UK COLLABORATIVE CENTRE FOR HOUSING EVIDENCE

Delivering more homes *and* better places

Lessons from policy and practice in Scotland

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Acknowledgements

SCOTTISH LAND COMMISSION
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1. Introduction

For Scotland to thrive in the decades ahead, it needs to deliver more high-quality, sustainable homes and places for everyone. The key to unlocking better housing and place outcomes begins with up-to-date informed evidence of what type of housing and where it should be located in order for us all to live sustainably in the right place, close to employment, services and natural spaces. Our approach to housing land allocation and assembly needs to be far more of a co-operative rather than an adversarial approach. In this report, we examine five recently completed and contemporary housing developments in Scotland in order to extract lessons for future housing and place delivery.

This report is one in a series commissioned by the Scottish Land Commission as part of its programme of work on land for housing and development in Scotland. The report should be read alongside other recent and forthcoming contributions (e.g. Reid, et al. (2020) and Satsangi, et al. (forthcoming)): the former examines the role of land in enabling or preventing the supply of new housing in rural Scotland; and, the latter presents the results of research into what Scotland might learn from the experience of countries in North West Europe.

This chapter summarises our research objectives and approach, before moving to outline the content of subsequent chapters.

1.1 Research aim and objectives

The aim of the research was to examine recently completed and contemporary examples of housing development in Scotland and to extract lessons for future housing delivery and place-making. The main objectives were to:

● Identify land-related barriers to housing delivery and place-making in Scotland;

● Examine cases of recently completed and contemporary housing development in Scotland, including the approach to land assembly and place-making in each case; and,

● Summarise key practical lessons for housing and place delivery in Scotland.

1.2 Research approach

The research adopts a multiple case study design and, for each case, draws on evidence obtained from planning documents, key informant interviews, and stakeholder workshops. The approach to case study selection and data collection are discussed further below.

1.2.1 Case studies

The research includes five case study sites. Figure 1 shows the location of each and provides some summary information. These cases were identified in collaboration with the Housing and Place Delivery Forum (HPDF)[1] – a knowledge exchange forum established by the UK Collaborative Centre for Housing Evidence (CaCHE) – during a workshop held in November 2019. Thirty-five senior stakeholders from the housebuilding industry, planning, and related professions participated in the workshop which, among other things, involved identifying and discussing examples of 'good practice' in housing delivery and place-making in Scotland, the UK, Europe and elsewhere.

Key:
1 = Project promoter
2 = Builder / building contractor
3 = Local authority area
4 = Development type
5 = Scale of development

Anderston:
1. Sanctuary Scotland / Glasgow City Council
2. CCG Scotland Ltd
3. Glasgow City
4. Brownfield
5. 542 homes

Bertha Park:
1. Bertha Park Ltd
2. Springfield Properties
3. Perth & Kinross
4. Greenfield
5. 3000+ homes

Dargavel:
1. BAE Systems
2. Various
3. Renfrewshire
4. Brownfield
5. 4000 homes

Castle Gardens:
1. Gladman Developments Ltd
2. Stewart Milne
3. East Lothian
4. Greenfield
5. 120 homes

Commonwealth Games Village:
1. Scottish Government / Glasgow City Council
2. City Legacy
3. Glasgow City
4. Brownfield
5. 700 homes

Figure 1.1: Case study locations and summary information

These five case studies were purposively sampled from the resulting longlist of examples in order to provide a fair representation of recently completed and contemporary Scottish housing developments by geographical location[2], project promoter, development type, and size of development. The Anderston regeneration project and the Commonwealth Games Village are both examples of inner-city regeneration projects with significant public and private sector involvement. Bertha Park and Dargavel are similar in size but the former is a large greenfield development led by a major housebuilder, while the latter is a large brownfield development led by BAE Systems. Castle Gardens differs from the other cases in that it is a smaller greenfield site which was brought forward by a strategic land promoter before being sold to a major housebuilder. This variation in site characteristics presents different challenges for, and produces different approaches to, land assembly, infrastructure provision, housing delivery and place-making.

[2] Excluding remote rural areas which are covered by Reid et al. (2020).

1.2.2 Planning documents and semi-structured interviews

For each of the case studies, key planning documents – e.g. design and access statements, masterplan drawings, design codes, case officer reports, etc. – were obtained from the respective local authority planning portals. These were reviewed and key information extracted in order to construct site histories and backgrounds, and to understand the approach to housing development, place-making and intended development outcomes. From these documents, the names of key informants were also identified and invited to interview.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants across all five sites, including representatives of each local planning authority (LPA), urban designers, architects, developers and housebuilders. In total, 17 interviews were carried out between February and March 2020, each lasting between 30 and 60 minutes. While some interviews were conducted face-to-face, the onset of the coronavirus pandemic meant that most had to be conducted by telephone. For the same reason, site visits were possible in only two of five cases. We therefore had to rely on planning documents, interviews, and, in some cases, our own memories of past site visits, to inform our assessment of each development.

1.2.3 Stakeholder workshops

As noted above, the case studies emerged from a stakeholder workshop held in November 2019. This workshop was attended by 20 members of the HPDF and a further 15 professionals from within LPAs, the housebuilding industry, and related professions. In addition to identifying and discussing examples of 'good practice' in Scotland and elsewhere, participants identified key barriers to housing delivery and place-making, and explored potential policy solutions. We asked participants to draw on their experience in this workshop, and we use this output along with the case studies to inform the discussion in Chapter 5, especially. The HPDF met again, virtually, in June 2020 to discuss emerging findings from the research. We draw on the output from both meetings in this report.

1.3 Report Structure

The remainder of the report is structured as follows:

● Chapter 2 explores some of the factors that underpin and drive the need for more homes and better places in Scotland;

● Chapter 3 examines the complexities of land, policy and investment, and, in doing so, highlights potential barriers to housing and place delivery in Scotland;

● Chapter 4 presents five case studies of recently completed and contemporary housing developments in Scotland, and offers a qualitative assessment of each;

● Chapter 5 highlights nine practical lessons that emerge from our analysis of these five developments, as well as from wider stakeholder engagement;

● Chapter 6 concludes.

2. The Need for More Homes and Better Places in Scotland

This chapter explores factors underpinning the need for more high-quality, affordable homes and better places in Scotland. In particular, we look at evidence on housing supply, affordability, and housing conditions and place quality. We consider these within the context of three converging global crises: the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) (which continues to impact the housing market to date), the current coronavirus pandemic (the full effects of which are yet to be seen), and the climate emergency. All three crises connect in complex ways with housing, space and place. We also draw on theoretical literature and policy documents to conceptualise "successful places".

2.1 New housing supply

There have long been concerns about the undersupply of new housing in the UK (Barker, 2004; Callcutt, 2007; Letwin, 2018) and Scotland (Commission on Housing & Wellbeing, 2015; Homes for Scotland, 2018), which aggravates the housing shortage and affordability issues. Private housebuilders, motivated primarily by profit and return on capital, are the key delivery agents of new homes in our market-led housing system. They produce anywhere between 70% and 80% of the total housing output in the UK in any given year. In Scotland, the figure was 84% in 2007-08. However, the private housebuilding industry was hit particularly hard by the GFC in 2007 and the subsequent recession of 2008-09.

In Scotland, the number of new build starts and completions, across all tenures, fell by 47% and 54%, respectively, between 2007-08 and 2012-13. In 2018-19, the number of new build completions in Scotland was 21,187. This figure includes 15,710 private sector, 4,085 housing association, and 1,392 local authority new build completions. The total figure represents a 17% increase on the previous financial year, and is the sixth consecutive annual increase and the highest annual number of completions since 2008-09, but it is still almost 18% down on the 25,788 homes built in Scotland in 2007-08 (Scottish Government, 2020).
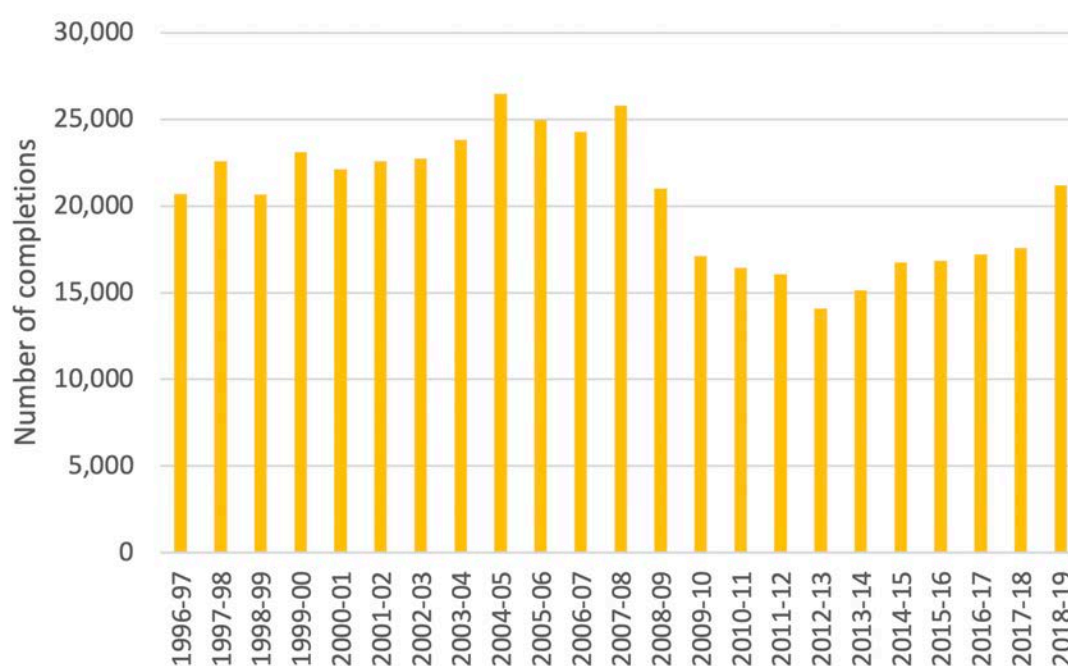

Figure 2.1: Annual new build completions in financial years 1996-97 to 2018-19 (Scottish Government, 2020).

The annual number of new homes delivered in Scotland continues to fall short of measurements of housing need and demand. The most recent estimate puts Scotland's housing need at 26,000 new homes every year for 15 years (Bramley, 2018).

The onset of the coronavirus pandemic has further disrupted housebuilding across the UK. While the sector was one of the first to re-emerge from the nation-wide lockdown in July, it seems likely that construction is now proceeding at a slower pace than before given the disruption to supply chains and the impact of social distancing measures (Morton, 2020).

2.2 Affordable housing need

In Scotland, average house prices have increased in almost every year since 2013 and were projected to continue rising prior to the pandemic (Registers of Scotland, 2019).[3] At the same time, incomes have stagnated and have not kept pace with house price growth. This has put homeownership out of reach for many potential buyers, especially young people and families living on modest incomes, which has worsened housing wealth inequalities in Scotland (Bangham & Judge, 2019; Soaita, et al., 2019). Unable to afford to buy a home, and given the limited social housing stock, many households are left with few options but to rent privately (McKee & Soaita, 2018; McKee, et al., 2019).

A recent study shows that a far greater proportion of poor households in the UK are living in the private rented sector (PRS) compared to non-poor households, although the data show significant regional variations (Bailey, 2020). While the situation in Scotland appears to be better than elsewhere in the UK, due in large part to the greater role of social housing, rising rents in the PRS are squeezing those on low and modest incomes; although data published by ONS shows that the annual rental growth in Scotland has been lower than other countries of the UK since August 2016 (ONS, 2020).

In 2015, Scotland's affordable housing need was estimated to be 12,000 homes per year for five years (Powell, et al., 2015). In recognition of this need, the Scottish Government introduced the Affordable Housing Supply Programme (AHSP), which aimed to deliver 50,000 affordable homes (35,000 for social rent) between 2016 and 2021. A recent review shows that, between April 2016 and December 2019, the programme delivered 31,136 affordable homes, including 20,336 for social rent (Audit Scotland, 2020). However, due again to the disruption caused by Covid-19, it now seems unlikely that the Government will meet its 50,000 target by the deadline of March 2021. The latest assessment of affordable housing need suggests that Scotland needs to build a further 53,000 affordable homes over the course of the next parliament (Dunning, et al., 2020). This figure equates to 10,600 homes per year for five years, which is in line with Bramley's (2018) estimate for social and affordable homes.

However, housing need is not just about the numbers but having the right types of housing in the right places. Housing Need and Demand Assessments (HNDAs), prepared by local authority housing and planning functions, should be the basis of evidence-led policy and practice, but not all HNDA evidence is drawn upon in policy-making. Judgement has to be made on prioritising need against the limited resource and capacity, which inevitably leads to risks that some groups can be disadvantaged. This is particularly the case in housing provision for older people which represents a tiny fraction of supply as a proportion of the ageing population (NHBC, 2018). While some social landlords are providing new affordable housing that meets the specialist housing needs of older people and those with disabilities (Audit Scotland, 2020), current HNDA guidance does not mention the desirability of collecting evidence on the need for single storey housing, particularly for older people who can live comfortably in unadapted houses but who have difficulty in climbing stairs. This lack of available evidence means that local authorities are unable to require developers to build a proportion of their houses as single storey, as they cannot produce the evidence to demonstrate a demand for it.

[3] While house price growth in 2019 was negligible (Rettie & Co., 2020), recent tax changes in response to Covid-19 and what seems like pent-up demand following the national lockdown appear to be pushing up house prices.

