CHAPTER TWO

LONDON'S PLACES
2.1 This chapter sets out policies to support delivery of the Mayor’s vision (see paragraph 1.52) and six detailed objectives (see paragraph 1.53) – and particularly those of ensuring London is:

- **A city that meets the challenges of economic and population growth** in ways that ensure a sustainable, good and improving quality of life and sufficient high quality homes and neighbourhoods for all Londoners, and helps tackle the huge issue of deprivation and inequality among Londoners, including inequality in health outcomes.

- **A city that becomes a world leader in improving the environment** locally and globally, taking the lead in tackling climate change, reducing pollution, developing a low carbon economy and consuming fewer resources and using them more effectively.

These will be realised across London, taking account of the challenges and opportunities facing different places across the capital, the issues of sustainable management of growth facing London and its neighbouring regions in the greater south-east of England, and its links with the rest of the United Kingdom, Europe and the world.

2.2 This chapter also sets out special policies for areas of London facing particular needs or with distinctive parts to play in the capital’s development over the period to 2031, particularly using the legacy of the 2012 Games to regenerate the Lower Lee Valley.

It recognises that London is a complex urban area comprising a wide range of different places which inter-relate and contribute to the vitality and success of a city that is more than just the sum of its individual parts.

It takes an approach to spatial policy that recognises distinctive but complementary roles for central, inner and outer London and which does not see the development of any of them prejudicing that of the others; but rather supporting and promoting it. Within this concentric framework, it promotes a polycentric approach recognising the importance of a range of different centres (particularly town centres, but also specialist centres with the capacity to help promote the development of outer London). To this “top down” strategic approach, the Plan also brings recognition of the “bottom up” importance of neighbourhoods and locality.

The geographical structure it sets out is also intended to relate land use and development capacity to existing and proposed transport provision as effectively as possible across London and the wider city region, enabling maximum use to be made of public transport.

Finally, this chapter recognises that administrative boundaries do not necessarily reflect neighbourhoods or economic or functional areas on the ground - some boroughs, for example, have characteristics of central, inner and outer London within their boundaries.

**Spatial strategy**

2.3 The policies in this chapter set the overall spatial context and policy which underlies this Plan and the Mayor’s other strategies and policies - particularly his Economic Development and Transport strategies. These documents take the policies here and address spatial issues from their particular perspectives, focusing for example on the priorities for public sector intervention to promote economic development or the way decisions on transport investment will be taken. Of necessity these strategies will be consistent, but not identical.

2.4 The most efficient use will have to be made of London’s limited reserves of land, identifying places with the potential for development on a strategic scale, and ensuring policies are in place to enable this to happen. In spatial terms, this will mean
renewed attention to the large areas of unused land in east London where there are both the potential and need for development and regeneration. It will also mean making the most of places identified in this chapter as having the potential for larger-scale development, while at the same time providing a supportive framework for more local action to take advantage of smaller-scale development opportunities across London.

2.5 All parts of London will have a contribution to make as part of a complex urban whole. The Central Activities Zone (see policies 2.10–2.12) has a complementary relationship with outer and inner London, providing opportunities not likely to be available in other parts of the city and supporting achievement of environmental, social and economic objectives Londonwide. Similarly, central London cannot function without outer London’s homes and enterprises. Inner London’s opportunities and problems are influenced by its location between these areas. This chapter identifies opportunities and ways of realising them.

Looking beyond London

POLICY 2.1
LONDON IN ITS GLOBAL, EUROPEAN AND UNITED KINGDOM CONTEXT

Strategic
A The Mayor and the GLA Group will, and all other strategic agencies should, ensure:

a that London retains and extends its global role as a sustainable centre for business, innovation, creativity, health, education and research, culture and art and as a place to live, visit and enjoy; and

b that the development of London supports the spatial, economic, environmental and social development of Europe and the United Kingdom, in particular ensuring that London plays a distinctive and supportive part in the UK’s network of cities.

B The Mayor will continue to seek appropriate resources and investment from Government and elsewhere to ensure London excels among world cities and as the major gateway to Europe and the UK.

2.6 Throughout its history, London has been a city that has had to face the world and take account of developments far beyond its borders. This openness to global change will continue to be essential if the vision and objectives outlined in this Plan are to be delivered.

2.7 London is a world city with a role in the global economy rivalled only by New York. As such, it fulfils functions and attracts investment that other cities in the United Kingdom – and in Europe – do not. It has a distinctive role to play in the spatial development of the country and continent as part of a polycentric network of cities and urban areas, and the Mayor recognises the importance of ensuring London does this in ways that promote sustainable success at European, national and city region levels. He recognises the importance of this to the continued prosperity and well-being of London and its people.

2.8 The vision and objectives set out in this Plan support the European Union’s Growth and Jobs Strategy aimed at ensuring Europe has the most competitive, knowledge-based economy in the world by 2010 and the emerging Europe 2020 strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth that will
replace it. London will have a major part to play as one of the continent’s most important global gateways. This Plan also adopts the key concepts outlined in the European Spatial Development Perspective – an approach to spatial planning and development promoting economic and social cohesion and balanced and sustainable development, particularly through ‘polycentric urban systems’¹, co-ordinated approaches to transport and communications and management of natural and cultural heritage to help conserve regional identity and cultural diversity in the face of globalisation.

2.9 London forms part of North West Europe, along with Paris and the Ile de France, the Randstadt cities (like Amsterdam and Rotterdam) in the Netherlands, Brussels and the Rhine/Ruhr cities like Essen or Dortmund. These cities face common challenges, such as economic changes, community cohesion, infrastructure investment and delivery and local and global environmental threats. While the Spatial Vision for North West Europe prepared by the North West Europe Interreg IIIB Spatial Vision Working Group highlights London as one of the pivotal centres of the world economy, it also identifies the London area as a ‘bottleneck’ to cross-Europe movement, reinforcing the importance of improving transport infrastructure around and within the capital. The Mayor will support joint work and strategies to help meet these challenges, in particular looking to national governments and European institutions for help in addressing strategic transport issues such as ways of moving international through-traffic around London, instead of through it. Heathrow is currently the UK’s only hub airport, and the Mayor recognises its critical importance to the London economy and the central place which it plays in London’s international competitiveness and status as a world city. The Mayor is also supporting joint work to address the challenges climate change pose to Europe’s cities, particularly on the role of green infrastructure.

2.10 London’s success is inextricably bound up with that of the United Kingdom as a whole. It has unique economic specialisation in fields such as finance, business and law that are not, and could not be, replicated anywhere else in the country. As the nation’s capital, it is a centre for government, law and administration. It has a leading role in the UK’s visitor economy, as a gateway to the rest of the country. Overall, it makes a substantial contribution to national prosperity (for example, by making a substantial net contribution to the rest of the UK through taxation). The Mayor strongly supports working with the other nations, cities and regions within the UK to help ensure that London’s success supports that of the country as a whole, and that it makes its proper contribution to a sustainable and balanced polycentric network of core cities.

2.11 This Plan will make a significant contribution to this through its overall strategy of seeking to accommodate the substantial population and economic growth expected over the period to 2031 within the current boundaries of Greater London. But this will only be possible on the basis of proper investment in the social and physical infrastructure needed to support growth sustainably, and through agreement with authorities and agencies at European, national, Londonwide and local levels to ensure resources are used wisely and effectively. The Mayor will continue to make the case for investment in London so it can continue to make its contribution to sustainable development at all these levels.
POLICY 2.2
LONDON AND THE WIDER METROPOLITAN AREA

Strategic
A The Mayor and the GLA Group will, and other relevant agencies (particularly boroughs and sub-regional partnerships) should, work with regional, sub-regional and local authorities and agencies in the East and South East of England to secure the sustainable development and management of growth in the wider metropolitan area and the greater south-east of England and to co-ordinate approaches to other strategic issues of common concern.

B The Mayor is committed to working with the planning authorities in the South East and the East of England regions through the Inter-Regional Forum and any successor body, and through suitable arrangements to be established with local authorities and other appropriate partners.

C The Mayor will work with partners in neighbouring regions and appropriate parts of London to broadly align approaches (and, where appropriate, planning policy frameworks) and to lobby for timely and sufficient investment to realise the potential of, and address the challenges facing, the city region as a whole and areas within it (particularly the growth areas and corridors referred to in Policy 2.3), especially those dealing with population and economic growth, infrastructure and climate change.

D Through this process the Mayor will seek to ensure that:

a appropriate resources, particularly for transport (including ports and logistics) and other infrastructure (including open space, health, education and other services) are made available to secure the optimum development of the growth areas and corridors as a whole and those parts which lie within London
b common policies and procedures are followed to ensure that there is, so far as possible, a ‘level playing field’ particularly adjacent to London’s boundaries. This will help to promote spatially balanced and sustainable economic growth, and to meet housing, energy and sustainability targets, and standards such as those for parking
c integrated policies are developed for adaptation to and mitigation of climate change, logistics provision and the adaptation of shared infrastructure
d jointly owned policies are developed to help rationalise commuting patterns, both at different times of the day and to encourage reverse commuting where appropriate, including the promotion of public transport improvements to enhance access to key destinations
e integration is achieved with other strategies to ensure that appropriate skills training is available and other barriers to work are overcome
f common monitoring data are collected, reviewed and assessed on a regular basis with neighbouring local authorities, as appropriate
g reviews of the London Plan have regard to relevant plans and strategies of neighbouring local authorities.

