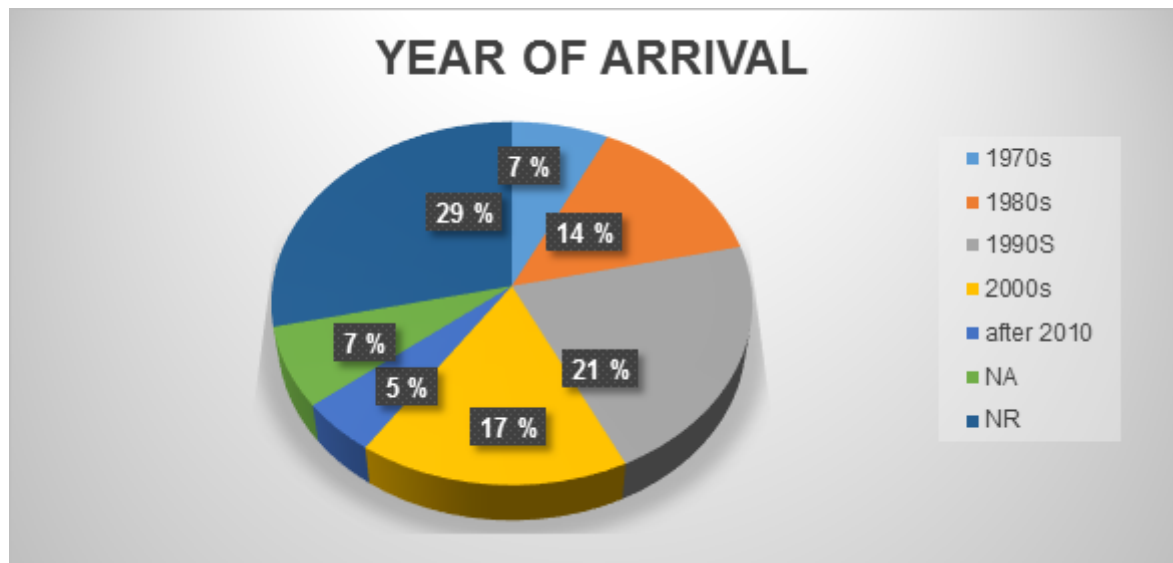
73% of the businesses started operation in the 2000s. Among them, 48% opened their business in the 2010s. Moreover, few businesses representing about 5% and 7% of the businesses have been in existence for about 35 years and 45 years respectively.

Figure 3: Year business started
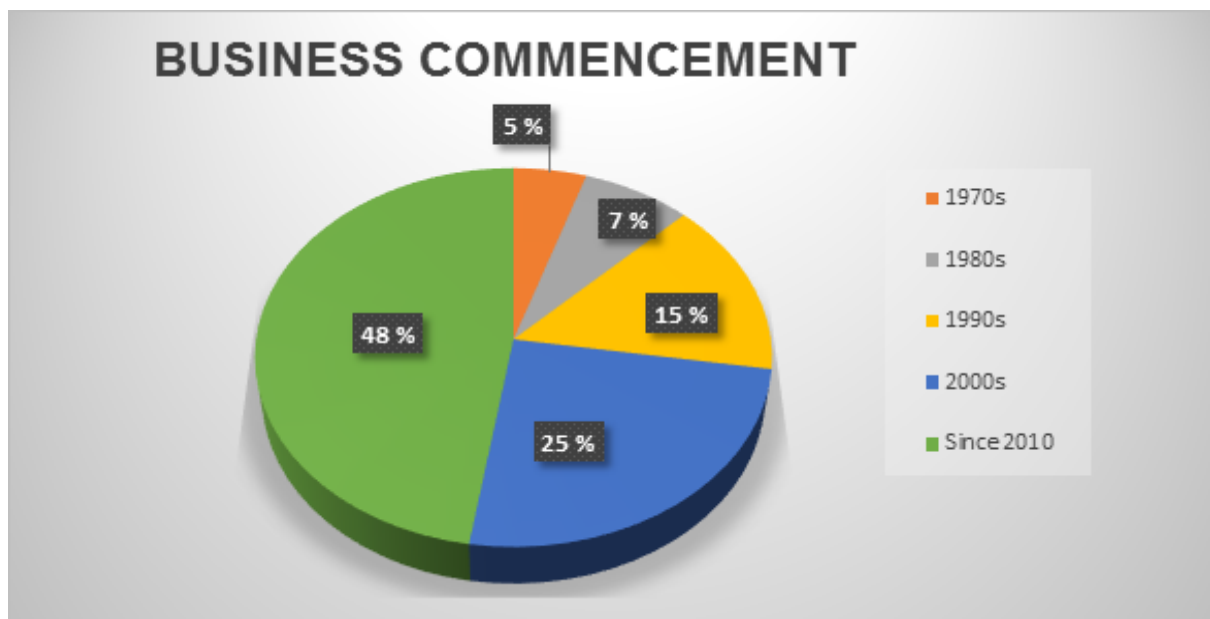
4. Business size