2.3 Housing conditions, place quality and health

Housing and place quality have significant effects on health, social, economic and environmental outcomes. The current pandemic has shone a light on the links between housing, space, place and health, in particular.

Research suggests a complex relationship between housing conditions and health, but there is strong evidence for causal links between issues such as dampness, overcrowding, poor housing design and poor health outcomes (Scottish Government, 2010; Commission on Housing & Wellbeing, 2015). The main source of data on the physical condition of housing across all tenures in Scotland is the Scottish Housing Conditions Survey. Recent results tell a mixed story with some significant improvements in terms of energy efficiency and carbon emissions in the period 2010 to 2018, but also some recent increases in the levels of disrepair (Berry, 2019; Scottish Government, 2020). There are also growing concerns about the quality of new build housing. Since 2005, the Home Builders Federation and the National House-building Council have commissioned an annual customer satisfaction survey. While recent findings show high levels of satisfaction among buyers (NHBC, HBF & HFS, 2020), there also appears to be a worsening trend in snags, defects and faults with new homes (HOA, 2019). Concerns about the standard of new housing development and place-making in Scotland have also been noted elsewhere (Council of Economic Advisors, 2008; Adams, et al., 2011; Gulliver & Tolson, 2013; Macfarlane, 2017; Tolson & Rintoul, 2018; Satsangi, et al., forthcoming).

The value of wider place quality is becoming increasingly well-recognised. In a recent systematic review of evidence, Carmona (2019) tests the theory that 'place quality' and 'place value' are inherently interlinked. He concludes that the large majority of evidence shows that 'better place quality adds value economically, socially and with regard to health and environmental outcomes. The impacts of place are profound, contribute benefits to society over short, medium and long-term time horizons, and reverberate throughout the lives of citizens across all socio-economic strata and globally' (p. 36).

Research suggests that some aspects of place – high-quality greenspace, opportunities for active travel, affordable and efficient public transport – will nurture and promote good health and wellbeing, while other aspects – feeling unsafe, limited access to facilities, excess car use – can be damaging to health (Jones & Yates, 2013). The distribution of these impacts is, however, uneven, with those living in areas of greater deprivation more likely to be exposed to harmful environmental factors (Pearce, et al., 2010; Scott, 2020).

While these issues have long been important considerations in urban design and planning practice, the current public health crisis appears to have improved the general awareness of the relationships between housing, place, and social and health outcomes, in particular. The pandemic has prompted many of us to rethink the way we live and work, and has shone a light on the housing inequalities and spatial inequities that exist in our neighbourhoods, towns, cities and regions (Scott, 2020). While a significant proportion of employed people have done at least some working from home since the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic (ONS, 2020), not everyone who has a home has adequate space to work safely from home; and while anecdotal evidence suggests that outdoor exercise increased during the lockdown, again, it is not everyone who has access to high-quality green space, whether it be a private garden or local park. As we enter the deepest recession on record, it is likely that housing inequalities and spatial inequities will become even more pronounced in the months and years ahead (ibid).

2.4 Climate change

In terms of environmental outcomes, it is clear and now widely accepted that the UK cannot meet its climate change objectives without major improvements in the quality of existing and new homes (Committee on Climate Change, 2019). Sustainability targets and climate change objectives also cannot be met without addressing the wider built

environment, at all scales, including our transport and energy infrastructures. The Scottish Government's Climate Change Plan (2018) recognises that planning is key to carbon reduction. As Jim MacDonald, Chief Executive of Architecture + Design Scotland, suggested in a recent CaCHE blog, 'This means planning needs to be less about numbers and more about creating the kind of places which don't warm the planet'.[4]

2.5 The characteristics of "successful places"

The importance of high-quality, sustainable homes and places is receiving increasing attention. The role of housing in delivering 'transformational change' post-pandemic and the concept of '20 minute neighbourhoods', for example, are at the heart of the 2020-2021 Programme for Government in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2020).

The characteristics of 'successful places' are well-established if difficult to measure. These characteristics (summarised in Figure 2.2) have been influenced by a long period of theoretical work on the principles of good urban design (Jacobs, 1961; Cullen, 1961; Lynch, 1960; Lynch, 1972; Whyte, 1980; Whyte, 1988) and policy development both at UK level (Bently, et al., 1985; UTF, 1999; DETR and CABE, 2000) and in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2001; 2013). These theories and principles underpin, and are informed by, the New Urbanism, which emphasises the creation and restoration of diverse, walkable, vibrant, and mixed-use neighbourhoods with a sense of community.

Scottish Planning Policy (2014) draws on these principles, stating that successful places are: distinctive; safe and pleasant; welcoming; adaptable; resource efficient; and easy to move around and beyond. These characteristics echo those identified by Adams and Tiesdell (2013, pp. 15-30), and similar sentiments were expressed by those interviewed for this research. For example, an urban design professional said that successful place-making:

> …is about making places where communities are happy and it feels like a community; where children can play [safely] in the street; where cars don't dominate; where there's walking and cycling and activity within the street… it's about having access to green spaces… and getting those in the right places, not only to make nice places for people to walk and children to play but also for biodiversity and habitats and habitat connection; and… it's all about the mix of tenure, mix of housing typologies, mix of densities, and most importantly a mix of uses… whether that's a primary school or a secondary school, and then clustering other activities around the school gate… [where] it might be possible to have a corner shop or a doctor's surgery or a dentist…

(Interview with Urban Design Professional, 10/03/20).

Interviews revealed widespread understanding of good place-making principles (even if this does not always translate well into practice) with varying degrees of emphasis on the importance of factors such as location, site design features and layout, landscaping, building materials, proximity to local amenities and public transport links, wider connectivity, and environmental outcomes (also see e.g. White, et al., forthcoming).

A body of recent literature suggests that the delivery of successful places demands good leadership, in particular from the public sector, to create certainty, reduce developer risk, encourage innovation and foster a place-making culture (Adams & Davies, 2012; Gulliver & Tolson, 2013; Tolson & Rintoul, 2018); strategic deployment of planning tools by local planning authorities, behaving as market actors, to influence market behaviour and achieve successful results (Heurkens, et al., 2015); and, crucially, 'place stewardship' (Gulliver & Tolson, 2013) or 'place-keeping' (Dempsey & Burton, 2012), which is a commitment to the long-term maintenance and management of places. Adams et al. (2011) highlight the importance of these three components to successful place-making in relation to a number of English and European cases.

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[4] https://housingevidence.ac.uk/can-design-help-save-the-planet/

WELL-CONNECTED & PERMEABLE:

e.g. walkability; accessibility; connectivity; legibility; pedestrian-friendly street design; people before veihcles; well-designed movement framework; encourages active travel; good public transport links.

DIVERSE & ADAPTABLE:

e.g. a mix of activities, land uses, densities, tenures and typologies; versatile greenspace; diversity of people (age, income, culture, race, personal mobility); variety of plot sizes; promotes choice; responds to local needs, as well as changing circumstances.

DISTINCTIVE:

e.g. complements local features, landscape, building forms and materials; fosters sense of identity; promotes character; emphasis on beauty, aesthetics and creating a sense of place.

WELCOMING:

e.g. attractive to use; sense of security; a clear distinction between public and private space; active frontages; natural surveillance; visual quality; encourages social and economic activity; public space at centre; well-lit; comfortable and safe.

Successful Places

SUSTAINABLE:

e.g. resource efficient; reduces pollution; self-sufficient; well-maintainted; resilient; robust; durable materials and low carbon technologies; eco-friendly; minimal environemtal impact of development; more walking, less driving.
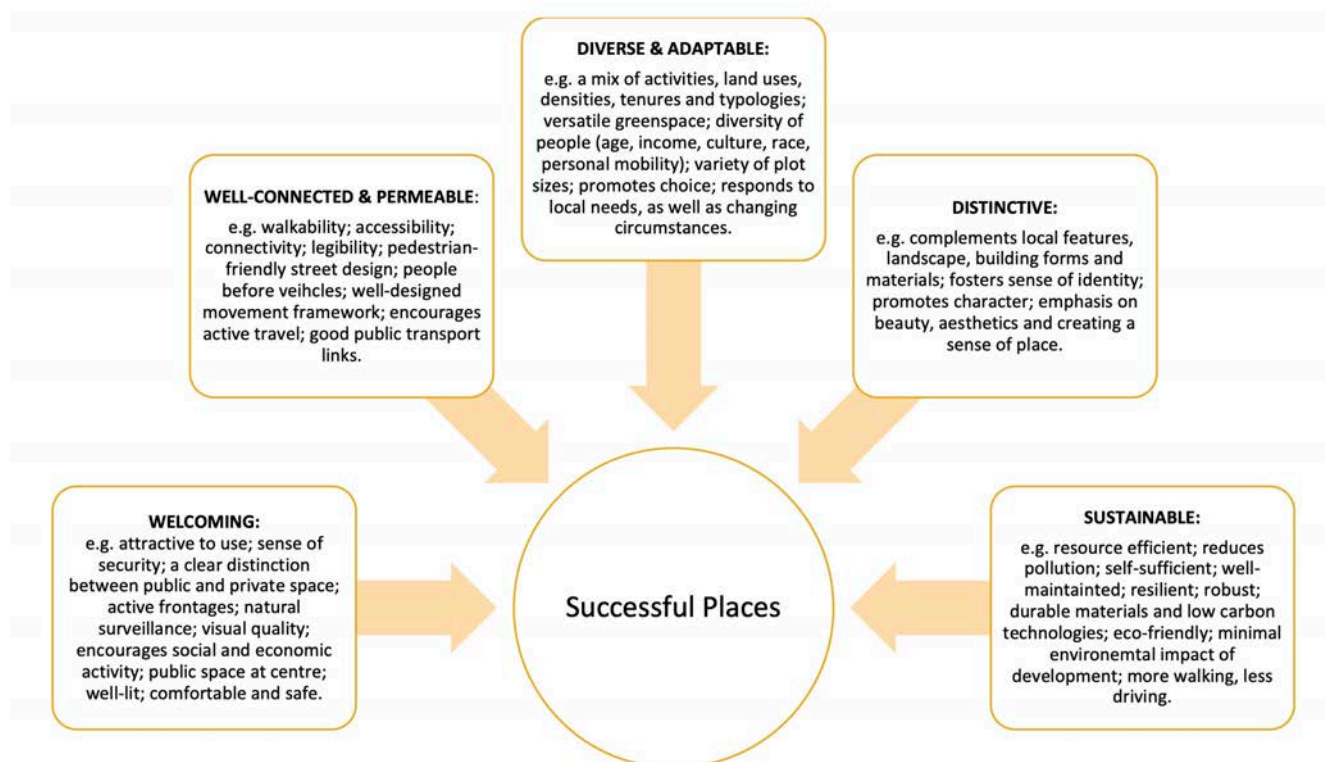
Figure 2.2: The Characteristics of Successful Places (drawing on criteria set out in Bently et al. (1985), DETR and CABE (2000), Scottish Planning Policy (2014) and Adams and Tiesdell (2013), as well as the principles of New Urbanism and key informant interviews).

2.6 Summary

This chapter has highlighted some of the factors driving the need for more affordable, high-quality homes and better places in Scotland. The long-term impact of the Global Financial Crisis is apparent in the housing shortfall and affordability concerns, while the current pandemic has further disrupted supply and is likely to have a lasting impact on the housing market. Covid-19 has also raised the general awareness of the relationship between housing, place, space and health, in particular, and has highlighted the housing inequalities and spatial inequities that exist in our neighbourhoods, towns and cities.

With an urgent need to come up with radical solutions to address the climate emergency, coupled with early evidence of people looking for more space as a response to Covid-19 lockdown experiences (The Independent, 2020), policy-makers will need to address the potential dilemma of denser, well-connected urban living against people's desire for more space and attachment to nature. As a consequence, the long standing debate between garden suburbs and dense forms of urban living is likely to continue.

Certainly, in volume terms, production preferences have largely remained with suburban typologies, although in recent years a more urban way of life has been increasingly in demand, particularly for young adults. Our case studies in Chapter 4 assess the differing typologies, the promoters and the typological characteristics and motivations.

In the next chapter, we outline the complexities of land, policy and investment, which can act as barriers to housing and place delivery. Then, in Chapter 4, we use the (admittedly wide-ranging) criteria and characteristics summarised in Figure 2.2, and the lessons learned from other similar studies, to make a qualitative assessment of our case study sites, which is similar to the approach used by Adams, et al. (2011) in their assessment of European case studies.

3. The Complexities of land, policy and investment

In Chapter 2 we explored some of the factors driving the need for more homes and better places in Scotland. In this chapter, we draw on literature and the output from our stakeholder workshops, to outline some of the complexities of land, policy and investment in Scotland, which can enable or prevent good practice housing and place delivery.[5] This chapter thus provides some essential context for the case studies which follow in Chapter 4.

3.1 Land

3.1.1 Land market participants

The ownership and control of land is a contentious matter. As noted earlier, the majority of housing production is by way of a market-led system, whereby developers compete for land, which is generally in short supply (Payne, et al., 2019). The participants with the strongest balance sheets are therefore more likely to be better placed to compete for land. Over the last 40 years, volume house building in the UK has become much more concentrated, which inevitably reduces competition and vests increasing power in the hands of a few volume house builders who have the greatest resources (Ball, 2013). In Scotland, industry concentration is even greater than for the UK as a whole, and the lack of small-scale builders is a key barrier to delivery of new homes (Homes for Scotland, 2018).