LDF preparation
E In preparing and implementing DPDs, boroughs (particularly those in outer London) should work with authorities and agencies in neighbouring regions outside Greater London to develop common approaches to issues of cross-border significance.
2.12 London is at the centre of a city region covering a large part of south-east England, home to 21 million people and some 11.5 million jobs. This is a rapidly growing and developing area; over the next two decades, a narrower area comprising London and the surrounding 30 kilometres alone is likely to see a 13 per cent growth in population, a 15 per cent growth in households and 13 per cent growth in jobs.²

2.13 London exerts a substantial effect over south-east England. It is inextricably linked with this wider region, whether looked at in terms of patterns of employment, skills and education, housing markets, town centres and planning for retail, airport policy, patterns of commuting, responding to environmental challenges like climate change, management of resources like water and energy, Green Belt, waterways and open spaces or the handling of waste. For all these reasons, the Mayor intends to work closely with agencies and authorities in neighbouring regions to develop and implement policies on these and other issues to help facilitate the sustainable management of growth. This is done at the moment through the Advisory Forum on Regional Planning for London, the South East and the East of England (more widely known as ‘the Inter-Regional Forum’), bringing together the Mayor and regional bodies for the East and South East of England and helping to support policy-making and the preparation of spatial strategies in the three regions. Arrangements for planning in neighbouring regions are changing, however, and the three regions have commissioned a review of the Forum. The Mayor wishes to see effective arrangements in place for effective planning for the London city region and to support cross-boundary work where appropriate. He will work with neighbouring planning authorities and others to this end.

2.14 While the Mayor will promote inter-regional work on key strategic issues, engagement at a more local or sub-regional level will also be important. The Mayor will encourage and support this more locally-led engagement, especially on matters in which he has a particular responsibility (such as transport) and in realising the potential of growth and co-ordination corridors (see Policy 2.3).

POLICY 2.3
GROWTH AREAS AND CO-ORDINATION CORRIDORS

Strategic
A The Mayor will, and other partners including relevant London boroughs and sub-regions should, engage with relevant agencies beyond London to identify and develop:

a linkages across, and capacity of, nationally recognised growth areas which include parts of London (the Thames Gateway and London-Stansted-Cambridge-Peterborough)
b timescales and mechanisms for co-ordinating planning and investment in corridors of city region importance which connect London with the wider city region, including the Western Wedge, Wandle Valley and London-Luton-Bedford corridors.

LDF preparation
B In preparing DPDs, relevant boroughs should develop appropriate policies and proposals in consultation with neighbouring authorities and agencies outside London to implement growth areas and co-ordination corridors programmes

2.15 With the scale of growth expected in London, places with the scope for accommodating new homes and jobs will be of particular importance. The Mayor supports the
development of the two growth areas designated by national Government and which fall partly within London – the Thames Gateway and the London-Stansted-Cambridge-Peterborough growth area. He will work with relevant agencies in London and neighbouring regions to support their development.

2.16 The Mayor will also help co-ordinate the development and implementation of policies (encouraging use of local strategies and development mechanisms) for corridors that have been identified as being of importance to London and the wider city region:

- the Western Wedge extending from west London to the Thames Valley
- the Wandle Valley corridor through south London and outwards towards Gatwick Airport
- the London-Luton-Bedford strategic co-ordination corridor.

2.17 Informed by the report and continuing work of the Outer London Commission, a focused approach will be taken to integrating existing and new transport infrastructure with land use and development capacity both within London and across its borders. This will provide the basis for greater economic synergies between the constellation of business locations in and around London, supported by more effective cross border working arrangements. One example is the suggestion by the West London Partnership to refine the ‘Western Wedge’ by developing the potential of three transport corridors within it.

Realising the benefits of 2012

POLICY 2.4
THE 2012 GAMES AND THEIR LEGACY

Strategic
A The Mayor will work with partners to develop and implement a viable and sustainable legacy for the Olympic and Paralympic Games to deliver fundamental economic, social and environmental change within east London, and to close the deprivation gap between the Olympic host boroughs (see Glossary), and the rest of London. This will be London’s single most important regeneration project for the next 25 years. It will sustain existing stable communities and promote local economic investment to create job opportunities (especially for young people), driven by community engagement.

B The Mayor’s priorities for the Olympic Park and the surrounding areas will be set out in his Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance (OLSPG),3 which will set out the Mayor’s long term vision for the Olympic Park and surrounding area; clarify and emphasise the need for a planned approach to regeneration and change; embed exemplary design and environmental quality including attention to the response to climate change and provision of exemplary energy, water conservation and waste management; and help meet existing and new housing needs – particularly for families. It will also consider social, community and cultural infrastructure requirements; set out how the areas around the Olympic Park can benefit from, be accessible from and be fully integrated with, emerging legacy proposals; and promote the further managed release of appropriate industrial sites for mixed use development while still
retaining key industrial land, particularly within established strategic industrial locations. Legacy development within and surrounding the Olympic Park and management of the Legacy venues and parklands should focus on the development of the area for accessible and affordable sport and recreation and maximising opportunities for all to increase physical activity and reduce health inequalities.

**LDF preparation and planning decisions**

C The Mayor will, and boroughs should:

a reflect and give maximum planning weight to the Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance when preparing DPDs, and refer to and take account of the Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance when considering planning applications within and outside the Olympic Park

b ensure transport projects associated with the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games contribute to the delivery of the Mayor’s Transport Strategy and the wider needs of London

c establish new and enhanced north-south and east-west connections (particularly cycling and walking) within and to the Olympic Park

d ensure that development proposals in and around the Olympic Park embody the highest environmental standards and enhance open space provision and waterways in the area for the full range of benefits they bring

e promote the Olympic Park and venues as international visitor destinations for sport, recreation and tourism

f support the provision and creation of a range of workspaces suitable for new and existing enterprises of all kinds, including a high quality media and creative industry cluster at Hackney Wick that will provide premises and opportunities for local and global businesses, underpinned by strong technological infrastructure

g support the delivery of viable and sustainable legacy uses for the new permanent facilities in the Olympic Park. This will include ensuring that the facilities meet London’s elite and recreational sport needs; that they are accessible and affordable; and that these objectives are fully reflected in detailed design, construction and transformation

h take the opportunities presented by the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games and their Legacy to increase participation in sport and physical activity among all sections of London’s population and to address health inequalities.

D Planning decisions should reflect the priorities set out above.

2.18 The Olympic Park is at the fulcrum of two nationally important growth corridors: the London-Stansted-Cambridge-Peterborough corridor to the north and the Thames Gateway to the east. The 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, their infrastructure and investment have created the most important strategic regeneration opportunities in London for the next 25 years. Successful, viable and sustainable regeneration of the Olympic Park and its surrounding areas is the Mayor’s highest regeneration priority and offers a unique opportunity to secure and accelerate the delivery of many elements of his strategies and lessen inequality across London. The Olympic investment in east London, and the recognition arising from association with the Games, should be used to effect a positive, sustainable and fully accessible economic, social and environmental transformation for one of the most diverse and most deprived parts of the capital. It is likely to provide lessons
and approaches that can be applied to other strategic regeneration projects in the future.

2.19 The Mayor and Government have jointly established the Olympic Park Legacy Company to lead the delivery and management of the Olympic Park after the Games. It will maximise the opportunities provided by the Games’ physical legacy of world-class sports facilities, the media and broadcast centre, new housing and many hectares of new green space. In particular, the legacy Olympic Park development should be designed and built so as to guarantee its economic, social, health and environmental sustainability and physical accessibility for generations after 2012. It should form an integral and integrated part of the regenerated wider Lee Valley to meet the needs of the area’s current and future communities. The Olympic Park Legacy Company will submit a planning application for the Legacy Communities Scheme (LCS) to secure the delivery of a 25 year vision for the Olympic Park to help contribute to the achievement of these ambitions, and work with the Lee Valley Regional Park Authority, local authorities, and other partners in delivering the agreed scheme. The Mayor is also preparing Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance which will provide a detailed planning policy framework for the area covered by the LCS and its environs.

2.20 The host boroughs are developing a Strategic Regeneration Framework that aims to link the physical improvements that will be brought about by the Olympics and the LCS with socio-economic change in the host boroughs. The overall ambition of the host boroughs, shared by the Mayor and Government, is to achieve convergence in quality of life with the London average across a range of key indicators. The GLA and its functional bodies will take account of this ambition in the development and implementation of all strategies, plans and business plans.

2.21 The Mayor is a member of the Olympic Board, which co-ordinates the work of the bodies responsible for delivering the Games along with the London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG) and the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA). The Mayor will use his established policies as a basis for influencing strategies and plans underpinning the Games’ preparation and staging, including those for design, procurement and sustainable development. The Mayoral Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance planned for 2011–2012 will draw together and formalise the key strategic planning policies and objectives that will shape the area over the next 10–20 years.

2.22 Development associated with the Games will be focused on Stratford, the Lower Lee Valley and parts of the Upper Lee Valley Opportunity Area. It will seek to enhance the amenities of the Lee Valley Regional Park and the Olympic Park and to support integration with strategies and policies being developed for the London-Stansted-Cambridge-Peterborough corridor and the London Thames Gateway.