By measuring the size of a business in terms of the number of employees, the survey reveals that most of them are small. Most of the businesses (88%) employ between 1 to 5 people. Few businesses employ more than 5 employees: 8% employ between 6 and 10 people and 2% of the businesses have between 11 and 15 employees. Only 2% employ between 16 and 30 people (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Number of employees of businesses surveyed
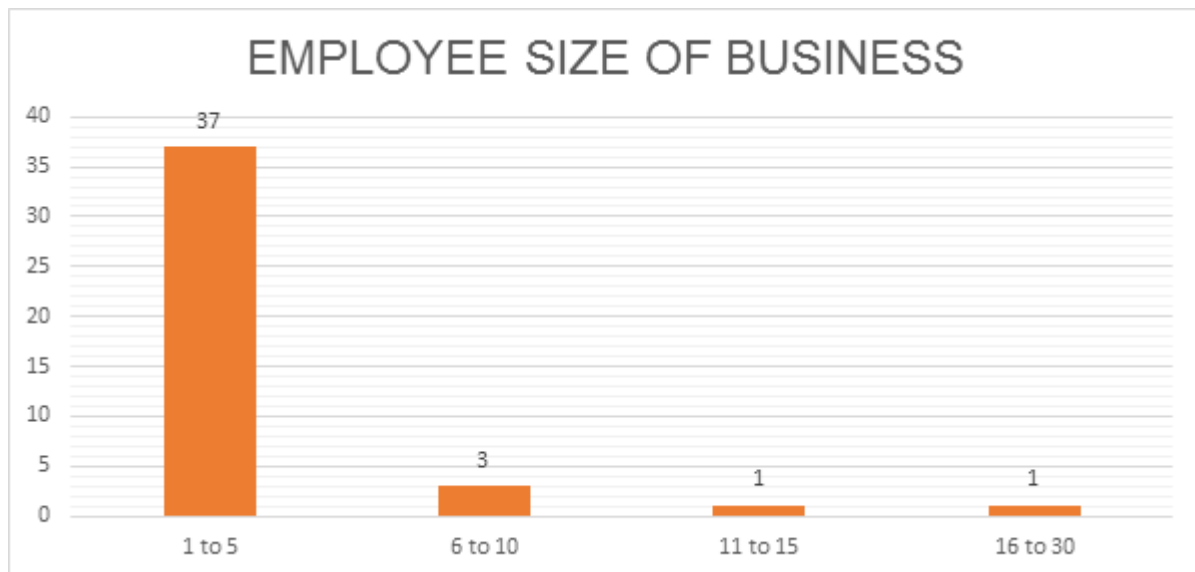
5. Size of customer base

Most of the businesses (45%) receive between fewer than 30 customers per day. Our survey reveals that 21% of them have a daily customer base of approximately 0 to 10 and 24% of 11 to 30 customers. Moreover, 19% of the shops get more than 150 people per day

6. Business per number of customer and business type

The businesses were categorised based on the goods or services that they offer and classified depending on the number of customers per day that they get. Table 2 shows that grocery shops get more customers than the others. On the contrary, the customer base of restaurants and businesses that offer services vary more.