Prior to developer involvement, landowners may instigate proposals as a development promoter or, as is more often the case, will participate in some form of contractual arrangement with a developer who will then take on the responsibility of development promotion by seeking to enhance the value of the land asset. Such arrangements are most likely to take place either through a conditional contract or option to purchase agreement (Payne, et al., 2019). Under such circumstances, where responsibility is passed to the developer, the eventual land purchase price is likely to be discounted to reflect the work and risks of promoting a development proposal.

Where land has some form of beneficial planning use status then the risk may be relatively low, resulting in a lower discount on the land purchase price. Of course, if the land is the only realistic prospect of being developed then through market competition the landowner may be able to enjoy full value for their asset.

3.1.2 Land ownership constraints

An ownership constraint exists when development is unable to proceed because the required ownership rights cannot be acquired rapidly through normal market processes. Multiple or fragmented ownership of land can also impede co-ordinated development. This is a problem particularly in urban redevelopment and can inhibit development of even small sites. Therefore, land assembly is a key factor in the success of urban renewal programmes and brownfield redevelopment (Adams, et al., 2001a; Louw, 2005). Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPOs) provide the state with a potentially effective means of acquiring and assembling individual interests in order to accelerate development. However, as our interviews and stakeholder workshops confirm, the enactment of CPOs is seen as a last resort because it is widely considered to be a lengthy, cumbersome and costly process.[6] Considered alternatives include Urban Partnership Zones (Adams, et al., 2001b) and Majority Land Assembly (Land Reform Review Group, 2014).

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[5] We do not include a description of the Scottish planning system in this report. Those who are less familiar with the Scottish system may find this introductory guide useful: https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/people-leaving-cities-london-manchester-coronavirus-pandemic-lockdown-a9612116.html. However, given ongoing planning reform in Scotland, readers may also wish to consult: https://www.transformingplanning.scot/. Also, see Satsangi et al. (forthcoming), or White et al. (forthcoming) for more on the residential development process and the key actors involved at each stage.

[6] One informant with 45 years' experience in CPOs noted that they can take time to bring to fruition but that much of the difficulty arises from a lack of experience within local authorities and other public bodies. The Scottish Law Commission (2016) suggested substantial improvements to the CPO process in 2016.

3.1.3 Land speculation

The element of speculation in land will be dependent, among other things, on the chance of securing a planning consent, and an assessment of the risks attached to obtaining such a consent. Where there is more uncertainty in public policy, then speculative activity is likely to be greater. It is for this reason that development propositions emerge at LDP stage. If resulting development plans are robust, with well-defined policies and plans are up to date, then there is less likelihood of speculative challenges where land is contrary to policy. The greater the amount of development land speculation, the more likely it is that the planning system is not functioning properly. Where land speculation exists, then discounts on land purchase prices are likely to be greater reflecting the level of risk and the costs of preparing planning applications and potential subsequent appeals. When sites go to appeal, evidence suggests that decisions tend to be based on national policy housing targets, rather than local priorities or the quality of the development proposal.

3.1.4 Strategic land

Private housing development businesses operate to maximise profit not just from the building and selling of houses, but also from acquiring land at a lower value. Our informants suggest that development land values typically represent between one quarter and one third of total development value, which represents a greater proportion than the developer's gross profit (which is typically below 20%). Therefore, being able to extract profit from the land element through beneficial land acquisition arrangements is good business for a housing developer.

For many years, large-scale housing developers have had their own 'strategic land' teams, who will seek to secure long-term options on land that might take many years to obtain the benefit of a planning consent. Strategic land is a long-term investment that seeks to anticipate where housing land supply might be required in the future. Research reviewed by Payne et al (2019) suggests that developers do not seek to tie up land indiscriminately through options and conditional contracts, but, instead, participate in the process of planning policy formulation, utilising the land use planning process to their advantage and targeting their options and conditional contracts on land likely to be released. Therefore, it is highly likely that many green fields around Scottish places are already secured under some form of option agreement, but there is a lack of data on who holds what options. For this reason, it would be beneficial to local authorities if such options over land had to be formally registered with the Land Registry, so that they and local communities could see where this had occurred.

It may be that, around a given town, different developers have different land parcels under option, preparing for a bid to be incorporated into the next LDP. In some cases, rather than a local planning authority deciding on the best way to plan a town, they may invite proposals from developers and thereafter assess the merits of each developer's proposals to determine which might be best to incorporate within the plan policies. Such a reactive tendering method of planning may end up determining the least bad proposal rather than seeking a higher planned bar of place-making development. Local planning authorities that determine land allocations through a reactive evaluation process are therefore less likely to achieve good public interest led place-making developments.

3.2 Planning policy

Planning policy is a fundamental aspect of land markets. Obtaining a planning consent liberates development and its value. However, planners tend to lack knowledge of land market economics despite being major players within that market place (Heurkens, et al., 2015). Planning has the power and capacity to shape development for public benefit, although to be able to extract such public benefit, including land value, requires appropriate resourcing of the planning system with the necessary skills and experience.

There are often friction points between national and local planning objectives. Policy principles may be broadly accepted, but not necessarily by the community at large. Scotland needs to house its population and promotes inclusive, sustainable economic growth, but getting housing delivered within or on the edge of existing communities that have differing local objectives often establishes adversarial positioning. Decisions on development proposals should be determined by planning reasons alone and politicians need to be aware of straying away from policy when making their judgements. Inevitably, as the stakes are high, developers will be very vigilant on the planning decision-making process, and, where appropriate, will be quick to challenge both policy and process.

Over the last 30 years, housing development has become increasingly sophisticated in bringing forward development proposals to be scrutinised by the public planning system. This is clearly illustrated by the substantial growth in both planning consultancies and planning lawyers. Contemporary spatial planning has become highly reactive and defensive, being more the adjudicator of development than the development promoter. As a consequence, planning skills have moved from a practice-based approach to a more process-based approach, which has resulted in widening the gap between broad land use policies and practical skills and techniques required for good place-making. Such a detachment between policy and practice creates gaps in understanding of delivery operations and what land supply is effective.[7] Various 'impact assessments' are largely produced by the developer as part of the planning application process, but if the process is to work efficiently, most of the impact analysis should be undertaken at LDP stage to determine whether land supply is 'effective'. Almost inevitably this means a longer LDP preparation process, which fits with the direction of travel from Scottish Government.[8]

3.3 Infrastructure Investment

3.3.1 Development vs investment

In conventional terms infrastructure is about connectivity, but, more broadly, infrastructure is 'the physical and technical facilities, and fundamental systems necessary for the economy to function and to enable, sustain or enhance societal living conditions' (Infrastructure Commission, 2020, p. 14). Investment in conventional public infrastructure in the UK has suffered as a consequence of political priorities being placed elsewhere.

Such a consequence means that there's a need for Scotland to apply greater levels of catch-up investment at a time when the nation's financial resources are depleted. Political cycles and commercial end-of-year profit and loss accounts have increasingly created an environment of short-term expediencies whereas infrastructure is a long-term investment where benefits accrue well beyond most business and political cycles. This is in contrast with continental northern Europe, which has a political structure of coalition governments that tend to have a longer term and often more stable environment for making investment decisions. Therefore, it is not surprising that continental Europe is frequently cited by place-making scholars for its commitments to public transport systems, urban renewal programmes, and other public benefit and state invested infrastructure projects (Adams, et al., 2011; Gulliver & Tolson, 2013; Tolson & Rintoul, 2018; Satsangi, et al., forthcoming). It is hoped that City Region Deals and the Scottish Investment Bank will bring about a cultural change by adopting an investment approach that embraces a greater commitment to utilising 'patient capital' that enables more housing and better places to be achieved.

3.3.2 Public vs private providers

There is a significant amount of literature that cites good place-making delivery practice in northern continental Europe (see above). This literature often highlights the role of the state in investing and participating in the place-making process. It is recognised in such places that the state is best placed to deliver public benefit.

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[7] For a definition of 'effective' land supply see Planning Advice Note 2/2010: Affordable Housing and Housing Land Audits: https://www.gov.scot/publications/planning-advice-note-2-2010-affordable-housing-housing-land-audits/pages/5/

[8] The research undertaken by Satsangi et al. (forthcoming) for the SLC points to a different continental model of plan preparation, in which these assessments are likely put in a detailed site-specific development plan worked out between the planning authority and the developer.

As a consequence of investing in public benefit, states like Germany and the Netherlands have skilled and experienced people involved in bridging policy and practice; whereas, in Scotland, public inputs are more dedicated to policy and regulation. Such matters are a political choice but it is questionable as to whether public benefits can be accrued by the market whose sole purpose is to deliver shareholder value.

Several northern European countries tend to adopt a more pragmatic and practical approach of blending the inputs of the state and the market that allows the merging of skills, capital and motivations to deliver on a more co-operative and collaborative basis (Crook, 2018).

3.4 Summary

To deliver more homes and better places, there is a need to have a sound long-term commitment to a well-functioning planning system that is 'plan led' with rigorous evidence-based proactive policies that are clearly defined, relevant, up to date, and that address public interest. Such a planning system should be operated by skilful and experienced professional practitioners, who are competent in research analysis, policy-making and practice delivery.

Planning needs to be more informed by proactively being engaged on the ground as a promoter and market-shaper, helping to get things delivered. Being closer to the action will allow planners to be part of the practical delivery process, helping to extract part of the development land value for common good purposes. This can only be achieved through a political commitment to invest in resourcing the planning function with those with appropriate built environment and economic skills and experience.

The Scottish Investment Bank and City Region Deals have the opportunity to bring about an investment approach culture where focus is given to long-term 'inclusive sustainable growth' and public benefits rather than shorter term priorities. Investing in good places requires a patient capital approach by delivering, enhancing and maintaining our assets through good management practice.

4. Case Studies

In Chapter 3, we explored some of the complexities of land, policy and investment, which can enable or prevent the delivery of more homes and better places. In this chapter, we draw on planning documents and key informant interviews to assess the differing typologies, promoters, and typological characteristics and motivations, in relation to five recently completed and contemporary housing development projects in Scotland. We also use the characteristics of "successful places" outlined in Figure 2.2, to make an independent, qualitative assessment of each case. We reserve discussion of the practical lessons arising from our analysis for Chapter 5.

4.1 Anderston

4.1.1 Project description and background

The Anderston regeneration project is a large-scale, inner-city housing renewal programme that was undertaken by Sanctuary (Scotland) Housing Association in partnership with Glasgow City Centre and the Scottish Government. This five-phase development project of 542 new dwellings, mostly for social rent, comprises of tenemental apartment blocks ranging from 4 to 7 storeys in height, with some 2-storey townhouses. The project was built out over a 10-year period, beginning in 2008 and ending in 2018 (see Figure 4.1).

Phase 1
- Completed in 2011
- 104 new homes (93 for social rent; 11 shared equity ownership)

Phase 2
- Completed in 2012
- 74 new homes (72 for social rent; 2 shared equity ownership)

Phase 3
- Completed in 2015
- 158 new homes (153 for social rent; 5 shared equity ownership)
- 1 retail unit for lease

Phases 4/5
- Completed together in 2018
- 206 new homes (87 for social rent; 119 for mid-market rent)

Figure 4.1: Five Phases of Regeneration, Anderston

The site is located on the north bank of the River Clyde on the western fringe of Glasgow city centre. It is an area of Glasgow that has seen housing-led regeneration in the past with the demolition of the Victorian tenements in the 1960s and their replacement with system-built concrete blocks of municipal flats (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3). However, the 1960s redevelopment, like many other area-based regeneration initiatives of its time, failed to balance material improvements with social and economic renewal. The continuation both of poor housing conditions and associated underlying problems necessitated further regeneration in the 2000s.

Figure 4.2: The original Victorian tenements in Anderston, where Argyll Street meets St Vincent Street (Courtesy of Collective Architecture)

Figure 4.3: 1960s demolition of Victorian tenements (Courtesy of Collective Architecture)

4.1.2 Project promoter

Sanctuary (Scotland) Housing Association took possession of the site, which comprised of 402 homes, following a Large Scale Voluntary Stock Transfer (LSVT) from Communities Scotland in June 2005.[9] Over the course of the development, Sanctuary worked with the Council and the local community to transform the area. They employed three design teams – MAST Architects, Cooper Cromar and Collective Architecture – to design different phases of the development, and contracted CCG (Scotland) Ltd. to build the project.

LSVT funding of £39.7m was made available by the Scottish Government and administered on their behalf by the Council following the Transfer of Management of Development Funding (TMDF) in 2003. An additional grant of £7.7m was provided by the Council through the Affordable Housing Supply Programme to provide 119 homes for mid-market rent.

4.1.3 Land assembly

The role of the Council using its statutory powers to facilitate land assembly is vitally important in this case. The Council facilitated a land swap between Sanctuary and Margaret Blackwood Housing Association – which owned two sites and a care home facility within the proposed masterplan area – as well as contributing land that was owned by the Council. The land swap enabled Sanctuary to rephase the project to accommodate Phase 3A and allowed an

[9] Communities Scotland was an executive agency of the Scottish Executive/Government from 2001 to 2008. It was responsible for housing, homelessness, communities and regeneration throughout Scotland.

acceleration of new build because no demolition was required.

Land assembly, in this case, also entailed convincing 93 owner occupiers to participate in the regeneration plans. To this end, Sanctuary combined monthly public meetings and individual consultations with residents to persuade them to be part of the project without having to resort to the use of Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPOs). This intensive approach to community engagement meant only three CPOs were actioned.

4.1.4 Planning and design

In July 2005, Sanctuary submitted an application to the Council for outline planning permission. Despite the recommendation of the Director of Development and Regeneration Services to grant an outline permission subject to conditions, the Council refused planning permission on the grounds that 'The proposed demolition has not been adequately justified and would be detrimental to the amenity of the surrounding, established, residential area'.[10] However, planning permission subject to conditions was granted in January 2017 following a Public Inquiry. Table A.1 (see Appendix) provides further information on key planning applications.