Sub-regions

**POLICY 2.5**

**SUB-REGIONS**

**Strategic**

A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other stakeholders should, develop the most effective cross boundary working arrangements and groupings to address specific issues.
The Mayor will monitor implementation of the London Plan, and other strategies as appropriate, on the basis of the sub-regional structure shown in Map 2.1.

The challenges and opportunities facing London have little regard to administrative boundaries. The Mayor strongly supports partnership-based, cross border working to address them, with working arrangements tailored to particular tasks. This will be particularly important where issues (such as the development of opportunity areas) affect more than one sub-region. Strategic agencies will have a role in these where they can add value in delivering strategic and local objectives, for example by providing support for implementing cross-borough strategies and initiatives. Where appropriate, partnership arrangements should be extended to include neighbouring authorities, especially to co-ordinate infrastructure provision and to address common issues affecting development corridors beyond London.

For statutory monitoring and sub-regional co-ordination purposes the London Plan is based on the sub-regional structure shown in Map 2.1. These boundaries have been prepared in consultation with borough councils and others, and offer a closer fit with patterns of working on the ground than previous ones. The GLA and its functional bodies will also move towards using them as the basis for engagement and resource allocation.

Outer London

Outer London (see Map 2.2) encompasses a large and hugely diverse area of the capital, ranging from the leafy residential suburbs of ‘Metroland’ to industrial suburbs like Dagenham. Its town centres and neighbourhoods play a vital role in the life
and prosperity of the capital. It is where 60 per cent of Londoners live and over 40 per cent of London’s jobs are located. In general it is greener, and its people healthier and wealthier and enjoy a higher quality of life, than in more central areas — but it also has significant pockets of deprivation and exclusion. This part of London is likely to experience considerable population growth over the period to 2031.

2.26 However, its economic performance has given rise to concerns that it may have been relegated to a ‘dormitory’ role and that its economy and infrastructure provision have been neglected. In light of these concerns, the Mayor established the Outer London Commission specifically to ‘identify the extent to which outer London has unrealised potential to contribute to London’s economic success, the factors which are impeding it from doing so and the economic, social and environmental benefits that could be achieved’.

2.27 The Commission concluded that over the long term (two economic cycles), employment grew in outer London at only a quarter to a third the rate of that in either inner London or the adjacent counties. However, employment levels (rather than growth rates) in outer London are in fact more buoyant than in inner areas — partly because two fifths of outer Londoners commute out of the area to work, and partly because outer London itself has a substantial employment base, albeit one which is not growing vigorously throughout the area. Historically, employment in some parts has been contracting, in others stable or slightly increasing, and in some growth has been similar to, or better than, inner London or parts of the neighbouring counties (the Outer Metropolitan Area). Given this, a ‘one size fits all’ solution is not appropriate; nor
can actions to realise the area’s potential be prescribed by artificial boundaries. Parts of inner London have outer characteristics and vice versa.

2.28 The policies set out here will both contribute towards a more balanced and genuinely polycentric pattern of development in London and help address pressures on the transport network into central London caused by the imbalance between where people live and where they work.

POLICY 2.6 OUTER LONDON: VISION AND STRATEGY

Strategic
A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other stakeholders should, work to realise the potential of outer London, recognising and building upon its great diversity and varied strengths by providing locally sensitive approaches through LDFs and other development frameworks to enhance and promote its distinct existing and emerging strategic and local economic opportunities, and transport requirements.

B The Mayor will, and boroughs and other stakeholders should, enhance the quality of life in outer London for present and future residents as one of its key contributions to London as a whole. The significant differences in the nature and quality of outer London’s neighbourhoods must be recognised and improvement initiatives should address these sensitively in light of local circumstances, drawing on strategic support where necessary.

2.29 The Commission demonstrated that if outer London is to achieve its full potential, it is essential to consider questions of economic development, transport and other infrastructure and quality of life together.

A good environment, adequate housing of the right type and a high quality of life are important to the kinds of economic activity outer London needs to be able to attract, while economic development is in turn vital to achieving these wider objectives. A joined up approach to ‘place shaping’ will be essential, fostering mixed use development and locally-based action to enhance the quality of places, provision of social infrastructure and sustainability of neighbourhoods. At a strategic level, the Mayor will co-ordinate his strategies as they affect outer London so that investment by the GLA Group and other agencies realises the maximum benefit.

2.30 The policies and proposals in the Mayor’s Transport Strategy (MTS) (paragraph 103) reflects the Outer London Commission’s proposal that town centres should be the focus of transport investment. Policy 6 in the MTS states that the Mayor, through TfL and working with the Department for Transport, Network Rail, train operating companies and other transport stakeholders, will seek to provide appropriate connectivity and capacity on radial transport corridors into current and potential metropolitan town centres (see Policy 2.15 and Annex 2 of this Plan) and strategic outer London development centres (see Policy 2.16). MTS Policy 7 deals with improving orbital connectivity in outer London, particularly between adjacent metropolitan town centres, where shown to be value for money. MTS Policy 8 states that the Mayor, through TfL, will work with a range of transport stakeholders to support a range of transport improvements within metropolitan town centres for people and freight that help improve connectivity and promote the viability of town centres, and that provide enhanced travel facilities for pedestrians and cyclists. Each of these policies is being taken forward by a range of MTS detailed proposals. Similarly, Action 5B of the Mayor’s Economic Development Strategy states that the Mayor
will work with boroughs, developers and other partners to direct investment into existing major employment areas (including town centres) and the strategic outer London development centres.

2.31 A generally high quality of life is one of outer London’s major assets. Maintaining this where it exists, and enhancing it where necessary, will be key to the area’s future success – a high quality environment, and providing places where people will want to work and live, will be important to attracting and retaining the kind of economic sectors which may lift growth in outer London. Important elements of this will include ensuring high quality ‘lifetime’ neighbourhoods with sufficient, good quality social infrastructure provision and harnessing the benefits of growth to enhance residential quality and amenity. Good quality design will be essential and must respond sensitively to local context, including drawing on traditional suburban ‘rus in urbe’ themes as well as more modern ‘urban renaissance’ principles depending on local circumstances. This is likely to require the application of the general quality of life principles outlined in this Plan (see paragraphs 1.44, 1.56 and 1.57) to the particular circumstances of different places in outer London.

2.32 Outer London has important strategic functions as a place to live, and it will be important to ensure the area continues to provide a range of homes in sufficient numbers to support its own economic success, and that of inner and central London. This can also help reduce the need for long distance commuting and carbon emissions.

POLICY 2.7 OUTER LONDON: ECONOMY

Strategic
A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other stakeholders should, seek to address constraints and opportunities in the economic growth of outer London so that it can rise above its long term economic trends by:

a enabling existing sources of growth to perform more effectively, and increasing the competitive attractiveness of outer London for new sectors or those with the potential for step changes in output
b identifying, developing and enhancing capacity to support both viable local activities and those with a wider than sub-regional offer, including strategic outer London development centres (see Policy 2.16)
c improving accessibility to competitive business locations (especially town centres and strategic industrial locations) through: making the most effective use of existing and new infrastructure investment; encouraging walking, cycling and public transport use; and enabling the labour market to function more efficiently in opening up wider opportunities to Londoners
d providing strategic and local co-ordination within development corridors, including across the London boundary, to enhance competitive advantage and synergies for clusters of related activities and business locations, drawing on strategic support through opportunity area planning frameworks as indicated in Policy 2.13
e ensuring that appropriate weight is given to wider economic as well as more local environmental and other objectives when considering business and residential development proposals
f prioritising improvements to the business environment, including safety and security measures; partnership-based approaches like business improvement districts; enhancing the vibrancy of town centres through higher density, retail, commercial and mixed use development including housing; providing infrastructure for home-working; improving access to industrial locations; developing opportunities for decentralised energy networks and ensuring high quality design contributes to a distinctive business offer

g consolidating and developing the strengths of outer London’s office market through mixed use redevelopment and encouraging new provision in competitive locations, including through the use of land use ‘swaps’

h identifying and bringing forward capacity in and around town centres with good public transport accessibility to accommodate leisure, retail and civic needs and higher density housing, including use of the compulsory purchase process to assemble sites, and providing recognition and support for specialist as well as wider town centre functions

i managing and improving the stock of industrial capacity to meet both strategic and local needs, including those of small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs), start-ups and businesses requiring more affordable workspace

j co-ordinating investment by different public agencies to complement that of the private sector and promoting the competitive advantages of outer London for public sector employment, especially for functions of wider than sub-regional significance

k supporting leisure, arts, culture and tourism and the contribution that theatres and similar facilities and the historic environment can make to the outer London economy, including through proactive identification of cultural quarters and promotion and management of the night time economy (see Policy 4.6)

l ensuring that strategic and local marketing of outer London’s visitor attractions are effectively co-ordinated and that account is taken of its capacity to accommodate large scale commercial leisure attractions, especially in the north, east and south sectors

m ensuring that locally-driven responses to skills needs in outer London also help address strategic Londonwide objectives

n identifying and addressing local pockets of deprivation, and especially the strategic priorities identified in this Plan as regeneration areas (see Policy 2.14)

o establishing ‘tailored’ partnerships and other cross-boundary working arrangements to address particular issues, recognising that parts of inner London also have ‘outer’ characteristics and vice versa, and that common areas of concern should be addressed jointly with authorities beyond London

p ensuring the availability of an adequate number and appropriate range of homes to help attract and retain employees and enable them to live closer to their place of work in outer London.