Table 2: Business per number of customer and business type

(Number of business)

BUSINESS TYPE	NUMBER OF CUSTOMERS			Total
	0 to 30	**31 to 100**	**100+**	
Restaurants and cafe	3	2	4	9
Grocery	0	2	5	7
Services	7	1	4	12
Specialized shops	9	1	1	11

Appendix 3: Interview results

1. Interviews with high street traders

1.1 Methodology

We decided to do five semi-structured interviews among the traders who were surveyed and were willing to take part in a further in-depth interview with us. The aim of the interviews was to understand the social and economic aspects related to trader's business as well as the relation of the traders with the community, regeneration projects and the government. Therefore, we prepared a set of questions divided in two parts: the traders and their businesses and the relationship of the traders with the borough. Some of the interviews were done in a language shared both by the traders and the students, particularly in Chinese or Spanish. Nevertheless, to avoid underrepresentation of some ethnicities, two interviews were carried out in English. Only two of the interviewees allowed us to record the interview. From the interviews, we collected notes and extracted key information that is analysed in table 1 below.

Table 1: Summary of qualitative interviews with traders

Interviews	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5
Numbers of interviewees	1	1	1	1	2
Position of the interviewees	Partner	Owner	Partner	Owner	Owners
Ethnicity/nationality of the interviewees	White British	Turkish	Chinese	Spanish	Nigerian and Jamaican
Gender of the interviewees	Male	Male	Female	Male	Male and Female
Type of business	Chinese traditional medicine clinic	Grocery	Grocery	Barber	Restaurant
Language used	English	English	Chinese	Spanish	Spanish
Have a recording of the interview	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Main customers	African origins, Chinese,	Eastern Europeans	Mainly Chinese, and some	Mixed	Mixed but particularly

	European, others.		southeast Asian, European		African and Caribbean
Main suppliers	Chinese companies.	All (shops from the area).	Mainly other Chinese companies in London	----	Shops in the street and in the area.
Any trading organisations that they belong to	Yes	No	No	No	Yes

1.2 The traders and their businesses

Most of the traders find the area attractive for their business. First, they see the ethnic diversity of the area as a strength because it attracts more potential customers. Some traders describe the area as a big 'melting pot' and some of them recognise that their customer base is strongly related to their ethnic community. In other words, their clients often share the same ethnicity. Moreover, the traders believe that the area has a strong potential because it is easily accessible by either train or bus from all places in London and busy roads, which they believe is good for their businesses to attract more customers. Finally, the area is well located, close to central London.

Besides, the cultural and ethnic diversity contributes to the formation of an inclusive social environment. What is clear from the interviews is that local traders work mainly with members of the same ethnic community who are either their suppliers or their clients. Also, some of them who didn't have business-related experience received support from other local traders, mainly adjacent businesses. To sum up, most of the businesses are based not only on professional relationships but also on social and ethnic shared characteristics.

Apart from that, two of the traders are connected to the area through their involvement in trading organisations. One of interviewees was part of the Association of Traditional Chinese Medicine and Acupuncture for example. Another was part of a national association, and the rest have not joined any kind of organisation.

1.3 The relationship between traders, regeneration proposals and their borough

Most of the interviewees consider that Haringey Council should take responsibility to make some improvements in the area. Some of them are seeking support from the Council to improve shop fronts, advertisement signs, public lights, cleaning and parking spaces. One of the interviewees

expressed that it is "natural" not to have relationships with the local government, but at the same time he thinks that the "government should encourage small businesses". It was hard for some of the interviewees to think about the kind of relationship that they have with their local council.

Traders are aware that there are regeneration plans in their area (it is obvious from the development activity), but there is no evidence suggesting that traders have always been well-informed about the regeneration process or the potential impacts on their businesses. Two out of five interviewees are optimistic about changes in the area as they assumed that incomers are potentially wealthier customers. The other two were not interested in learning more about redevelopment projects because they thought that this would not affect them directly. Finally, the last one saw big private developers as a threat to the unique character of the area by repeating similar projects as in other parts of the city: 'They should keep these big organisations/developers out. They don't help. The area should be unique. Developers make all (places) the same. They destroy the character of the area'.

1.4   Conclusion

High Street Traders perspective:

- People appreciate the diversity and potential of this area.

- Traders are aware of redevelopments, and they are looking forward to the benefits of regeneration.

- The business relationship between different ethnicity groups contributes to the social cohesion within this area

"When you have a Costa and a Sainsbury's together, it means that changes are happening."

"They (big developers) always say that you should have big chains, such as Sainsbury's, Tesco and so on, but actually we don't have to."

"Government should encourage small business."

Market Traders perspective:

- The Market is a community asset.

- People are in limbo about the impacts of redevelopment on their businesses.

- People are not opposed to regeneration but they want to be included.

- Traders have been working on an alternative community plan for the Wards Corner.