The Anderston project, while large-scale within an urban city location, is essentially the development of two urban blocks rather than a place in isolation. The masterplan was designed to completely replace existing housing stock in a phased programme of demolition and construction. In addition to replacing all housing stock, the project aimed to retain the existing community which meant meeting the rehousing requirements both of existing social housing tenants and those owner occupiers who wished to remain in the area.

A key feature of the masterplan was also to re-establish the historical Victorian street line of Argyll Street, which was compromised during the 1960s regeneration.

In terms of the mode of delivery and product design, CCG (Scotland) Ltd. employed offsite manufacturing and modern methods of constructions (MMC) to construct buildings using their IQ timber frame system complemented by traditional blockwork. The materials used in construction also complement adjacent Victorian buildings.

Figure 4.4: Indicative Masterplan, 2007 (Courtesy of MAST Architects)

[10] https://www.scotcourts.gov.uk/search-judgments/judgment?id=368b8aa6-8980-69d2-b500-ff0000d74aa7

Figure 4.5: Indicative Masterplan 3D Sketch View, 2007 (Courtesy of MAST Architects)

4.1.5 Development commentary

There are clearly significant positive regenerational and place-making elements to this large scale project. Good regeneration projects seek wider beneficial impact by demonstrating how well they connect and fit with other parts of the wider neighbourhood beyond the redline boundary of the project. The Anderston masterplan not only complied with the Council's Finnieston, Anderston and Springfield Local Development Strategy, it also re-established the historical street line of Argyle Street, enhancing connectivity and permeability. It is now easier and more pleasant to walk from Finnieston through Anderston and into the city centre.

The project also demonstrates significant improvements in design and build quality compared to the 1960s regeneration. The combined use of offsite manufacturing and MMC has resulted in the production of new homes that are built to a much higher environmental standard than before. The thermal efficiency of the timber frame system, combined with other energy-saving applications and solar panels, should also help to contribute to long-term energy savings for residents, which helps to offset issues of fuel poverty and enhances sustainability.[11]

The project has also delivered an additional 140 homes on top of replacing existing stock, including 119 for mid-market rent. The latter provide an opportunity for people on modest incomes to access affordable housing close to a number of key employment hubs in the city centre. However, overall, the project is heavily focussed on housing for social and affordable rent, and could have benefitted from a wider range of housing tenures that could have created a greater level of social balance within the neighbourhood.[12] Planning policy requires an element of affordable housing to be accommodated within a project and, by the same token, to achieve a good socially balanced place, an element of housing for sale should be accommodated in affordable housing projects.

While residents have access to communal areas along Houldsworth Street, to the rear of the site, and three play parks located across the development, the overall landscape approach is a subordinate and fragmented element. Good place-making practice should see landscaping as a fundamental principle that is accommodated as part of the master planning framework. However, subordination of landscape to a later stage is fairly prevalent in planning practice rendering landscape as a filler of gaps rather than being a controlling element of the development framework.

[11] It would be remiss of us, however, not to mention the loss of embodied carbon in the demolished housing. Whole life carbon costs of buildings is the great challenge for the regeneration industry and carbon costs are only likely to increase in profile. In France, high rise social housing of the type that once peppered Glasgow is being improved rather than replaced with low rise (see e.g. http://www.lacatonvassal.com/index.php?idp=80).

[12] Although, we recognise that this assertion is highly contested among researchers, see e.g. Bridge, et al. (2011) and Cheshire (2006).

Figure 4.6: Phase 4 housing designed by Collective Architecture, location Elderslie Street/St Vincent Street (Photo by Andrew Lee; courtesy of Collective Architecture)

Figure 4.7: Aerial View of Anderston Regeneration Project, 2018 (Photo by Andrew Lee; courtesy of Collective Architecture)

4.2 Bertha Park

4.2.1 Project description and background

Bertha Park is a 333 hectare (823 acre) greenfield development project promoted and developed by Springfield Properties Ltd. and supported by Perth & Kinross Council within its Local Development Plan (LDP). The development will be built out in three phases over 30 years and will see delivery of more than 3,000 new homes and employment land encompassing various uses.

The development plan includes a mix of housing for sale and affordable homes: the former comprising of 2 and 3 bedroomed apartments and 2-5 bedroomed detached houses; while the affordable element includes a mix of 2 and 3 bedroomed flats, cottages and terrace houses. Figure 4.8 outlines some of the key milestones and anticipated outcomes from the commencement of the project in 2018 to its expected completion in 2049. Given the 30 year development programme, such proposals are subject to market conditions, variations in investor needs, preferences and externalities.

Phase 1
- 2018-2029
- 1,061 new homes (796 private, 265 affrodable)
- 82 emlpoyment units (Classes 1, 2, 3 & 10 totalling 72,919 sq.ft)
- Bertha Park Secondary School
- A9/A85 Junction Improvement and Cross Tay Link Road Project

Phases 2 &3
- Phase 2 (2029-2039) & Phase 3 (2039-2049)
- c. 1900 new homes (1,425 private, 475 affordable)
- 60 bed (Class 8) Residential Institution
- Park and Ride
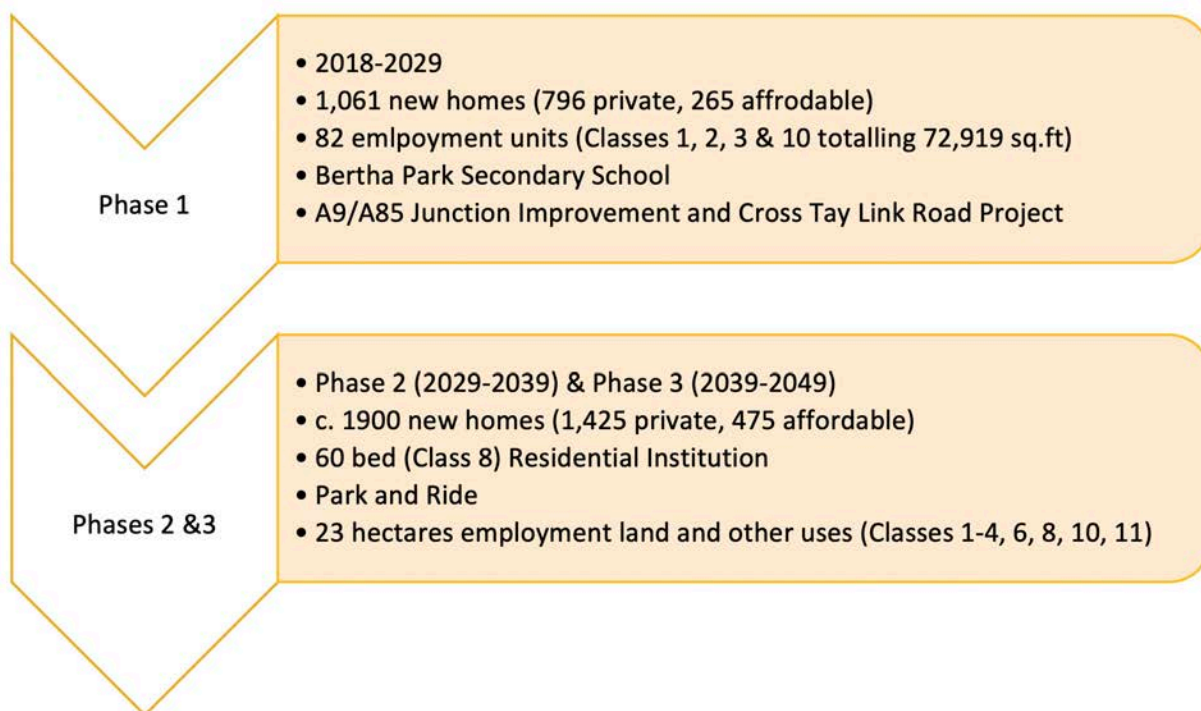- 23 hectares employment land and other uses (Classes 1-4, 6, 8, 10, 11)

Figure 4.8: Three Phases of Development, Bertha Park

Bertha Park is located just off the Inveralmond Roundabout, between the north-western edge of Perth and the southern edge of Bertha Loch. The site is also bordered to the south by the River Almond and to the north by ancient woodland.

Figure 4.9: Bertha Park, December 2016 (Courtesy of Perth & Kinross Council)

4.2.2 Project promoter

Springfield Properties is investing a substantial sum of £1 billion in the development of Bertha Park. To promote and progress the development, Springfield Properties has also formed a Joint Venture Company (JVC) – Bertha Park Ltd. – with the landowner. The landowner in this case is a local family still resident in the area.

In addition to the JVC, Springfield Properties and the Council have formed a working group with representatives from both organisations to ensure an effective procedural structure from the outset. While we consider the word "partnership" to be overused in planning contexts, we do recognise a significant degree of collaborative working in this case. This collaboration has also been recognised by the Scottish Government in the shape of the 2018 Scottish Award for Quality in Planning within the Partnership Category which went to Springfield Properties and the Council.

While the amount of private investment is significant, and the degree of collaboration commendable, key informant interviews suggest that the development of Bertha Park was made possible largely through advanced funding for infrastructure provided by the Council. Through the Perth Transport Futures Project (PTFP), the Council is upgrading the road network in and around Perth. At a cost to the Council of £37m, Phase 1 of the PTFP saw delivery of the new A9/A85 junction and link road to Bertha Park, significantly improving access to the site. Phase 2 of the PTFP will see construction of the new Cross Tay Link Road (CTLR) connecting the A9 to the A93/94, to be completed after occupation of the 750th home at Bertha Park; and Phase 3 will see delivery of the Bertha Park North Link to the A9, which will connect phases 1 and 2 of the PTFP. This programme of investment has unlocked development land across the north and west of Perth.

The Council is funding this programme of transport infrastructure improvements through borrowing from the Public Works Loan Board, plus an additional £40m from the Scottish Government through Transport Scotland, and developer contributions. Traffic modelling undertaken in 2018 showed that 50% of projected growth in traffic in the Perth area is associated with new housing development sites included in the LDP. Developer contributions therefore equate to 50% total cost recovery, or £83.7m (Perth & Kinross Council, 2020a, p. 19).

A new secondary school has also been built and opened in August 2019, just a year into the Berth Park development programme. At a total cost of £32m, Bertha Park High School was jointly funded by the Council and the Scottish Government through the latter's Schools for the Future programme.

4.2.3 Land assembly

The land in this case was owned by a single landowner who, together with the Council and the public roads network, controlled access routes in and out of the site. To the best of our knowledge, therefore, there were few if any significant land assembly challenges. There was however a dispute between the landowner and SSE, one of the country's major energy suppliers, concerning six electricity pylons which prevented development on a large corridor of land. A Public Inquiry was called but before it could go ahead both sides agreed a settlement that allowed the pylons to remain in place.

Besides this, the main land assembly challenge relates not to the housing development but to the PTFP. Given the extent of land required for Phase 1 of the PTFP and the number of landowners affected, the Council promoted a CPO in parallel to negotiations with landowners to purchase land by agreement. The CPO was made in October 2014 and confirmed in July 2016. The land was vested in August 2016.

The Section 75 Agreement, which is the planning agreement that sets out developer obligations in Scotland, also bestowed an obligation on the Springfield Properties to convey to the Council land for the construction of the school.

4.2.4 Planning and design

The development of Bertha Park is driven in large part by population growth. Perth & Kinross has seen one of the fastest rates of population growth in Scotland over the last two decades, and, at least until recently, was projected to continue growing at a faster rate than Scotland as a whole for at least the next two decades.[13] The number of households is also projected to increase at a faster rate than for Scotland as a whole over the period to 2041.[14] These projections underpin planning assumptions in both the 2012-2032 and 2016-2036 TAYplans, which set housing supply targets and land requirements for local authorities within the TAYplan-wide area, which in turn informs LDPs. Bertha Park was allocated for housing in the Council's 2014 LDP and is one of three Long-term Strategic Development Areas in the west and north-west of Perth to have been carried forward into the 2019 LDP.[15]

Springfield Properties obtained in-principle planning permission for the whole development and detailed planning permission for Phase 1 in December 2016. These and subsequent planning applications are listed in Table A.2 (see Appendix). The approved masterplan (see Figure 4.10) was designed by AREA Urban Design and sets out a vision for a new settlement which includes 3,000 homes and the secondary school, as well as a care home and a mixed-use village core comprising of retail, office space, hospitality and leisure, medical and other community facilities. Phase 1, which is shown in more detail in Figure 4.11, is centrally located and will include many of the key components of Bertha Park. Phases 2 and 3 will be located on either side of Phase 1, to the west and east, respectively.

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[13] In the 20 years to 2018, the population of Perth & Kinross increased by 12.4% compared to 7.1% for Scotland as a whole (National Records of Scotland, 2018a). 2012-based population projections showed an increase of 24% over the period to 2036 (National Records of Scotland, 2013). However, following the 2016 UK-EU Referendum, these projections were revised downwards. 2018-based population projections now show a slight decrease in the population over the period to 2041 (National Records of Scotland, 2019).

[14] Household projections show 15% growth for Perth & Kinross over the period 2016 to 2041, compared to 13% for Scotland as a whole (National Records of Scotland, 2018b).

[15] The other two are Almond Valley and Perth West. Together, they form the West/North West Perth Strategic Development Area, as identified in the TayPlan and the Council's Local Development Plan (2019, pp. 260-74), and will see delivery of some 7,500 new homes.