2.33 Possible sources of employment growth in outer London can be broken into two categories:

• Existing sectors, which could grow more strongly than they have been if factors holding back their competitiveness and success are addressed. These include some private sector office-based
sectors, retail, leisure/tourism, public sector activities, logistics and some other industrial type activities, economic sectors based around serving the needs of residential communities and other sectors like construction.

- New sectors – either entirely new activities which could be attracted to outer London if particular factors currently making it unattractive as a location could be addressed, or activities already existing in outer London but which could be developed on a scale so they are of a significantly different nature. Examples could include central government operations, public or state institutions of more than local importance, environmental or knowledge-based industries, opportunities presented by large-scale transport investment (such as High Speed Rail interchanges) or office-based activities that could be attracted from parts of the wider south-east.

2.34 Supporting growth in either category will require a strategic approach to office provision in outer London, consolidating its strengths by releasing surplus capacity and enabling additional development in competitive locations for growth. It will also be important to consider the particular needs of new and developing sectors – many of the ‘knowledge-based’ sectors can start out and grow through home-working, and may need innovative approaches to ensuring the ready availability of information and communications technology. These could range from greater business support through local libraries, to bespoke town centre business centres, and to larger facilities such as innovation parks. The Economic Development Strategy sets out the GLA Group’s broader approach to supporting innovation.

2.35 There is considerable potential for growth in the leisure, cultural and visitor economy sectors, with scope for encouragement of cultural quarters in outer London (particularly in town centres), the promotion, diversification and tighter management of the night time economy, and possible opportunities for very large-scale commercial leisure facilities. The scope for rejuvenation of local theatres and other similar facilities and for the more positive marketing of outer London’s distinct attractions should also be considered. Appropriately located retail development (see policies 4.7 and 4.8) can also play an important part in development and regeneration here. Residential development can indirectly create new employment, generating an estimated 230 new local jobs for every 1000 new residents.4.

POLICY 2.8
OUTER LONDON: TRANSPORT

Strategic

A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other stakeholders should, recognise and address the distinct orbital, radial and qualitative transport needs of outer London in the context of those of the city region as a whole by:

a enhancing accessibility by improving links to and between town centres and other key locations by different modes and promoting and realising the improvements to the rail network set out in Policy 6.4 and the Mayor’s Transport Strategy
b integrating land use and transport planning in outer London to ensure the use of vacant and under-used land is optimised
c ensuring that the rail, bus and other transport networks function better as integrated systems and better cater for both orbital and radial trips, for example
through the provision of strategic interchanges
d improving the quality, lighting and security of stations to agreed quality standards
e supporting park and ride schemes where appropriate
f working to improve public transport access to job opportunities in the Outer Metropolitan Area, supporting reverse commuting, and enhancing the key role played by efficient bus services in outer London
g encouraging greater use of cycling and walking as modes of choice in outer London
h more active traffic management, including demand management measures; road improvements to address local congestion; car parking policy; closer co-ordination of transport policy and investment with neighbouring authorities beyond London; and greater recognition of the relationship between office development and car use
i maximising the development opportunities supported by Crossrail.

2.36 Ensuring adequate transport capacity and infrastructure (see Chapter 6) will be particularly important in planning effectively and sustainably for growth in outer London. The particular issues arising there – lower development densities and the implications of this for the viability of public transport services, and the likely continued importance of the private car, should be recognised. There will be particular difficulties addressing this issue against the likely background of very constrained resources. There will be transport investment focussed on strategic development priorities in outer London, but this will be dependent upon a strong business case showing how it will support growth and the objectives set out in this Plan.

2.37 The Outer London Commission considered the case for a self-contained, high-speed orbital public transport system linking particular centres. It concluded that this would be unlikely to address outer London’s needs. Instead, it recommended a ‘hub and spoke’ approach, with transport networks focussing on town centres and forming a mesh-like network connecting the wider area. It considered this would better meet the likely spatial pattern of development and business locations likely in the area. The Mayor agrees with this approach, which is adopted in this Plan.

Inner London

POLICY 2.9
INNER LONDON

Strategic
A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other stakeholders should, work to realise the potential of inner London in ways that sustain and enhance its recent economic and demographic growth while also improving its distinct environment, neighbourhoods and public realm, supporting and sustaining existing and new communities, addressing its unique concentrations of deprivation, and improving quality of life and health for those living, working, studying or visiting there.

LDF preparation
B Within LDFs boroughs with all or part of their area falling within inner London (see Map 2.2) should develop more detailed policies and proposals taking into account the above principles.

2.38 The part of inner London outside the central area of CAZ and Canary Wharf (see Map 2.2) contains both what is probably the country’s largest concentration of deprived communities (see Map 2.5) and some of the most challenging environments in
London, and places that have experienced remarkable growth and development. After long-term decline, it has grown over the last two economic cycles substantially more in absolute (92,100 jobs) and relative (20 per cent) employment terms than outer London, with a projected increase to 2031 of 235,000. Similarly, even though its total population is 60 per cent of outer London, its level and rate of population growth have been significantly greater. With a projected increase of 600,000, it is expected to account for 46 per cent of London’s population growth to 2031.

This pattern of growth is far from uniform, with areas of marked affluence sometimes next door to highly deprived communities, as well as many more mixed neighbourhoods. Inner London also has a very varied ethnic composition, high housing densities including many high rise estates, relatively constrained access to open space, often outdated social infrastructure and low public sector educational attainment. While this variety gives inner London part of its distinct character, it also poses distinct challenges, socially, environmentally and economically.

This combination of challenges and opportunities, and the scale and pace of change in inner London justifies a distinctive planning policy approach. Overall, the objective should be to encourage growth, but to manage it in ways that help improve quality of life and opportunities for both existing and new residents and maximise the opportunities for their involvement, thereby making a contribution to tackling London’s problems of inequality and exclusion. As with outer London, a ‘one size fits all’ approach to addressing these is not appropriate. Initiatives must be sensitively tailored to local circumstances, with strategic support to underpin them. The proximity of the CAZ will provide opportunities for development and regeneration, particularly through ensuring best use of transport infrastructure and training, skills and other labour market initiatives.

Policies in this Plan may need to be adapted or implemented in ways that suit local circumstances and the character of inner London’s wide range of places. In housing terms, the particular polarisation of the market in some parts means that there is an especial need not just to increase overall housing output but to ensure that this is affordable, especially to families (Policy 3.8). Social exclusion is a key issue and it is essential that new provision creates more mixed and balanced communities (Policy 3.9) and neighbourhoods (Policy 7.1), especially through estate renewal (Policy 3.14). Where relevant these policies can be supported by the neighbourhood renewal processes outlined in the London Housing Strategy and by the priority for investment highlighted by regeneration areas (Policy 2.14) which underscores the importance the Mayor attaches to community engagement in the regeneration process and the role of adequate social infrastructure, especially tackling health and educational inequalities (policies 3.1, 3.2, 3.16–3.19). While the density of housing varies widely across inner London, generally higher levels of public transport accessibility can open up scope for higher density development, but it is essential that this is constructed to the highest standard and makes a positive contribution to quality of life here (policies 3.4–3.5) and to place shaping, strong lifetime neighbourhoods, local character and quality of the urban realm (policies 7.1-7.7).

The economic opportunities open to inner Londoners are very varied, with relatively easy physical access to those of the CAZ (even though it may be relatively slow, with non-stopping trains passing by), as well as openings generated by more local growth.
However, there are other barriers to accessing these opportunities for some residents, especially the need for skills and training. The Mayor will work with and through the London Enterprise Partnership to ensure particular support for those who have greatest difficulty gaining access to the active labour market, as well as for career progression to take better advantage of the opportunities provided by growth in the wider London economy. Rejuvenation of inner London’s town centres (policies 2.15, 4.7 and 4.8) will be central to opening up these opportunities and complemented by better physical access to those of CAZ and the opportunity and intensification areas (Policy 2.13). Loss of industrial capacity must be weighed very carefully against the scope it can provide for relatively affordable workspace, not least in terms of the locational advantages it has in providing services for CAZ (Policy 4.4).

2.43 Some parts of inner London have exceptionally high quality environments, but too many others suffer from a legacy of ill-conceived and sometimes poorly managed development which has received inadequate subsequent investment, especially in the public realm. This Plan provides clear guidance on how this should be addressed through its support for an inclusive environment (Policy 7.2), greater security through design (Policy 7.3), respect for the positive contributions made by local character (Policy 7.4), public realm (Policy 7.5), and architecture (Policy 7.6). The Mayor’s vision is to transform London’s public spaces and create beautifully designed places for everyone throughout the capital; and in his manifesto London’s Great Outdoors, he sets out his commitment to champion the improvement of better roads and streets and green public spaces to create places that are fit for a great world city. In some areas, the Plan’s policies on tall buildings (Policy 7.7) will be particularly relevant and in others those on the contributions conservation can make to regeneration (Policy 7.9) and the role of the Blue Ribbon Network in enhancing the townscape (Policies 7.28–7.30). Of more general importance in the higher density environment of inner London is the heavy emphasis the Plan places on improving the quality of, and access to, open space (Policy 7.18) and play space (Policy 3.6). Coupled with the mixed use character of parts of the area this also offers particular opportunities for developing district energy infrastructure (see Policies 5.5–5.6).