1.5 Interview topic guide

<u>The traders and their businesses</u>

-Why did you choose to locate your business in Seven Sisters?

- Who are your main customers?

- Who are your main suppliers?

- Why did you choose this type of business?

- Do you belong to any trading organisations?

<u>The relations of the traders and their borough</u>

-Do you have any relationships with the Local Council? [business support, training, refuse collection]

- What improvements to Seven Sisters would be helpful to your business?

- Do you know about/have any concerns about the regeneration plans for Seven Sisters?

<u>Conclusion</u>

-Give 3 words that describe Seven Sisters.

2. Interview with Carlos Burgos

Carlos Burgos has been our main interlocutor during our fieldwork because he has been working for some time with the Wards Corner Coalition and the Latin community of the Seven Sisters indoor market. Therefore, he introduced us to various traders inside the market, which was crucial regarding the difficulties that they were facing at that time. Indeed, we started to do the surveys right when one of the traders next to the market was being evicted. In this context, the traders were not very open to the discussion.

We also had an informal interview with Carlos about the questions we had formulated with the group which were more focused on the inclusion of EMTs in the borough. Apart from the social value aspect, Carlos recommended us to also analyse the economic contribution of EMTs in the area which, according to him, is important; although this would require a much more detailed analysis.

Appendix 4: Background on Wards Corner

Although our fieldwork encompassed the whole of Seven Sisters town centre, the reason we were drawn to Seven Sisters was because of the on-going plan to redevelop Wards Corner, which is a city block bounded by the Seven Sisters Rd, High Rd, West Green Rd and Suffield Rd. The block sits on top of Seven Sisters tube station and can be seen as the gateway to the town centre.

As one of the two main concentrations of commercial and social activities for Latin Americans in London (the other is in Elephant & Castle), it is also home to small business traders from many other ethnic and migrant backgrounds. However, this site has been included in the regeneration area and is now likely to be totally demolished, on account of "the high-rise, chain-retail, gated-flat" redevelopment plans submitted by Grainger PLC (Wards Corner Community Coalition, 2015). Haringey Council actually supported and facilitated Grainger PLC's plans for the reason that it considers the Wards Corner indoor market in decline and low-value, which needs to be replaced by a landmark building in order to attract new investment.

The Wards Corner Community Coalition (WCC) brought together a wide range of local market traders, small shop owners and residents, to campaign against Grainger's plans and aimed to not only retain their market, preserve local businesses, meeting spaces of communities and the heritage buildings, but also improve the physical environment of this area to create a distinctive and more attracting place with vibrant local economy as well as multi-cultural characters. As WCC see it, Grainger's plans that give little (or no) attention to local history as well as diversity factors, will destroy the long standing market and many well functioning small businesses and negatively impact local traders greatly by forcing them to close down and leave away with little or even no compensation. For the council, they also failed to take into account the assessment of the overall impact of the proposed development plans from Grainger on both local economy and social inclusion as well as cohesion in the context of diverse ethnicities/nationalities.

WCC receive support from broad local networks and other associations. Ever since late 2007, the Coalition has pursued various creative strategies to oppose Grainger's plans and further developed an alternative community-led proposal for Wards Corner. They achieved a commitment that resupply of the space used for the market will be ensured in the development plans, through effectively lobbying Mayor of London against Grainger's resubmitted plans. Furthermore, the alternative version of Wards Corner, aiming to protect and improve the main Wards building, and also to enhance growth of the market and local small businesses, was granted planning permission and the market was recognised as "an Asset of Community Value" in spring 2014. Ever since then, WCC have been striving to make the community plan delivered as the first project.

Appendix 5: Team responsibilities for the final report

Team member	Responsibilities
Alejandro Larios	Appendices 2 & 3
James Clark	Strategic policy; participation & recognition; editing
Kahad Adamu	Appendix 2
Marie Parizot	Inclusive economic development; editing
Mateo Samaniego	Introduction; methodology; editing
Pinju Lee	Inclusive economic development; editing
Pipien Mutiara	EMTs as social infrastructure
Rui Wang	EMTs as social infrastructure
Shang Xiang	EMTs as social infrastructure; participation & recognition; appendix 4; editing
Vanessa Mendes	Introduction; methodology; editing
Wen Jui Wang	EMTs as social infrastructure; appendix 3; editing