Figure 4.10: Bertha Park Indicative Masterplan, 2015 (Courtesy of AREA Urban Design)

**Figure 4.11: Bertha Park, central park area located within Phase 1
(Courtesy of RaeburnFarquharBowen Landscape Architects)**

Table A.2 also includes three recent planning applications that are worth noting here. The first was submitted in November 2019 by Springfield Properties and Sigma PRS Management Ltd. and contained a proposal to increase the number of dwellings intended for the private rented market. While this proposal could have enhanced the tenure mix at Bertha Park, it failed to meet the standards set out in the Council's Placemaking Supplementary Guidance (Perth & Kinross Council, 2020b), which was adopted in March 2020. The application was withdrawn in June 2020. The other two applications were submitted on behalf of Miller Homes who propose two phases of development comprising a mix of 3-5 bedroomed detached and semi-detached family homes (within the Phase 1 boundary of the overall masterplan): the first phase will see delivery of 38 dwelling on some 1.29 hectares; and, the second phase will deliver 33 dwellings on 1.34 hectares. These applications are currently awaiting decision.

Figure 4.12: Aerial View of Bertha Park (Phase 1) Development, January 2019. The school and sports fields can be seen in the top right (Courtesy of Perth & Kinross Council)

Figure 4.13: New housing and play area located within Phase 1/central area of Bertha Park (Photo by StudioCR.co.uk; courtesy of RaeburnFarquharBowen Landscape Architects)

4.2.5 Development commentary

Bertha Park is still in the early stages of development but, at the time of writing, over 100 private market homes have been built, sold, and are now occupied. In addition, 54 affordable homes have been built and handed over to Kingdom Housing Association. Construction has also started on a further 58 affordable homes. A new central park area has been created, complete with a play park for children and large SuDS pond which forms the centrepiece of the village (see Figures 4.11-4.13). Springfield have also built six commercial units, four of which have sold and two of these are already occupied.

There are clearly already a number of positive placemaking elements to the Bertha Park development. The secondary school not only provides a modern learning environment for pupils but could also help to build a sense of community in a new settlement, and the emerging mixed-use and varied scale of the development should help to promote wider economic and social activities. The delivery of homes for social and affordable rent in parallel to those for sale may also help to create a socially balanced community from the outset, as opposed to other developments where the affordable element is built later in the process.

There are extensive areas of green and open space, including existing woodland and the area around Bertha Loch, contained within the redline boundary of the masterplan. The masterplan aims to enhance this by incorporating new woodland and parkland areas and constructing green corridors throughout the development, some of which have been completed already.

There are also a number of existing walking and cycling routes around the site into which new connections are being developed, enhancing opportunities for active travel. For example, a new bridge over the A9 connects existing active travel routes into the town centre, and a new underpass connects the west and east of the village core area on either side of the CTLR. The concentration of development in the north and west of Perth also creates economies of scale which, with the completion of the link road, has enabled the creation of new public transport links, including a bus service which is being subsidised by Springfield Properties for five years at a cost of £600,000.

However, this service is limited and there are no guarantees that it will become self-sustaining as the community grows. It is also unclear how the concentration of development will help to alleviate the traffic problems that resulted in Perth city centre being declared an Air Quality Management Area in May 2006. With 7,500 new, mostly family homes to be built over the next 30 years across three strategic out of town sites, it seems likely that many more families will be using cars to drive to and from the centre of Perth.

Moreover, while Springfield Properties appear to have followed the strategic principles of the approved masterplan drawing (see Figure 4.10), it seems that the detailed street design principles set out in the accompanying design code have not been enforced. The design code puts particular emphasis on the importance of overlooking open space, threshold design, boundary treatments, and minimising front curtilage parking.

4.3 Castle Gardens

4.3.1 Project description and background

Castle Gardens is a 6.7 hectare (16.5 acre) greenfield development project that was promoted by Gladman Developments Ltd. and is being built by Stewart Milne Homes. This project will deliver 120 new homes across two phases of development (see Figure 4.14), comprising of 90 homes for sale and 30 affordable homes. The former include 3-6 bedroomed detached homes, while the latter includes a mix of 2 bedroomed flatted accommodation and 2-3 bedroomed terraced housing. Development began in 2018 and is expected to continue until 2022 (assuming no delay due to the coronavirus).

Phase 1
- 2018 - 2021
- 66 homes for private sale
- Mix of 3-6 bedroomed detached properties

Phase 2
- 2020 - 2022
- 24 homes for private sale (mix of 3-6 bedroomed detached properties)
- 30 affordable homes (mix of 2 bed flatted accommodation and 2-3 bed terraced housing)

Figure 4.14: Two Phases of Development, Castle Gardens

The development is located on the southern edge of Pencaitland in East Lothian. The site is bounded to the north by existing housing (see Figure 4.15), to the east and west by Lempockwells Road and Pencaitland Railway Walk, respectively, and to the south by open farmland. It is within walking distance (400m) of the centre of Pencaitland, which lies astride the Tyne Water about five miles south west of Haddington, the administrative centre for East Lothian, and 12 miles south east of Edinburgh.

Figure 4.15: Open space at the entrance to Castle Gardens, looking north on to existing housing, February 2020 (Photo by Gareth James)

4.3.2 Project promoter

The site was submitted for inclusion in the LDP by Strutt & Parker, acting on behalf of the landowner – a local family still resident in Pencaitland – but it was not included in the LDP adopted in 2008. At the end of 2013, Strutt & Parker brought the site to Gladman Developments Ltd., a privately owned property company and strategic land promoter, which specialises in facilitating land to the house building industry; both private housebuilders and affordable housing providers, such as housing associations.

Gladman Developments Ltd. reached a promotion agreement with the landowner as opposed to an options agreement or conditional contract more commonly used by UK housebuilders in acquiring land for residential development. Under the terms of a promotion agreement, the land promoter partners with the landowner to progress the site through the planning system until a deliverable planning permission is obtained. While the landowner remains in control of the process and enjoys a greater degree of discretion compared to an options agreement, it is the land promoter who covers all planning and development costs and therefore carries the risk in the event that planning permission is withheld. If, however, permission is granted, the promoter's costs are reimbursed out of the gross sale receipts when the site is eventually sold on the open market. They also receive a percentage of the net sale proceeds. The land promoter is therefore motivated by securing a sale at the highest possible price in order to generate a return on their capital investment.

4.3.3 Land assembly

As with Bertha Park, the land in this case was owned by a single land owner and there were no major land assembly issues, to the best of our knowledge. There were however some challenging ground conditions including concerns about topography, as well as the discovery following an intrusive site investigation of a disused gas pipe which did not appear on any plans. The pipe had never been capped so it was still full with gas when discovered. The nearby Malting Plant had to shut down in order for the pipe to be capped and removed, both causing delay and increasing costs.

Despite some reservations about including this case study in the research, we felt that on balance, and following extensive consultation with stakeholders, there were lessons to be learned in relation to the role of land promoters in bringing forward sites like this one, which is located in a relatively untested housing market.[16] As discussed immediately below, the case also demonstrates the importance of keeping the LDP up-to-date, a point to which we return in Chapter 5.

4.3.4 Planning and design

Gladman Developments Ltd. brought the site forward for development at a time when East Lothian Council had a shortfall in its effective housing land supply. Scottish Planning Policy states that housing land requirements should be met by an effective rolling five-year land supply. Each LPA does this by identifying land in the Major Issues Report of the LDP and an annual housing audit. However, at the time, the Council's 2013 LDP had expired and the new LDP was not adopted until 2018. In recognition of this shortfall, the Council issued Interim Planning Guidance in 2013 to support appropriate proposals for housing development on unallocated land while the new LDP was being prepared.

In tandem with representations to the emerging LDP, Gladman Developments Ltd. applied in September 2014 for planning permission in principle for a residential development of 120 homes and associated works. While planning officers claimed to have been broadly supportive of the proposal, they recommended that consent be refused because the proposal was considered to be contrary to Part5(v) of the Interim Guidance, which states that 'The proposed housing use must be contained within robust, defensible boundaries and must not set a precedent for subsequent future expansion' (East Lothian Council, 2013). The southern boundary was considered not robust enough to prevent further development to the south. The Council therefore refused planning permission in December 2014.

[16] While there is strong demand for housing in East Lothian, Castle Gardens is the first significant development in Pencaitland for some time.

Gladman Developments appealed the Council's decision with the Scottish Government directorate for Planning and Environmental Appeals (DPEA). In September 2015, the appeal was allowed thereby granting planning permission subject to conditions and a Section 75 agreement to secure education, affordable housing and other developer contributions.

Following the appeal decision and a full site investigation, Gladman Developments marketed the site through the summer of 2016. Several volume and non-mainstream housebuilders submitted bids for the site, which eventually went to Stewart Milne Homes. As Table A.3 (appendix) shows, Stewart Milne then submitted a detailed planning application which was approved on 28 March 2018. The site was eventually included in the LDP adopted by East Lothian Council on 27 September 2018.

The Masterplan was designed by Optimised Environments (OPEN) and sets out a vision for a mixed-tenure development comprising of homes for sale and affordable housing. Figures 4.16 and 4.17 show how the site layout changed as it progressed through the planning system from permission in principle to detailed planning permission.

Figure 4.16: Indicative Masterplan, 2014 (Optimised Environments, OPEN)

Figure 4.17: Revised development layout, 2017 (Planning Application 17/00815/AMM)

4.3.5 Development commentary

Like Bertha Park, this development is not yet complete. However, Phase 1 is well underway and the vast majority of the homes have already sold. There is already a mix of house types on site (see Figures 4.18 and 4.19 for examples), albeit predominantly large, detached family homes. The affordable housing element will be delivered with Phase 2, the purchase of which was brought forward by six months due both to higher demand and a faster pace of development than initially anticipated.

Figure 4.18: Stewart Milne "Dursley" House Type, Castle Gardens, February 2020 (Photo by Gareth James)

Figure 4.19: Mix of house types at Castle Gardens, February 2020 (Photo by Gareth James)

There are some positive place-making elements to this project. Given its close proximity to the centre of Pencaitland, the development can be said to enhance what is already there and therefore helps to sustain an existing place. There are well established walking and cycling routes in the local area, including an asserted Right of Way which crosses the development along the southern boundary, connecting Pencaitland Railway Walk – a core path that runs to the west of the site and forms part of the National Cycle Route 196 – and Lempockwells Road. The development connects into these existing routes through an integrated path network and landscape links. The development therefore demonstrates sustainable qualities and benefits from a movement framework that encourages active travel, enables access to local services and amenities, and connects with nearby public transport links to Haddington and Edinburgh.

However, changes to the site layout appear to have resulted in a reduction in the amount of consolidated green and open space. The indicative masterplan shows a fairly significant amount of green space located in the southern corner of the site and around the site entrance to the east. While the latter remains intact in the revised plan, the former now appears to be interwoven throughout the development.

At 120 new dwellings, the development's population is likely to be around 250 people which represents a 15% increase in the population of Pencaitland. This is a significant change and will have an impact on the wider place. It is also likely that a high proportion of new homes will be occupied by car-borne families that commute to Edinburgh and further add to congestion and emissions in the area.

4.4 Commonwealth Games Village

4.4.1 Project description and background

The Commonwealth Games Village is a 38 hectare (94 acre) urban brownfield regeneration site. The development was a joint promotion between Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government for the purposes of constructing an athletes' village for the 20th Commonwealth Games, which took place in Glasgow from 23rd July to 3rd August 2014.

Glasgow was awarded the Commonwealth Games in 2007 following a successful bid linked to a programme of wider regeneration and community development in the East End of the City, led by Clyde Gateway Urban Regeneration Company (URC).

Following the Games, the athletes' accommodation was adapted and expanded to form 700 new homes – 300 for sale and 400 for social and affordable rent – the majority of which are family homes arranged in terraces with some flatted accommodation alongside the River Clyde. The first residents moved in at the beginning of 2015, just a few months after the Games concluded.

The Games Village is located in Dalmarnock in the East End of Glasgow. The River Clyde forms a natural boundary which loops around its southern and eastern edges. The East End Regeneration Route (EERR) runs along the north-western edge connecting the Village to the road infrastructure in and around Glasgow. The site is also bounded to the east and north by existing low rise housing.

4.4.2 Project promoter

The development of the Games Village was a joint promotion between the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council working together at various stages with Clyde Gateway, South Lanarkshire Council, and others. The project is an example of a public interest led development which had the primary goal of delivering the 20th Commonwealth Games.

The Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council provided £425m towards the overall cost of the Commonwealth Games, including the development of the athletes' accommodation. The Council led on a programme of major capital projects for the sporting venues and the Village. Both the Government and the Council also had long-term legacy plans which included leveraging the Games to meet the city's housing strategy.

Transport improvements amounted to £1bn of Games-related road and rail upgrades, including the M74 extension and the refurbishment of Dalmarnock Railway Station. The latter was built by Network Rail and funded by Transport Scotland, Strathclyde Partnership for Transport, Clyde Gateway, the Council, and the European Regional Development Fund.

Clyde Gateway URC also played a crucial role in driving forward the bid commitment that the Games would be a catalyst for regeneration in the East End of Glasgow. Alongside their partners, Clyde Gateway continue to deliver a wide ranging programme of regeneration across the East End, with major investment in roads, infrastructure, business and office space, community buildings, as well as enabling works for housing development. This programme of work is expected to continue until at least 2027.