The Central Activities Zone

POLICY 2.10
CENTRAL ACTIVITIES ZONE – STRATEGIC PRIORITIES

Strategic
A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other relevant strategic partners should:

a enhance and promote the unique international, national and Londonwide roles of the Central Activities Zone (CAZ), supporting the distinct offer of the Zone based on a rich mix of local as well as strategic uses and forming the globally iconic core of one of the world’s most attractive and competitive business locations

b in appropriate quarters shown on Map 2.3, bring forward development capacity and supporting infrastructure and services to sustain and enhance the CAZ’s varied strategic functions without compromising the attractions of residential neighbourhoods where more local uses predominate

c sustain and enhance the City of London and, although formally outside the CAZ (see para. 2.55), the Isle of Dogs as strategically important, globally-
oriented financial and business services centres
d  sustain and enhance the distinctive environment and heritage of the CAZ, recognising both its strategic components such as the River Thames, the Royal Parks, World Heritage Sites, designated views and more local features including the public realm and historic heritage, smaller open spaces and distinctive buildings, through high quality design and urban management
e  in appropriate parts of the CAZ and the related area in the north of the Isle of Dogs, ensure that development of office provision is not strategically constrained and that provision is made for a range of occupiers especially the strategically important financial and business services
f  support and improve the retail offer of the CAZ for residents, workers and visitors, especially Knightsbridge and the West End as global shopping destinations
g  sustain and manage the attractions of CAZ as the world’s leading visitor destination
h  bring forward and implement development frameworks for CAZ opportunity and intensification areas (see Policy 2.13) to benefit local communities as well as providing additional high quality, strategic development capacity
i  enhance the strategically vital linkages between CAZ and labour markets within and beyond London in line with objectives to secure sustainable development of the wider city region
j  address issues of environmental quality raised by the urban heat island effect and realise the unique potential for district energy networks
k  co-ordinate management of nearby industrial capacity to meet the distinct needs of CAZ

I  improve infrastructure for public transport, walking and cycling, and optimise development and regeneration benefits they can support (particularly arising from Crossrail).

B The Mayor will, and boroughs should, use the CAZ boundary shown diagrammatically in Map 2.3 as the basis for co-ordinating policy to address the unique issues facing the Zone. The detailed boundary should be defined in DPDs and the Mayor will work closely with boroughs and other stakeholders to prepare supplementary planning guidance to co-ordinate implementation of strategic policy in its unique circumstances.

**POLICY 2.11 CENTRAL ACTIVITIES ZONE – STRATEGIC FUNCTIONS**

**Strategic**

A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other relevant agencies should:

a  ensure that development proposals to increase office floorspace within CAZ and the north of the Isle of Dogs Opportunity Area include a mix of uses including housing, unless such a mix would demonstrably conflict with other policies in this plan (see Policies 3.4 and 4.3)
b  seek solutions to constraints on office provision and other commercial development imposed by heritage designations without compromising local environmental quality, including through high quality design to complement these designations
c  identify, enhance and expand retail capacity to meet strategic and local need and focus this on the CAZ frontages shown on Map 2.3 and in Annex 2
The Central Activities Zone (CAZ) covers London’s geographic, economic and administrative core. It brings together the largest concentration of London’s financial and globally-oriented business services. Almost a third of all London jobs are based there and, together with Canary Wharf, it has historically experienced the highest rate of growth in London. As the seat of national Government it includes Parliament, the...
headquarters of central Government and the range of organisations and associations linked with the legislative and administrative process. It is also a cultural centre, providing the base for theatres, concert halls and other facilities of national and international significance, as well as the base for a range of cultural industries of often global reach. It contains a range of retail centres, from the internationally important West End and Knightsbridge to more local centres primarily meeting the needs of residents. It is also home for 275,000 Londoners, providing a variety of housing to meet local and city-wide needs. Finally, it embraces much of what is recognised across the world as iconic London – the sweep of the inner Royal Parks and the Thames combined with a mixture of unrivalled and sometimes ancient heritage and more modern architecture. All of this gives the CAZ a unique character and feel across its hugely varied quarters and neighbourhoods, which the Mayor is committed to protecting and enhancing.

2.45 In practical terms, the Mayor intends to deliver this commitment by continuing to support the unique functions the CAZ fulfils for London, the UK and internationally, and the development needed to sustain them. Development in the CAZ should ensure strategic and more local needs are met, while not compromising the quality of the CAZ’s residential neighbourhoods or its distinctive heritage and environments. In particular, policies favouring mixed use development should be applied flexibly on a local basis so as not to compromise the CAZ’s strategic functions, while sustaining the predominantly residential neighbourhoods in the area. This approach could be complemented by the use of housing ‘swaps’ or ‘credits’ between sites within, or beyond the CAZ (see Chapter 3 and Policy 4.3).

2.46 Over the period of the Plan, employment in the CAZ and Isle of Dogs is expected to grow substantially, particularly driven by expansion of the office-based business services sector, as well as more jobs in areas like retail and leisure services. It will be important to ensure an adequate supply of office accommodation and other workplaces in the CAZ/Isle of Dogs suitable to meet the needs of a growing and changing economy. The projected increase in office-based employment in the CAZ/Isle of Dogs could create significant demand for new office space.

2.47 It will also be important to support the continued success of the two international retail centres at Knightsbridge and the West End, ensuring the planning system is used to protect and enhance their unique offer and to improve the quality of their environment and public realm – something particularly important in the Oxford, Regent and Bond streets/Tottenham Court Road area covered by the West End Special Retail Policy Area (WESPRRA), within which planning policy should continue to support the area’s future as a retail and leisure district of national, city-wide and local importance, focussing particularly on improving the public realm and optimising the benefits from Crossrail stations at Bond Street and Tottenham Court Road. It will also be important to support a range of other retail centres focused on CAZ frontages to meet the needs of the CAZ’s residents, workers and visitors.

2.48 The CAZ has a number of other specialised economic clusters, including the financial services in the City of London, the legal cluster around the Inns of Court and the Royal Courts of Justice, the university precinct in Bloomsbury/The Strand, the property and hedge fund clusters in Mayfair, medical services in and around Harley Street and ‘Theatreland’ in the West End. These clusters will be supported.
2.49 The CAZ also includes many of the sights, attractions, heritage assets and facilities at the centre of London’s visitor offer, complemented by the presence of specialist retail and leisure uses there. The visitor economy is important to London as a whole, and there will be a need to ensure that the CAZ retains its status as a world-class visitor destination, while also meeting the needs of those who live and work there. The CAZ night time economy presents particular challenges, meeting the needs of Londoners on a substantial scale, as well as those of visitors. Policy 4.6 identifies strategic clusters of night time activities, highlighting the strategic importance of that around Soho/Leicester Square/Covent Garden and providing guidance on the balance to be struck in managing tensions between these and other uses. This is something that should be borne in mind particularly when considering new developments which may present opportunities to improve the quality of the public realm.

2.50 Business travel is a key element of the visitor economy in the CAZ, and London’s competitiveness could be significantly enhanced by a convention centre of international standard. The case for such a centre is compelling, and the Mayor will support efforts to enhance existing or develop new provision in appropriate locations.

2.51 This area is also home to many of the capital’s (and the country’s) leading cultural facilities, with cultural areas of strategic importance along the South Bank and around the South Kensington and Bloomsbury museum areas. These will be protected, and opportunities to enhance or extend them, to improve the quality of their environments or to develop new quarters in appropriate locations will be considered sympathetically.

2.52 The CAZ cannot be seen in isolation. Its success is critical to the overall prosperity of London and the UK; this success in turn depends on availability of a skilled workforce, goods and services from other parts of the capital and beyond. The economic, social, environmental and transport linkages between the CAZ and the rest of London, the greater south-east, the wider UK and the world have to be recognised and addressed.

2.53 In particular, the period covered by this Plan will see the construction and opening of Crossrail. This will provide significant additional public transport capacity in central London, with five stations in the CAZ. Crossrail will give rise to strategic development opportunities across the CAZ, particularly at the Tottenham Court Road Opportunity Area and the Farringdon/Smithfield Intensification Area.

2.54 The Mayor will work with boroughs and other stakeholders to develop further detailed guidance to help inform the planning of the CAZ – supplementary guidance dealing with the area as a whole, and more detailed development frameworks for the opportunity areas within it (see Policy 2.13).

2.55 Although the northern part of the Isle of Dogs is not formally within the CAZ, it fulfils some of the same functions, particularly in supporting a globally-oriented financial and business service cluster. As a result, the same general planning policy direction for offices should be taken there as in the CAZ.

POLICY 2.12
CENTRAL ACTIVITIES ZONE – PREDOMINANTLY LOCAL ACTIVITIES

Strategic
A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other relevant agencies should:
a work together to identify, protect and enhance predominantly residential neighbourhoods within CAZ, and elsewhere develop sensitive mixed use policies to ensure that housing does not compromise CAZ strategic functions in the zone

b work with social infrastructure providers to meet the needs of both local residents and that generated by the large numbers of visitors and workers in CAZ.

2.56 As well as being an economic hub, the CAZ is a place where many people live – including many people who also work there. Availability of a range of homes in the CAZ helps support its strategic function, as well as allowing for sustainable lifestyles and reducing the need to travel. It is important to take a balanced approach to addressing both the CAZ’s strategic functions and its role as a residential area and the need for the range of facilities and infrastructure this entails, taking account of the unique patterns of demand arising from the fact that these are likely to be used by visitors and workers as well as residents.