4.4.3 Land assembly

Unlike Bertha Park and Castle Gardens, there were significant land assembly challenges in this case, which is typical of an inner-city regeneration site. Land assembly for the Village and other Games-related development therefore began well in advance of Glasgow being awarded the Games. While the Council had significant land holdings of its own, there were a number of other interests which meant that they had to also acquire some derelict land and call upon their CPO powers. There were a number of owner occupiers whose properties were obtained by the Council through CPO, who were then assisted in finding new homes. There was also a large Scottish Power site on the development which had also to be acquired.

As a post-industrial Scottish city, Glasgow has a legacy of large vacant sites with complex ground conditions. The Games Village site was heavily contaminated and had therefore to undergo extensive remediation works to make way for new construction. This included the archaeological excavation of the old dye works and water pump house (see Figures 4.20 and 4.21). As one senior planning official with the Council explained, land remediation was a lengthy process which involved "innovative soil hospitals" to decontaminate 38 hectares of land and provide the developers with a "clean site".

Figure 4.20: Excavation of the Glasgow Water Works early pump house (Courtesy of CFA Archaeology Ltd.)

Figure 4.21: Aerial view of land preparation works for the Games Village (Courtesy of VHE Construction plc and GCC)

4.4.4 Planning and design

In 2005, the Council commissioned RMJM Architects to produce a masterplan for the development comprising 700 dwellings and related accommodation to cater for up to 7,000 athletes and officials during the Commonwealth Games (see Figure 4.22).[17] Stewart Stevenson Architects was later commissioned to design the post-Games transformation from temporary accommodation to homes for permanent habitation, as well as the Phase 2 expansion (see Figure 4.23). The masterplan included a new local authority care home with a 120-bed capacity and a purpose built Energy Centre with Combined Heat and Power (CHP) system that supplies heating and hot water to all 700 homes, the care homes and adjacent sports venues.

In 2009, City Legacy, a consortium of Glasgow-based companies comprising of CCG (Scotland) Ltd., Cruden Estates, Mactaggart & Mickel, and WH Malcolm, was appointed to construct the Village, following a developer competition. Remediation works took place between August 2009 and October 2010, running in parallel with planning applications. Detailed planning permission for the Village was granted in September 2010 (see Table A.4 in Appendix).

As with the Anderston regeneration project, CCG (Scotland) Ltd. utilised offsite manufacturing and MMC to produce new homes using their iQ timber frame system, while Cruden and Mactaggart & Mickel used traditional build systems.

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[17] Note that the 7-storey apartments were designed in collaboration with Karakusevic Carson Architects.

**Figure 4.22: Phase 1 Masterplan
(Courtesy of RMJM Architects)**

**Figure 4.23: Phase 2 Masterplan
(Stewart Stevenson Architects)**

4.4.5 Development commentary

The post-Games transformation delivered a mix of private for-sale, social and affordable homes, which helped to meet the needs of the community in the East End of Glasgow (Clark & Kearns, 2017, p. 23). The homes for social and affordable rent include a mix of 2 and 3-storey family homes arranged in terraces, while the owner occupied properties are comprised of 2, 3 and 4-storey family homes and 2 bedroomed flatted accommodation in 7-storey blocks along the riverside (see Figure 4.24). The development also delivered a new local authority care homes with a 120-bed capacity, which opened in September 2017 (see Figure 4.25).

Figure 4.24: Glasgow Commonwealth Games Village, Phase 2 (Courtesy of Stewart Stevenson Architects)

Figure 4.25: Glasgow Commonwealth Games Care Home (Courtesy of Stewart Stevenson Architects)

The 400 homes for social and affordable rent have all been transferred to, and are now managed by, three housing associations – Glasgow Housing Association (98 homes), West of Scotland Housing Association (102 homes) and Thenue Housing Association (200 homes). According to one interviewee, who was a key partner in the City Legacy consortium, all 300 private market homes sold within a period of 18 months. Selling 300 homes over 18 months in an area with a largely unproven market demonstrates that development at the right scale, with the right promotion and wider regenerational influences can create consumer confidence and reshape a market where it has previously failed.

The Games Village is also well-connected and permeable, with primary pedestrian routes aligning with existing streets and reconnecting local communities with the River Clyde. A new footbridge over the Clyde connects the Village to the Cuningar Loop Woodland Park, which provides access to 2.5km of good quality paths and open spaces for people to meet and socialise. Both the bridge and "the Loop" were developed by Robertson Group for the Forestry Commission in partnership with South Lanarkshire Council and Clyde Gateway.

Lastly, the Village is a demonstration in innovation in both design and sustainability. The new homes were rated 'excellent' under both the Building Research Establishment Environmental Assessment Management (BREEAM) Code for Sustainable Homes and its UK domestic equivalent environmental rating scheme, EcoHomes. The CHP scheme has further capacity to accommodate additional connections and, according to one interviewee, is up to 40% more efficient and less carbon intensive than conventional heating systems.

While the Commonwealth Games Village performs well when measured against the characteristics of "successful places" presented in Figure 2.2., the landscaping does appear to be struggling, perhaps due to poor management.

4.5 Dargavel

4.5.1 Project description and background

Dargavel is a 954 hectare (2,357 acre) brownfield redevelopment project led by BAE Systems, which is one of the largest defence companies in the world. Like Bertha Park, Dargavel is a large-scale development to be delivered in several phases over a 30-year period. By 2035, the project is expected to deliver 4,000 new homes comprising a mix of for-sale and affordable homes. The bulk of these will be family homes with some smaller apartments and specialist housing for older people.

Dargavel Village is located on the edge of Bishopton in Renfrewshire. The Inverclyde Railway Line runs between the existing and new settlements. The land under development was the site of the former Royal Ordnance Factory (see Figure 4.26). The Factory operated during both World Wars and continued to produce propellants for munitions until the late 1990s before closing in 2003, leaving a significant area of brownfield vacant land at the edge of Bishopton.

Figure 4.26: Outbuildings on the Former Royal Ordnance Site, June 2006 (Courtesy of Cass Associates)

4.5.2 Project promoter

In the early 2000s, Cass Associates conducted a feasibility study on behalf of the landowner (BAE Systems), Renfrewshire Council, the Scottish Executive (as it was at the time), Scottish Enterprise, and trade unions, to determine the future of the site. The study looked at how to regenerate the site and recycle the land in a way that was both cost effective for the landowner and beneficial to the public.

BAE Systems has since taken on the role and risk of the development, thereby effectively becoming the place promoter and facilitator. This is an unusual situation for BAE Systems. Ordinarily, when decommissioning a site like this, one might have expected a company such as BAE Systems to undertake some enabling investment, such as decontaminating the land, and then hand over to a developer. In fact, the original plan was for BAE Systems to hand over a decontaminated site, in a phased manner, to the development partner, Redrow Homes.

However, as a result of the Global Financial Crisis and recession, Redrow Homes withdrew from Dargavel. In the absence of an alternative development partner, BAE Systems decided in 2011 to begin investing in land remediation works and major infrastructure provision. The hope was that a new development partner could be found for the site, but when that did not happen BAE Systems continued to act as lead developer, taking responsibility for masterplanning, delivering remediation works, putting in roads and other services, all of the Section 75 obligations, and, ultimately, releasing parcels of platformed land on to the market.

4.5.3 Land assembly

Despite owning the majority of the proposed development land, in order to liberate the site, BAE Systems had to address some land assembly challenges in the early stages of the project. The two main access routes into the site had to be purchased from adjacent landowners. This was in addition to addressing the former industrial legacy issues. According to several interviewees, the extent of the required remediation works raised concerns about the viability and developability of the site. However, both Cass Associates and BAE Systems have experience of decommissioning and regenerating former Royal Ordnance sites.

4.5.4 Planning and design

Upon completion of the feasibility study, Cass Associates, acting as agent for BAE Systems, took forward the preferred option and developed a masterplan for 250 hectares (618 acres) of core development comprising of 2,500 homes and 15 hectares (150,000 square meters) of commercial space within a business park. The approved masterplan also includes a community woodland park; recreational spaces; community facilities; retail and education provision; infrastructure works including a new motorway junction and link roads; improvements to the railway station approach, as well as park and ride facilities; and retention of the existing BAE Systems environmental test facility.

The masterplan informed the Glasgow and Clyde Valley Structure Plan becoming a Community Growth Area (CGA). CGAs are intended to accommodate long-term, large-scale urban growth based on the strategic location of sites and their accessibility, as well as environmental gains that might be realised through development. The designation of Bishopton as a CGA was then reflected in the Renfrewshire local plan process, which explored in more detail the infrastructure requirements to support a new community at Dargavel.

In parallel to the local plan process, Cass Associates submitted a number of planning applications to address the future development and regeneration of the site as a whole. Each housebuilder then submitted detailed applications for their own parcels of land obtained from BAE Systems in accordance with a specified design code, which, according to a senior planning official at Renfrewshire Council, has helped to ensure connectivity and permeability, within the development and locally. Table A.5 (Appendix) provides an overview of the main planning applications associated with the development, to date.

In 2015, the masterplan was revised to extend the north western housing neighbourhood up to the Core Development Area boundary (see areas H20-22 in Figure 4.27). The masterplan was revised again in 2017, this time to replace the proposed employment uses (see E1-4 in Figure 4.27) with more housing (see H23-H26 in Figure 4.28). The number of homes proposed thus increased from 2,500 to 4,000. This change was driven by low demand for commercial space at Dargavel given alternative opportunities at established employment locations nearby. The Scottish Government and Renfrewshire Council were also keen to see more housing on brownfield sites in suitable locations instead of on Green Belt land.

Other revisions to the masterplan include a new site and accelerated programme for delivery of a new primary school; a multi-purpose central park to be built earlier than initially planned; a phased release of land in the community woodland park to give residents early access to green spaces and woodland around Dargavel; and a central location for shops near the railway station with land reserved for a new health centre.
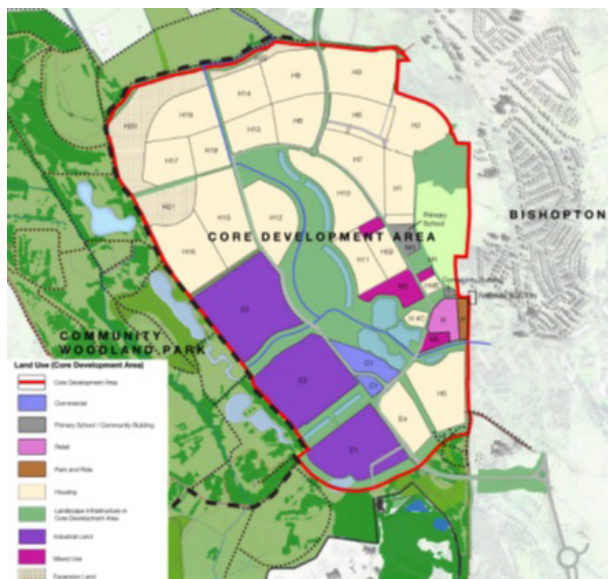

Figure 4.27: The original masterplan and neighbourhood expansion plan, 2015 (Courtesy of Cass Associates)

Figure 4.28: The revised masterplan to replace proposed employment land use with more housing, 2017 (Courtesy of Cass Associates)

4.5.5 Development commentary

Some of the early phases of development at Dargavel are now complete. At the time of writing there are seven housebuilders on site with over 2,500 consented units (see Table 4.1) of which some 1,550 have already sold. The new motorway junction, link road and park and ride facilities have all been delivered. The first phase of the new village centre, developed by Cumbrae Properties, opened just before Christmas 2019 and includes a local supermarket, a coffee shop, a fast food outlet, a barber shop, and a dental surgery. There is therefore an emerging mix of uses on site which could help to promote further social and economic development.

Table 4.1: Consented units and breakdown by house size and type (as of 2019)

Developer	Units	Size and Type
Avant Homes	121	3-4 bedroomed, detached houses
Bellway Homes	177	3-4 bedroomed, detached and semi-detached houses
CALA Homes	89	4-5 bedroomed, detached houses
David Wilson	109	3-4 bedroomed, detached houses
Persimmon Homes	644	A mix of 2 bedroomed flats & 2-5 bedroomed, detached and semi-detached houses
Renfrewshire Council	80	35 x 1-2 bedroomed flats 45 x 2-4 bedroomed houses
Robertson Homes	206	33 x 2 bedroomed flats 173 x 3-6 bedroomed detached houses
Stewart Milne	320	241 x 3-6 bedroomed houses (mix of detached, terraced and townhouses) 71 x 2-3 bedroomed flats 8 x 1 bedroomed coach houses
Taylor Wimpey	774	3-5 bedroomed, detached and semi-detached homes
Total	2520	

Source: Renfrewshire Council and relevant planning application documents

Table 4.1 shows that the Council has built 80 homes for social rent, which they did with the benefit of fully serviced land provided by BAE Systems at no charge. A new phase of development, which started in January 2020, will see delivery of a further 60 social rented homes, as well as specialist accommodation for the over 55s. While there is clearly an emerging mix of tenures, the percentage of affordable housing appears to fall far short of the expected 25%. Further investigation is required to determine whether or not any of the other consented units includes housing for social and affordable rent, besides those developed by the Council itself.

The masterplan allows for significant green space and the accompanying design code aims to ensure a strong movement framework. Pedestrian and cycle routes encourage active travel and facilitate movement within the development, as well as to and from the centre of Bishopton itself. According to Cass Associates, there is no part of the development, once completed, that will be beyond a mile from the school or the railway station: this informant said, "the emphasis has been on trying to get a relationship between open spaces, the road and movement network, and the housing that works both functionally and aesthetically; ensuring green spaces running through the site are linked together, that they form part of a logical network, [and] that there are a lot of options when it comes to moving between different parts of the development".

Figure 4.29: Aerial View of Dargavel development, January 2019 (Courtesy of Cass Associates)

With at least 15 years remaining until the completion of Dargavel, there are a number of outcomes that have yet to be delivered. However, it is worth noting that the new double-stream primary school is set to be delivered in 2021, five years ahead of schedule, which will help to relieve pressure on other local schools and should contribute to a sense of place and community at Dargavel. The proposed country park, also set to be delivered earlier than initially planned, will facilitate access to nearby woodland. At 450 hectares, this woodland park will be larger than Strathclyde Country Park. If well designed and maintained, it could make a significant contribution to place.

4.6 Summary

The case studies included in this research were identified as examples of "good practice" in housing delivery and place-making in Scotland. Table 4.2 provides a summary of the key features of each site, the key lessons for site assembly and delivery, as well as positive placemaking elements and shortcomings. While there are clearly positive place-making elements in all five cases, the extent to which they each reflect the characteristics of "successful places" varies. None meets fully all of the criteria set out in Figure 2.2, although, in our assessment, the Glasgow Commonwealth Games Village comes closest. In Chapter 5, we turn our attention to the practical lessons that emerge from these cases studies, which could help to ensure more consistent delivery of high-quality, sustainable homes and better places in Scotland in the future.

Table 4.2: Overall summary of case studies

Case study site	Key features	Key lessons for site assembly & delivery process	Positive place-making elements	Shortcomings
Anderston, Glasgow City	Large-scale, inner-city housing renewal programme 542 new homes Mostly social rent with some MMR and shared-equity homeownership Mix of 4-7 storey tenemental apartment blocks and 2-storey townhouses 10 year development programme (2008-18)	Glasgow City Council's active land policy key to successful land assembly Masterplanning key to enhanced permeability and connectivity Intensive community engagement essential to progressing project Scottish Government grant enabled delivery of additional homes for MMR	Re-establishment of Victorian street line of Argyll Street enhances permeability and connectivity Significant improvements to design and build quality "Affordable" MMR homes near key employment hubs	Potentially limited social mix as a result of limited tenure mix Subordinate and fragmented landscape and greenspace Loss of embodied carbon
Bertha Park, Perth& Kinross	333ha greenfield development 3,000 new homes and employment land Mix of private and affordable homes Mix of 2-3 bedroomed apartments; 2-5 bedroomed detached homes 30 year development programme (2018-39)	Collaboration between developer, council and landowner key to promoting and progressing development Upfront finance for infrastructure unlocked development land Masterplanned and phased approach key to delivering large-scale project	Employment and amenities incorporated into plan New secondary school Extensive areas of existing and new open and green spaces Enhancements to existing walking and cycling routes, and public transport links	Design code does not appear to have been fully enforced Out-of-town location promotes reliance on cars
Castle Gardens, East Lothian	6.7ha greenfield development 120 new homes Mix of private and affordable homes Mix of 3-6 bedroomed detached homes; 2 bedroomed flats; 2-3 bedroomed terraced housing 4-year development programme (2018-22)	Out-of-date LDP left council vulnerable to speculative planning proposals The role of the land promoter highlighted issues relating to place promotion and allocation of risk	Close proximity to Pencaitland helps to sustain existing place Enhancements to existing walking and cycling routes	Dilution of masterplan principles/changes to site layout result in less consolidated greenspace than originally intended Out-of-town location promotes reliance on cars

| Commonwealth Games Village, Glasgow City | 38ha brownfield regeneration project

700 new homes and 120-bed care home

Mix of private, social and affordable homes

Mix of 2-3 storey terraced houses, 2-4 storey family homes and 7-storey blocks | Public interest led development (PILD) approach essential to delivery of the 20th Commonwealth Games and post-Games transformation

Glasgow City Council's active land policy key to successful land assembly

At scale, PILD and wider regenerational activities can shape a new market and place where none existed

Place-making and masterplanning were key to success | Well-connected and permeable with links to the River Clyde and established walking and cycle routes

Easy connections to Cuningar Loop Woodland Park

Innovations in design and sustainability | The landscaping appears to be struggling due to poor management |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dargavel, Renfrewshire | 954ha brownfield redevelopment

4,000 new homes and employment land

Mix of private and affordable homes

Mixed-use and varied scale and density

30 year delivery programme (2005-2035) | Collaboration between developer, council and landowner key to promoting and progressing development

Upfront finance for infrastructure unlocked development land

Masterplanning key to enhanced permeability and connectivity | The masterplan allows for significant open and green space

Enhancements to existing walking and cycling routes

Design code ensures a degree of permeability within the site

New school and employment uses | Some developers appear to pay more attention to design code than others

Location increases likelihood of reliance on cars despite good public transport links |

5. Practical Lessons for Housing and Place Delivery in Scotland

In this chapter, we build on our assessment of the five case studies presented in Chapter 4 by identifying nine practical lessons for future housing and place delivery in Scotland. These lessons are informed by our case studies, key informant interviews and the output from stakeholder workshops, where stakeholders were asked specifically to call upon their own practical experience to inform what they told us and to sense-check the findings emerging from the case studies. We have identified the following nine practical lessons.

Lesson 1: Local Planning Authorities (LPAs) should allocate a wide range and mix of housing sites, at different sizes and scales, and in different locations, to achieve a balance of tenures and dwelling types.

Councils have a duty to provide sufficient land within LDPs to deliver their housing supply allocation. Increasingly, many councils have relied on large-scale land releases, as in the cases of Bertha Park and Dargavel, to meet their housing supply requirements. While this might satisfy the numbers, it does not guarantee that delivery can be achieved within the forecasted period, as the actual development of housing numbers is determined by the pace of market demand and rate of sale. On large sites, there is a limit to the number of homes that can be developed in a given year before there is market saturation (Letwin, 2018; Payne, et al., 2019).

LPAs need to determine the best place to locate new development, but they should prioritise brownfield rather than greenfield development, so that housing is close to key employment hubs, as in the cases of Anderston and the Commonwealth Games Village. In the case of Bertha Park, the LPA was of the opinion that there was insufficient land within the city of Perth to meet housing supply requirements, as well as being concerned about additional transport being generated from developments within the city. Equally, expanding satellite settlements was believed to be inappropriate due to additional traffic burdens arising from new development. The merits of out-of-town development have been well debated and, notwithstanding the burden of additional traffic congestion within our towns and cities, there will be significant reliance on private motor vehicles even in out-of-town locations.

It can be more complex and challenging to identify and deliver a multitude of smaller sites within existing settlements, but good planning should not always be about taking the easiest path to delivery. Meeting housing land supply requirements by large-scale site allocations can restrict development production to a reduced number of developers who have the capacity and knowledge to deliver such projects. The consequential impact of such an approach can limit the participation of smaller developers thereby reducing competition, the pace of housing supply delivery and consumer choice. In practice, large-scale allocations tend to drive a relatively low density, predominantly 2-storey, detached housing typology.[18]

Lesson 2: The Local Development Plan (LDP) should be relevant, robust and outcomes-focused; and councils must commit to delivering the Plan once it has been adopted.

The case of Castle Gardens in Pencaitland, East Lothian, demonstrates the importance of ensuring a robust and up-to-date development plan. In statutory terms, East Lothian Council should have adopted a new LDP in 2013, but it did not do so until 2018. The assessment process over such a long period of time highlights some failings in the planning process and the ability of planners to defend policies that have become somewhat dated. It took 10 years from the first proposal to see work commence on site at Castle Gardens. It will be interesting to see how LDPs progress now

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[18] The proportion of new housing development in the UK which is single storey was less than 2% in 2017 (NHBC, 2018, p. 11), substantially down from twenty years ago. Historically, we built far more - almost 9% of us live in single storey houses (ibid). Simply, it is more lucrative for developers to build 2 or 3 storey houses, as they make more profit from these. It would help local authorities if HNDA guidance advised them to collect such information on the need for single storey houses, so that they would have the evidence base to support a requirement to build a proportion of single storey houses in developments.

that they have a period of 10 years and whether the development industry will continue to challenge policy as a result of having a longer period. Policy-making should not work in isolation but should positively reflect the needs and requirements of society and those engaged in economic production.

The presence of speculators in the land market highlights that the planning system is not functioning properly. A robust system should limit speculative approaches as the LDP should clearly determine what can and cannot be achieved. A development plan is effectively a business plan for a place, but 10 years is too long for the usual business plan period with such plans usually getting updated on an annual basis to reflect internal and external issues and impacts. For the same reasons, LDPs need to be relevant and consistent, but long timeframes mean that they become vulnerable to changing circumstances. We have certainly witnessed such circumstances with the Global Financial Crisis, Brexit and Covid-19, as well as the increasing requirement to address the Climate Emergency. A 10-year LDP will inevitable struggle to cope with such externalities, unless of course there is scope for flexibility and updating plans within the 10 year period, as recommended by Beveridge et al. (2016, p. 11).

However, while this line of argument treats land promoters as essentially speculators, it could be argued that there is a role for 'land enablers' who can facilitate development on behalf of the landowner, as was the case at Castle Gardens where Gladman Developments and the landowner entered into a promotion agreement. Certainly, some of those who participated in our workshops were of the opinion that land promotion can work if it is undertaken in a collaborative rather than an adversarial fashion.

In addition to the planners' concerns about the development industry challenging planning policy, we have heard complaints from housebuilders that due to public objections far too many sites are refused planning permission at committee stage, even though they are allocated within the LDP. We witnessed this in the case of Anderston, for example, where the Director of Development and Regeneration Services recommended that the Council grant an outline permission subject to conditions, but the Council refused. Good place-making is not just created from good planning processes but requires sensible informed political support for that process, as well as being able to respond to the wider needs of the place. Councils should be prepared therefore to deliver the LDP once it has been adopted.

Lesson 3: Local development planning must engage communities at the point where decisions of principle are made. Community engagement is also essential in shaping projects so that they link to and support the wider neighbourhood interest.

In order that the LDP supports the wider neighbourhood interest, and potentially to reduce the number of sites being refused at committee on grounds of public objection, LPAs should meaningfully engage local communities in making the difficult decisions about where homes should be built, at the point where decisions of principle are made. In a recent report for the Scottish Land Commission, Wright and Tolson (2020) also demonstrate, from the development industry's perspective, the value of early engagement with communities in land use decision-making, noting, among other things, that it can speed up the planning process, improve the quality of development and build a sense of community.

An integrated approach to place-making embraces good practice community engagement. This enables those within the local neighbourhood to have a sense of ownership in how their future lives can be shaped by their involvement. This was the case at Anderston, where Sanctuary (Scotland) Housing Association undertook intensive individual and public engagement in relation to land assembly, design and progressing the project. One senior planning official with Glasgow City Council described the process as "intense" and said "lessons should be learned… we shouldn't go back to square one on something like that… there should be a repository of knowledge for how community engagement happened in Anderston" (Interview with GCC Planner, 24/02/20). Indeed, the learning from Anderston is now being applied in Cumbernauld, where Sanctuary Scotland are leading on a similar regeneration project, replacing 12 multi-storey blocks of flats, the majority of which were in private ownership, with new, modern homes. Similar to the Anderston case, only 2 of the 350 owner occupied homes had to be acquired through CPOs (Interview with Development Director, 26/02/20).

Urban land assembly and subsequent regeneration processes are now more complex than before as a result of right to buy acquisitions creating fragmented ownership within municipal housing blocks. We can see this in the cases of Anderston and the Games Village, where the Council had to enact its CPO powers. Compared with large areas of comprehensive re-development in the 1960s, where large tracts of land were owned by local authorities, the public sector has now a greater challenge in assembling land given the multitude of legal interests. This makes re-development fall into the category of being, potentially, 'too difficult', when there are easier challenges that can be fulfilled. However, as one key informant noted, 'Advice is available from within Scottish Government on the CPO process, and within the legal and surveying professions, where a number of specialists are available to help. If done properly by experienced practitioners, CPOs are not as "lengthy, costly and cumbersome" as those without experience imagine' (Personal communication with an experienced Chartered Surveyor, 01/10/20).

An integrated approach to place-making, with greater levels of community engagement, could now become more of a reality as a result of 'Local Place Plans' (LPPs) being part of the planning policy agenda.[19] It should be noted however that LPPs are not statutory documents, and there is therefore no guarantee, despite the efforts of community organisations, that such place plans will be supported by the local authority. This is an issue that is likely to receive more attention as planning reform continues to unfold in Scotland, but any approach that enables local authorities to ignore LPPs would seem to be at odds with community empowerment legislation.

Lesson 4: There is a role for place-making champions within local authorities. For large-scale sites, in particular, the public sector may be required to assist in land assembly and delivering public interest elements of development. In places of low value or market value, local authorities need to help shape markets to generate production confidence.

Place-shaping through public sector upfront participation and investment provides confidence for the market to get involved and take commercial risks where it otherwise might not have participated. Unlike the private sector, the public sector has the statutory powers to make things happen. The issue is whether local authorities have the confidence, skills and ambition to actually use those powers.

Large-scale projects should have public interest elements which can either be delivered by a public partner or through regulation compelling the developer to provide or contribute. To get public interest from a private development relies largely on planning system regulations, including planning gain mechanisms such as Section 75 agreements. The question arises as to who is best to deliver public interest elements within a development. The literature relating to continental Europe points to the public sector being best because it has wider public interest, motivation and democratic responsibilities (Tolson & Rintoul, 2018). If the public sector is not the promoter then it needs to rely on the necessary regulations and policy, as well as the political and officer ambition, commitment and wherewithal, to enforce such regulations. At Bertha Park, the developer, recognising that this large-scale project had a high degree of complexity, sought to develop collaborative processes to help steer the logistical planning and delivery as expeditiously as possible.