2.57 The quality and character of the CAZ’s predominantly residential neighbourhoods should be protected and enhanced. This requires a variety of housing suitable to the needs of the diverse communities living in the area. It is also important, however, to make sure that this does not compromise the strategic functions in other parts of the CAZ.

Opportunity Areas and Intensification Areas

POLICY 2.13 OPPORTUNITY AREAS AND INTENSIFICATION AREAS

Strategic

A Within the opportunity and intensification areas shown in Map 2.4, the Mayor will:

a provide proactive encouragement, support and leadership for partnerships preparing and implementing opportunity area planning frameworks to realize these areas’ growth potential in the terms of Annex 1, recognising that there are different models for carrying these forward; or

b build on frameworks already developed; and

c ensure that his agencies (including Transport for London) work collaboratively and with others to identify those opportunity and intensification areas that require public investment and intervention to achieve their growth potential.

d encourage boroughs to progress and implement planning frameworks to realise the potential of intensification areas in the terms of Annex 1, and will provide strategic support where necessary.

Planning decisions

B Development proposals within opportunity areas and intensification areas should:

a support the strategic policy directions for the opportunity areas and intensification areas set out in Annex 1, and where relevant, in adopted opportunity area planning frameworks

b seek to optimise residential and non-residential output and densities, provide necessary social and other infrastructure to sustain growth, and, where appropriate, contain a mix of uses

c contribute towards meeting (or where appropriate, exceeding) the minimum guidelines for housing and/or indicative estimates for employment capacity set out in Annex 1, tested as appropriate through opportunity area planning frameworks and/or local development frameworks
**Opportunity Areas**
1. Bexley Riverside
2. Charlton Riverside
3. City Fringe
4. Colindale/Burnt Oak
5. Cricklewood/Brent Cross
6. Croydon
7. Deptford Creek/Greenwich Riverside
8. Earls Court & West Kensington
9. Elephant & Castle
10. Euston
11. Greenwich Peninsula
12. Heathrow
13. Ilford
14. Isle of Dogs
15. Kensal Canalside
16. King’s Cross
17. Lewisham, Catford & New Cross
18. London Bridge & Bankside
19. London Riverside
20. Lower Lee Valley (including Stratford)
21. Paddington
22. Park Royal/Willesden Junction
23. Royal Docks and Beckton Waterfront
24. Southall
25. Thamesmead & Abbey Wood
26. Tottenham Court Road
27. Upper Lee Valley
   (including Tottenham Hale)
28. Vauxhall, Nine Elms & Battersea
29. Victoria
30. Waterloo
31. Wembley
32. White City
33. Woolwich

**Areas for Intensification**
34. Canada Water
35. Dalston
36. Farringdon/Smithfield
37. Haringey Heartlands/Wood Green
38. Harrow & Wealdstone
39. Holborn
40. Kidbrooke
41. Mill Hill East
42. South Wimbledon/Colliers Wood
43. West Hampstead Interchange

---

**LDF preparation**

C. Within LDFs boroughs should develop more detailed policies and proposals for opportunity areas and intensification areas.

2.58 Opportunity areas are the capital’s major reservoir of brownfield land with significant capacity to accommodate new housing, commercial and other development linked to existing or potential improvements to public transport accessibility. Typically they can accommodate at least 5,000 jobs or 2,500 new homes or a combination of the two,
along with other supporting facilities and infrastructure.

2.59 Intensification areas are typically built-up areas with good existing or potential public transport accessibility which can support redevelopment at higher densities. They have significant capacity for new jobs and homes but at a level below that which can be achieved in the opportunity areas.

2.60 The broad locations of London’s opportunity areas and intensification areas are set out in Map 2.4. The strategic policy directions for London’s opportunity areas and intensification areas, and minimum guidelines for housing and indicative estimates for employment capacity, are set out in Annex 1. Together, the opportunity areas have capacity for 490,300 additional jobs and 233,600 additional homes; the intensification areas can accommodate 13,000 new jobs and a further 14,350 homes.

2.61 The opportunity areas are diverse, ranging in size from 3,884 hectares (Upper Lee Valley) to 16 hectares (Euston). The 12 areas in east London together cover 9,000 hectares of land, and have capacity for 215,000 jobs (including 110,000 at the Isle of Dogs and 50,000 in the Lower Lee Valley including Stratford) and 125,000 homes (including 32,000 in the Lower Lee Valley and 25,000 at London Riverside). Some, particularly in east London, will require substantial public investment or other intervention to bring forward and these will be given priority in the Mayor’s Economic Development Strategy and in the programmes of the GLA Group to address market failure or weakness. In others, such as Tottenham Court Road, the market will be stronger and public intervention can be restricted to ensuring an appropriate planning policy framework. Similar considerations apply to intensification areas.

2.62 Planning frameworks, investment plans and other spatial interventions for these areas should focus on implementation, identifying both the opportunities and challenges that need resolving such as land use, infrastructure, access, energy requirements, spatial integration, regeneration, investment, land assembly and phasing. With support from strategic partners, they should set realistic programmes and timescales for delivery.

Regeneration Areas

POLICY 2.14
AREAS FOR REGENERATION

Strategic
A Within the areas for regeneration shown on Map 2.5 the Mayor will work with strategic and local partners to co-ordinate their sustained renewal by prioritising them for neighbourhood-based action and investment.

LDF preparation
B Boroughs should identify areas for regeneration and set out integrated spatial policies that bring together regeneration, development and transport proposals with improvements in learning and skills, health, safety, access, employment, environment and housing, in locally-based plans, strategies and policy instruments such as LDFs and community strategies. These plans should resist loss of housing, including affordable housing, in individual regeneration areas unless it is replaced by better quality accommodation, providing at least an equivalent floorspace.

2.63 The Mayor is committed to addressing social exclusion across London, and to tackling spatial concentrations of deprivation. Though deprivation occurs in most boroughs, it remains particularly acute and persistent.
around the eastern side of central London with significant outliers in the inner parts of west and in north London (see Map 2.5). While often neighbourhood based and strongly related to social rented housing, the reasons for social exclusion are complex and tackling them requires locally sensitive action, often across a broad front of economic, education and training, housing, social, transport, security, heritage, development and environmental measures dealt with in other parts of this Plan (including chapters 3 and 7).

2.64 Working with local partnerships, public sector agencies must balance the need for local responses with the need for consistent and targeted public sector intervention across the capital. The Mayor will expect regeneration programmes to demonstrate active engagement with residents, businesses and other appropriate stakeholders. Regeneration proposals should take account of stakeholder aspirations for the neighbourhoods concerned, and for the wider area affected. Options that maximise new opportunities for those concerned to participate in the delivery of programmes and initiatives shaping neighbourhoods will be encouraged. Consultation and involvement activities should also seek to empower communities and neighbourhoods, and support development of wider skills.

2.65 Relevant plans should include a programme for implementation of policies and proposals designed to minimise disruption of the communities and businesses affected.

2.66 The boroughs and local strategic partnerships must be the key agencies in this, but the GLA Group can provide essential strategic support, through co-ordinated action by the GLA, TfL, LFEPA and Metropolitan Police, integrated with borough and central Government initiatives. The main delivery vehicles will be community strategies, neighbourhood plans
and other locally-based policy and delivery mechanisms prepared in partnership with the local communities so regeneration is ‘owned’ at the grassroots level. Policies and initiatives in these areas should take account of the fact that regeneration of relatively small areas of deprivation may require intervention at a more strategic (and in some cases, inter-borough) level - to improve local town centres, transport links or other services and facilities, for example.

2.67 Some of the areas identified in Map 2.5 fall within opportunity or intensification areas designated in this Plan; where this is the case regeneration action should be co-ordinated with development frameworks and other policies for the area concerned.

2.68 LDFs should make complementary provision for necessary development, for example, recognising under-served market areas and securing capacity for new shops, identifying local centres as the foci for wider neighbourhood renewal and, where necessary, protecting industrial land to provide capacity for relatively affordable workspace.

### Town Centres

**POLICY 2.15 TOWN CENTRES**

**Strategic**

A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other stakeholders should, co-ordinate the development of London’s network of town centres in the context of Map 2.6 and Annex 2 so they provide:

a the main foci beyond the Central Activities Zone for commercial development and intensification, including residential development

b the structure for sustaining and improving a competitive choice of goods and services conveniently accessible to all Londoners, particularly by public transport, cycling and walking
c together with local neighbourhoods, the main foci for most Londoners’ sense of place and local identity within the capital.

B Changes to the network, including designation of new centres or extension of existing ones where appropriate, should be co-ordinated strategically with relevant planning authorities including those outside London. Identified deficiencies in the network of town centres can be addressed by promoting centres to function at a higher level in the hierarchy or by designating new centres where necessary, giving particular priority to areas with particular needs for regeneration (see Policy 2.14) and better access to services, facilities and employment. Centres with persistent problems of decline may be reclassified at a lower level.

**Planning decisions**

C Development proposals in town centres should conform with policies 4.7 and 4.8 and:

a sustain and enhance the vitality and viability of the centre
b accommodate economic and/or housing growth through intensification and selective expansion in appropriate locations
c support and enhance the competitiveness, quality and diversity of town centre retail, leisure, arts and cultural, other consumer services and public services
d be in scale with the centre
e promote access by public transport, walking and cycling
f promote safety, security and lifetime neighbourhoods

g contribute towards an enhanced environment, urban greening, public realm and links to green infrastructure

h reduce delivery, servicing and road user conflict.

**LDF preparation**

D Boroughs should:

a in light of local and strategic capacity requirements (Policy 4.7), identify town centre boundaries, primary and secondary shopping areas in LDF proposals maps and set out policies for each type of area in the context of Map 2.6 and Annex 2

b in co-ordination with neighbouring authorities, identify other, smaller centres to provide convenient access, especially by foot, to goods and services needed on a day to day basis, develop their role as foci for local neighbourhoods, and relate these centres to the network as a whole to achieve its broader objectives

c manage declining centres proactively, considering the scope for consolidating and strengthening centres identified as being in decline by seeking to focus a wider range of services, promoting diversification, and improving environmental quality

d support and encourage town centre management, partnerships and strategies including business improvement districts to promote safety, security and environmental quality

e promote the provision of Shopmobility schemes and other measures to improve

---

Map 2.6 London’s town centre network

© Crown copyright. All rights reserved.
Greater London Authority 100032216 (2011)
2.69 London’s town centres are a key spatial priority of the London Plan, providing access to a range of services and enabling all parts of London to make a greater contribution to London’s economic success (see also policies 4.7 and 4.8). A spread of successful town centres across London complements the role of the Central Activities Zone and supports the ‘polycentric’ structure promoted by the European Spatial Development Perspective.

2.70 In outer and inner London, town centres are the most accessible locations on the public transport system and the centres of their communities. They are key locations for a diverse range of activities, including retail, leisure and office space as well as housing, social infrastructure and public open space. They are also key nodes for more effective land use and transport integration, enabling intensification, encouraging walking, cycling and greater use of public transport and fostering social inclusivity, especially for the substantial numbers of London households who do not have access to a car. Improved accessibility, particularly by public transport, cycling and walking will underpin their competitiveness and their contribution to Londoners’ quality of life. They can also provide key focal points in regeneration policies and initiatives.

2.71 It may be appropriate to designate new town centres, particularly in opportunity areas identified for significant levels of mixed use development including town centre uses such as retail or leisure. These can offer sustainable locations for new development and fulfil the objectives set out in paragraph A of Policy 2.15. New town centres that complement the existing network of centres can serve areas of existing deficiency as well as meeting demand generated by new growth.

2.72 A wide range of uses will enhance the vitality and viability of town centres. Leisure uses contribute to London’s evening economy and ensure that town centres remain lively beyond shopping hours. So too does more and higher density housing, which can lever in resources for comprehensive town centre renewal as part of mixed use redevelopment and expansion. In some centres, there is scope to bring redundant offices or under-used space above shops into more active uses, especially housing. Particular care should be taken in the location, design and management of housing, especially in relation to night time activities. Agglomeration of activities in town centres will make them more economically sustainable, attractive for investors and consumers and more resilient to challenges from existing out of centre retail locations. Town centres should also provide a range of civic services and facilities such as accessible public toilets, affordable childcare facilities, police shops and Shopmobility schemes. Sensitive town centre management, including business improvement districts in appropriate locations, should seek to resolve any tensions which may result from a varied mix of uses. Finally, strong emphasis should be placed on improvements to the public realm and security to enhance their attractiveness and reinforce their identities. The Mayor’s Economic Development and Transport strategies also reflect the priority he attaches to the rejuvenation of town centres.

2.73 The Plan’s town centre policies are intended to provide Londoners with convenient and sustainable access to the widest range of competitively priced goods and services. It therefore provides a framework to co-ordinate the changing roles of individual centres, guiding evolution of the network as a whole toward this end. Each level in the network has different, complementary and sometimes specialist roles to play in this process, for example in arts, culture,
entertainment and night time economic activity (see Annex 2).

2.74 The current role of town centres should be tested through regular town centre ‘health checks’. This process should ensure that the network is sufficiently flexible to accommodate change in the role of centres and their relationships to one another. Centres can be reclassified and, where appropriate, new centres designated, in the light of these through subsequent reviews or alterations to this plan and DPDs. Changes to the upper tiers in the network (Major and above) should be co-ordinated first through this Plan.

2.75 Annex 2 provides strategic guidance on policy directions for individual town centres, including their potential for growth. It has been informed by the latest Londonwide retail need study, town centre health checks, the 2009 office policy review and collaborative work with the boroughs and Outer London Commission. Potential future changes to the categorisations of centres within the network (subject to implementation and planning approvals), together with the roles of other centres in the regeneration process, are set out in Annex 2. Boroughs should identify and promote the complementary offers of the other smaller centres in the network including neighbourhood centres and local shopping parades. These play a key role in meeting ‘walk to’, everyday needs and are often the kernel of local ‘Lifetime’ neighbourhoods.

2.76 The Mayor requires a proactive partnership approach to identifying and bringing forward capacity for different types of town centre related uses within or on the edges of centres whilst restraining inappropriate out of centre development (see Policy 4.7). This is the essential complement to Policy 2.15, helping to reinvigorate town centres, widening their roles and offers, developing their identities, enhancing agglomeration benefits and encouraging more sustainable modes of travel.

Strategic outer London development centres

POLICY 2.16
STRATEGIC OUTER LONDON DEVELOPMENT CENTRES

Strategic
A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other stakeholders should, identify, develop and promote strategic development centres in outer London or adjacent parts of inner London with one or more strategic economic functions of greater than sub-regional importance (see para 2.77) by:

- co-ordinating public and private infrastructure investment
- bringing forward adequate development capacity
- placing a strong emphasis on creating a distinct and attractive business offer and public realm through design and mixed use development as well as any more specialist forms of accommodation
- improving Londoners’ access to new employment opportunities.

B The Mayor will work with boroughs and other partners to develop and implement planning frameworks and/or other appropriate spatial planning and investment tools that can effect positive change to realise the potential of strategic outer London development centres.

2.77 In investigating possible sources of new economic growth or existing sources which could help achieve a step change in economic performance, the Outer London Commission highlighted business locations with specialist strengths which potentially or already function above the sub-regional
Table 2.1 Potential strategic outer London development centres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategic function(s) of greater than sub-regional importance</th>
<th>Potential outer London development centres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leisure/tourism/arts/culture/sports</td>
<td>Wembley, parts of Greenwich, Richmond/ Kingston, Stratford, the Lower Lee Valley and the Upper Lee Valley, Hillingdon and the Wandle Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>White City, parts of Park Royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logistics</td>
<td>Parts of Bexley, Barking &amp; Dagenham, Enfield, Havering, Hillingdon, Hounslow, Park Royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other transport related functions</td>
<td>Parts of Hillingdon, Hounslow, Royal Docks, Biggin Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic office</td>
<td>Croydon, Stratford, Brent Cross/Cricklewood (subject to demand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>Uxbridge, Kingston, Greenwich. Possibly Croydon, Stratford, Havering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry/green enterprise</td>
<td>Upper Lee Valley, Bexley Riverside, London Riverside, Park Royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>Brent Cross, Stratford</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

level and generate growth significantly above the long term outer London trend. These are intended to complement the network of town and other centres rather than to compete with them, being identified on the basis of their distinctive function or scale. Some of these locations are technically in inner London, but have economic significance for outer areas. These include the potential centres in Table 2.1.

2.78 This list is not exhaustive. The Mayor will work with relevant stakeholders to explore the potential of these and other locations for strategically significant, specialist growth in ways which will not undermine the prospects of other business locations; will help achieve his wider objectives (including tackling congestion and carbon emissions by reducing the need for long-distance commuting) and will take account of the principles set out in policies 2.6–2.8. Work is already underway on some, notably those currently identified as opportunity areas, and this policy will add a new dimension to their development. The Mayor will work with boroughs, sub-regional partnerships and other stakeholders to develop guidance on the designation and development of strategic outer London development centres, taking account of experience in taking the concept forward in the centres identified in paragraph 2.77. If necessary, alterations to this Plan will be brought forward to support the further development of this concept.

Strategic industrial locations

POLICY 2.17 STRATEGIC INDUSTRIAL LOCATIONS

Strategic
A The Mayor will, and boroughs and other stakeholders should, promote, manage and, where appropriate, protect the strategic industrial locations (SILs) designated in Annex 3 and illustrated in Map 2.7, as London’s main reservoirs of industrial and related capacity, including general and light industrial uses, logistics, waste management and environmental industries (such as renewable energy generation), utilities, wholesale markets and some transport functions.

Planning decisions
B Development proposals in SILs should be refused unless:
2.79 London’s strategic industrial locations (SILs), listed in Annex 3 and illustrated in Map 2.7, are London’s main reservoir of industrial land comprising approximately 40 per cent of London’s total supply. They have been identified following an assessment of future need. They are of two types to meet and support the requirements of different sorts of industrial occupier:

• Preferred Industrial Locations (PIL) which are particularly suitable for general industrial, light industrial, storage and distribution, waste management, recycling, some transport related functions, utilities, wholesale markets and other industrial related activities.

• Industrial Business Parks (IBP) which are particularly suitable for activities that need better quality surroundings including research and development, light industrial and higher value general industrial, some waste management, utility and transport functions, wholesale markets and small scale distribution.

IBPs are not intended for primarily large scale office development. Where office development is proposed on an IBP, this should not jeopardise local provision for light industrial accommodation where there is demand for these uses. SILs perform a particular role in London’s industrial land supply (see Policy 4.4) in accommodating strategically important logistics, waste management and transport functions as well as meeting other and more local needs including provision of relatively affordable workspace.

2.80 SILs are given strategic protection because their scale and relatively homogenous character means they can accommodate activities which elsewhere might raise tensions with other land uses. Most are over 20 hectares in area although in some places, especially parts of west and south-west London where there is particular pressure on industrial land, smaller locations, for example of 10 hectares, can be of strategic importance. Typically, SILs are located close to the strategic road network and many are also well located with respect to rail, river and canals and safeguarded wharves which can provide competitive advantage and address broader transport objectives.

2.81 SILs are important in supporting the logistics system and related infrastructure which are essential to London’s competitiveness. In 2007 the London logistics sector’s output...
was £8 billion (3.4 per cent of London’s total output) and it directly employed over 220,000 people (5.2 per cent of London’s employees). The Mayor will work with authorities in the wider south-east to secure adequate provision including inter-modal freight interchanges to ensure effective logistics provision throughout the city region.

2.82 Within London, and informed by TfL’s Freight Plan, strategic logistics provision should continue to be concentrated on PILs, related to the trunk and main road network and to maximise use of rail and water based infrastructure. Innovations to make more effective use of land should be encouraged and there is particular need to develop consolidation centres and accommodate freight break bulk points more efficiently as a part of the freight hierarchy. It will be particularly important to secure and enhance strategic provision in west London, especially at Park Royal and near Heathrow; in east London, north and south of the Thames; in the Upper Lee Valley in north London and in the Purley Way/Beddington area to the south.

2.83 The boundaries of SILs should be defined in LDFs taking into account strategic and local assessments of supply and demand for industry and joint working on planning frameworks. In collaboration with the Mayor, boroughs should manage the differing offers of PILs and IBPs through co-ordinated investment, regeneration initiatives, transport and environmental improvements and the use of planning agreements. They should also provide local planning guidelines to meet the needs of different types of industry appropriate to each.

2.84 Development in SILs for non-industrial or related uses should be resisted other than as part of a strategically co-ordinated process of consolidation, or where it addresses a
need for accommodation for SMEs or new emerging industries, or where it provides local, small scale, ‘walk to’ services for industrial occupiers (workplace crèches for example), or office space ancillary to industrial use. Policing and other community safety infrastructure may also be appropriate uses in these locations.

2.85 In the Thames Gateway and parts of north London there is particular scope for strategically co-ordinated consolidation and/or reconfiguration of parts of some SILs. This process must be managed carefully through opportunity area planning frameworks and/or LDFs, taking into account strategic and local assessments of industrial land demand and supply and monitoring benchmarks for industrial land release (see Policy 4.4).

**Strategic network of green infrastructure**

**POLICY 2.18**
**GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE: THE NETWORK OF OPEN AND GREEN SPACES**

**Strategic**

**A** The Mayor will work with all relevant strategic partners to protect, promote, expand and manage the extent and quality of, and access to, London’s network of green infrastructure. This multifunctional network will secure benefits including, but not limited to: biodiversity; natural and historic landscapes; culture; building a sense of place; the economy; sport; recreation; local food production; mitigating and adapting to climate change; water management; and the social benefits that promote individual and community health and well-being.

**B** The Mayor will pursue the delivery of green infrastructure by working in partnership with all relevant bodies, including across London’s boundaries, as with the Green Arc Partnerships and Lee Valley Regional Park Authority. The Mayor will publish supplementary guidance on the All London Green Grid to apply the principles of the East London Green Grid to green infrastructure across London.

**C** In areas of deficiency for regional and metropolitan parks, opportunities for the creation of green infrastructure to meet this deficiency should be identified and their implementation should be supported, such as in the Wandle Valley Regional Park.

**Planning decisions**

**D** Enhancements to London’s green infrastructure should be sought from development and where a proposal falls within a regional or metropolitan park deficiency area (broadly corresponding to the areas identified as “regional park opportunities” on Map 2.8), it should contribute to addressing this need.

**E** Development proposals should:

- a incorporate appropriate elements of green infrastructure that are integrated into the wider network
- b encourage the linkage of green infrastructure, including the Blue Ribbon Network, to the wider public realm to improve accessibility for all and develop new links, utilising green chains, street trees, and other components of urban greening (Policy 5.10).

**LDF preparation**

**F** Boroughs should:

- a follow the guidance in PPG 17 and undertake audits of all forms of green and open space and assessments of need. These should be both qualitative
and quantitative, and have regard to the cross-borough nature and use of many of these open spaces.

b produce open space strategies\(^\text{14}\) that cover all forms of open space and the interrelationship between these spaces. These should identify priorities for addressing deficiencies and should set out positive measures for the management of green and open space. These strategies and their action plans need to be kept under review. Delivery of local biodiversity action plans should be linked to open space strategies.

\(^{14}\) See also Map 7.5 Blue Ribbon Network and Policy 7.18/Table 7.2

\([\text{Map 2.8 London’s strategic open space network}]()\)

\(\text{Source: The GLA}\)

\(\text{© Crown copyright. All rights reserved. Greater London Authority }100032216\ (2011)\)

c ensure that in and through DPD policies, green infrastructure needs are planned and managed to realise the current and potential value of open space to communities and to support delivery of the widest range of linked environmental and social benefits.

d In London’s urban fringe support, through appropriate initiatives, the Green Arc vision of creating and protecting an extensive and valued recreational landscape of well-connected and accessible countryside around London for both people and for wildlife\(^\text{15}\).
2.86 In a dense conurbation like London, the network of green and open spaces has to be increasingly multi-functional. The term green infrastructure refers to the network of all green and open spaces together with the Blue Ribbon Network (see policies 7.24 to 7.30) that provides multiple benefits to Londoners (see Glossary). It functions best when designed and managed as an interdependent ‘green grid’ where the network should be actively managed and promoted to support the myriad functions it performs. All development takes place within a wider environment and green infrastructure should be seen as an integral element and not as an ‘add-on’. Its value is evident across all of London and at all scales and the Mayor wishes to see the network maintained and enhanced and gaps between parts of the network closed.

2.87 The East London Green Grid set the sub-regional framework16 for the enhancement and integration of green infrastructure into the development of that area, and complements the Green Arc Initiative that aims to improve access to, and the quality of, the countryside around London. The Mayor, working with the boroughs, the London Parks and Green Spaces Forum, The Royal Parks and other key stakeholders (including, where appropriate, those outside London), will support the extension of this approach across London.

2.88 Green infrastructure performs many of the following functions, including:

- protection and enhancement of biodiversity, including mitigation of new development
- making a positive contribution to tackling climate change by adapting to and mitigating its impact
- improving water resources, flood mitigation and reduced flood risk through sustainable urban drainage systems
- increasing recreational opportunities, access to and enjoyment of open space and the Blue Ribbon Network to promote healthy living
- creating a sense of place and opportunities for greater appreciation of the landscape and cultural heritage
- promoting walking and cycling
- as a place for local food production, in line with the Mayor’s Capital Growth strategy
- as a place for outdoor education and children’s play.

2.89 Open space strategies are a key element in promoting and enhancing and ensuring effective management of London’s network of open spaces. These need to be kept under review by boroughs and action plans produced to ensure that the strategies are implemented. These action plans should be used proactively in developing LDD policy, masterplanning and identifying opportunities provided by development applications (Policy 7.18). The Mayor has published best practice guidance on the preparation of open space strategies jointly with CABE Space17.

The Key Diagram
2.90 The Key Diagram brings together the main components of the spatial strategy of this Plan outlined above. It shows the emphasis upon growth within the existing London boundary while protecting the Green Belt and open spaces, and with policy and transport linkages in the main development corridors into the surrounding regions. It outlines growth areas of national importance: Thames Gateway and London-Stansted-Cambridge-Peterborough, as well as those of importance to the wider south east: London-Luton-Bedford; Wandsworth-Croydon-Crawley (‘Wandle Valley’) and the Thames Valley/‘Western Wedge’. The Central
Key Diagram

(Figures in brackets relate to relevant policies)
Activities Zone is highlighted together with the Metropolitan town centres which will be crucial to sustainable communities. The other main spatial categories – opportunity areas, areas for intensification, and areas for regeneration – are shown diagrammatically. The Key Diagram also includes the largest new transport proposals and existing airports. The Key Diagram should be looked at in conjunction with Map 2.2 (Outer, Inner, CAZ), Map 2.3 (CAZ), Map 2.4 (Opportunity and Intensification Areas), Map 2.5 (Regeneration Areas), and Map 2.6 (Town Centres).

Endnotes
3 Supplementary guidance being prepared by the Mayor of London working closely with the planning authorities of the host boroughs, the London Thames Gateway Development Corporation and the Olympic Delivery Authority
5 Experian Business Strategies. Consumer Expenditure and Comparison Goods Retail Floor space Need in London. GLA 2009
6 Mayor of London. 2009 London Town Centre Health Check Analysis. GLA 2009
12 EDAW Ltd. London Strategic Parks Project. GLA, 2004
13 ODPM. Planning Policy Guidance 17: Planning for Open Space, Sport and Recreation. ODPM, 2002
14 Mayor of London/CABE Space. Open Space Strategies Best Practice Guidance. GLA, 2009
17 Mayor of London/CABE Space. 2009 op cit