Housing developers are very unlikely to seek to acquire sites in brownfield locations where there is market failure. Developer speculation in such areas is highly limited given there may be a high risk of contamination and infrastructure liabilities and a lack of value to cover the development costs (Adams & Tolson, 2019, p. 394). In such locations, value has to be grown which requires the public sector to intervene by supporting and enabling works that not only de-risk sites but also generate clarity and confidence for both developers and purchasers. Historically, such enabling action was undertaken by urban development agencies, but this function was transferred to local authorities. A good recent example is the Commonwealth Games Village, which helped to transform a large-scale site in the East End of Glasgow which had stood vacant for over 30 years. The role of the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council helped shape market confidence leading to a very successful sales outcome. Lessons from this exemplar project have been applied to other neighbouring parts of the East End and are being promoted through

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[19] See Planning (Scotland) Act 2019: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2019/13/part/1/crossheading/local-place-plans/enacted

Clyde Gateway URC. Whether state enabling is applied through a public agency or local authority, it is clear that in order to address brownfield urban dereliction and bring about more connected housing, the public sector needs to act as a promoter and investor in the process.

The development of Dargavel by BAE Systems may seem the exception. Upfront funding from BAE Systems for extensive land remediation and infrastructure projects has unlocked development opportunities at Dargavel, creating the conditions that private housebuilders needed to begin investing in housing development themselves. BAE Systems could not simply transfer their contaminated asset to property developers as the market had indicated that the risk was too great to take on the opportunity. Therefore, BAE Systems options were either to take on the risk of enabling development to the satisfaction of the market or leave the site vacant and derelict along with having all of the contingent liabilities of a polluted asset. It could be argued, therefore, that BAE Systems is acting as place promoter by default. Their motivation differs from that which drives public interest led development, and this is reflected in place quality outcomes. Dargavel, while clearly a well-planned housing development, is not an exemplar of good place-making in the same way that comparable European cases, like Vauban in Germany or Ijburg in the Netherlands, are (Adams, et al., 2011).

Irrespective of who might deliver public interest development, our case studies show that the public sector may have to assist private developers, for example, by using compulsory purchase powers to assemble parcels of land to make a project work. In order for this to occur the public authority needs to demonstrate that there is public benefit arising as a result of exercising its CPO powers. This is probably more prevalent in city centre projects, like the Anderston regeneration project and the Games Village, where land is more fragmented and a city council believes that there are compelling beneficial economic arguments for a development to take place. At Bertha Park, a large greenfield development, some CPO was provided and, in addition, there was benefit from offsite road improvements that not only helped liberate development but also improved the wider road network.

Lesson 5: Large-scale development proposals require a substantial commitment to up-front investment in infrastructure. Furthermore, where there is a wider public benefit, the public sector should participate in the funding of up-front infrastructure.

Large-scale development proposals inevitably require a substantial commitment to 'up-front' investment in infrastructure. Such up-front investment is often a challenge when successful development requires good management of the development cash flow. Large front-end investment can be problematic where income is not forthcoming until later in the project. For this reason, developers seek to make payments for land purchase on a deferred basis helping to smooth expenditure against the forecasted income. Furthermore, where there is a wider public benefit, the state may participate in the funding of up-front infrastructure, such as roads and schools. Clearly, where the public sector enables a project to be liberated through up-front investment then it should be recovering such investment and be seeking its own commercial return as a stakeholder and risk taker.

In the case of Bertha Park, the role of the Council in forward funding major infrastructure projects has been vitally important. As one executive with Springfield Properties explained, the Council's approach to funding transport infrastructure "really opened up the whole of the west of Perth" and "got us into the site" (Interview with Housebuilder,11/03/20). Through its capital expenditure the Council has effectively taken on a contributory role of place promoter. However, funding infrastructure to support growth is difficult and could become even more so in the emerging post-Covid economic climate, where councils will be highly sensitive to any potential impact on their borrowing capacity. There are limited options open to local authorities to assist them in forward funding infrastructure. Routes include borrowing through debt or bond arrangements, guarantees from the Scottish Government and more innovative risk sharing with the private sector, whereby they provide their own standby facility to cover the cost of any shortfalls in developer contributions should the number of homes occupied fall below the level expected (Personal communication with Chartered Town Planner, 01/07/20).

These matters are important and the public sector has to decide as to what role it wishes to play. Currently the focus is on seeking to capture land value (Crook, 2020) rather than participate in the commercial risk of development, although such an approach is limited and is unlikely to cover the total level of required investment. The fundamental question is whether the public sector in Scotland wishes to be an investor-developer participant or a statutory bystander. In England there is greater use of local asset backed vehicles where the public sector takes an interest in the development. By doing this the public sector has a greater controlling position in the development enabling it to obtain its objectives by direct involvement (Tolson & Rintoul, 2018). However, by taking a direct development interest the public sector also has to take a requisite share of the risk. In some cases, such as Edinburgh and Dundee, councils have formed their own arm's length development company, but some of these ventures have ceased to operate since the Global Financial Crisis.

Lesson 6: Collaboration between developers, LPAs and landowners is essential to making success of large-scale, long-term projects.

The case of Bertha Park demonstrates that partnerships with land owners can be used to enable risk sharing to take place. Large-scale developments are difficult to finance where an up-front land acquisition takes place. Therefore, land acquisitions can take place in the form of deferred phased payments or some form of joint venture where a land owner may participate in additional revenue as a risk taker in the development process. Effectively, such arrangements will depend on prevailing market conditions and be influenced by the cost and availability of finance. There has also been effective collaboration between Springfield Properties and Perth and Kinross Council in the case of Bertha Park. These two organisations formed a working group which helped to streamline decision making and allowed development to progress at a faster rate than might otherwise have been the case.

While the Commonwealth Games Village was a joint promotion between Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government, its delivery was effectively the result of a significant collaboration between various public and private sector partners, the benefits of which are clearly reflected in the place quality outcomes.

As these two projects demonstrate, collaboration at the start of a project is important but must also continue throughout the project's lifetime. Ongoing collaboration and dialogue between developers and LPAs, in particular, should enable a robust and resilient approach to development. As participants in our workshops noted, it is not that housebuilders or LPAs are necessarily adversarial, but rather it is the system itself that promotes confrontation. The question is how to bring about the kind of system change that would lead to more collaboration? In continental Europe the municipality's planning function is often the development promoter that orchestrates and manages the whole development. This practical management and hands on approach is significantly different to the planning approach in UK, which is more policy and regulation based. In effect the Europeans, while having clear policy and regulations, act as promoters seeking to find ways of making projects work. Prior to 1980, planning in the UK was more focussed on positive applied planning which could only realistically function through co-operative processes. Unfortunately, planning has now become regarded as more reactive and inevitably defensive rather than promotional. Good places and efficient delivery processes can only be derived from working together rather than trying to make things work in a frictional environment.

Lesson 7: Masterplans should establish place-making principles but have some flexibility to accommodate change as time and circumstances progress.

Good regenerational projects should seek wider beneficial impact by demonstrating how well they connect and fit with other parts of the wider neighbourhood beyond the redline boundary of the project. Masterplans are not just development frameworks that set up enabling infrastructural investment and guidelines for project implementation. Well researched and evidence-based masterplans become an important marketing tool that provides vital information for both development investment and those who are thinking of moving into the project. This is exactly how the Dundee Waterfront project operated, gathering support from a range of investors. As the project promoter,

Dundee City Council recognised that, where the market could not be persuaded to take the commercial risk, they would become the enabling developer, which created confidence in bringing in wider investment. This highlights that the public sector needs to adopt an entrepreneurial approach to stimulate action.

The Anderston regeneration and Commonwealth Games Village are, again, good examples of well-connected housing development projects: the former because it complied with the Council's wider strategic plans and re-established the Victorian street line of Argyll Street enhancing walkability and permeability; and the latter because it reconnected local communities with the River Clyde. To do this effectively, major urban projects do need to be led by the public sector starting with a wider master planning vision for the whole neighbourhood which is informed by social, economic and environmental determinants and infrastructure requirements to enable good place-making to function well.

However, there are many examples, including some of the case studies examined for this research, of development not reflecting an originally approved masterplan; and, while heavily prescriptive master plans are unrealistic in the case of large developments, there should nevertheless be some established principles which should be maintained. Change should always be accommodated as circumstances may change, but where changes do occur these should remain, where reasonable and sensible, within the established principles of the approved plan. Failure to maintain agreed principles risks the masterplan that was used for the original consent becoming a fairly meaningless abstract document.

At the moment, it appears that some LPAs are not enforcing masterplans to be effectively the rule book for development. We suspect that politics may well have some involvement, but many planning departments in Scotland lack the necessary urban design expertise required to properly scrutinise and enforce masterplan development proposals, especially when compared to European planning departments (Adams, et al., 2011; Gulliver & Tolson, 2013).

Lesson 8: Landscaping is part of the place-making process and should not be treated as a sub-ordinate element within a masterplan.

A good masterplan must have landscape as a fundamental element of the principal plan and not be subordinated to a reserve matter. Too often, however, landscape is treated as a 'filler of gaps' for the spaces between buildings or on ground that is left over. Such subordination of landscape to a later stage is fairly prevalent in planning and development practice, which seeks to put landscape around buildings rather than situate buildings within a landscape. We can see evidence of this in all five case studies, albeit to varying degrees.

We know that volume housebuilders are unlikely to also be good place-makers because this is not their purpose. At present, the system allows the builder to effectively be the prime delivery agent of a model that is focussed on maximising the sales prices of the individual product and minimising the cost of delivering that product. Most of the place-making elements, including landscape, do not tend to have a sales price tag and are therefore generally regarded as a cost item for developers. For these reasons, developers will tend only to deliver place-making elements where they either increase the sales prices or they are regulated to do so. Therefore, especially where financial resources are tight, landscape is often the first thing to be at risk, despite the acknowledged benefits of landscape as an essential element of people's well-being. This is now increasingly important as a result of Covid-19 experiences and the need for a greater commitment to ecological practice as part of the climate emergency programme.

Lesson 9: The Climate Emergency demands more radical policy intervention in new housing development.

Reducing emissions from housing presents a critical challenge to the Scottish carbon reduction targets. While it is generally recognised that the bigger part of the problem lies with existing housing stock, new housing supply is also important to produce lower carbon producing housing. However, much like landscaping and other place-making elements, private housebuilders are unlikely to introduce technologies for carbon reduction unless they increase sales prices or they are regulated to do so (Payne, et al., 2019).

The introduction of a Combined Heat and Power (CHP) system in the Commonwealth Games Village no doubt helped developers to achieve the high standards required for BREEAM excellence, but it is a radical intervention which challenges familiarity both in production and in use. This kind of intervention is unlikely to be volunteered by the market because it increases risk (Payne & Barker, 2018). Evidence suggests that most housebuilders still need to be convinced of the strength of the demand for energy efficient homes, as well as greater customisation (Payne, et al., 2019). Change in housing development is essentially created through regulation which, by political necessity, is largely marginal rather than radical. Given the current climate emergency, however, there is an argument to be made for updating building standards regulation to ensure that all housing projects obtain BREEAM 'excellent'.

6. Conclusion

In this report, we set out to identify land-related barriers to housing delivery and place-making; examine cases of recently completed and contemporary housing development; and, summarise key practical lessons for housing and place delivery in Scotland.

We examined some of the factors driving the need for more high-quality, sustainable homes and places for everyone in Scotland, before moving to outline some of the complexities of land, policy and investment that can enable or prevent new housing supply and place-making. In particular, we have shown how the operation of residential land markets, weaknesses in the planning system, short-termism, and political choices have seen us fall behind some of our closest European neighbours.

It is clear that spatial planning alone lacks the power to bring about change. Feedback from our stakeholder workshops made it clear that the planning voice is sub-ordinate to the key decision and policy makers of national and local government. As a result of such subordination, planning has become widely regarded as a regulatory service and is not empowered to play the role of championing good places. To be an influential participant in housing delivery and place-making, the planning system has to be better connected with other public service functions, as well as being actively involved in development and investment operations. Ultimately, it is the wider public sector, not just planning, that needs to be proactive and take more of a lead on development.

Certainly, planning departments, the wider public sector, and government are capable of producing lots of research and policy, but too often this is criticised as being disconnected from practice. This paper highlights the differences between the regulatory Scottish planner and the applied practical role of planners acting as development managers in good practice continental European projects. While there are a few examples of planners getting involved in projects in Scotland, these are very limited simply as a result of there being few state-organised developments. Given that there are few state projects, planners have had little chance to participate and demonstrate their practical skills.

Much debate has been held about a Scottish Planning System becoming 'plan-led'. Spatial planning has been regarded as a rather reactive, defensive function that generates an adversarial operational environment. This is not necessarily the fault of planners but partially shaped through politics over many years. Planning was established in 1947 essentially as the delivery part of the welfare state programme. However, by 1980 the emphasis switched to a more regulatory function with the market doing the delivery. As a result, policy-making and practice became separated, thereby losing the very essence of what planning should be about. Fundamentally, spatial planning is about land management and use organised for public benefit. However, in political terms, public interest is a matter of significant complexity and judgement, which requires commitment and co-operation between various public policy priorities and interests. Unfortunately, by not having a voice at the top table of public decision-making, it is difficult for planning to make a beneficial impact.

In our assessment of recently completed and contemporary examples of housing developments in Scotland we have identified a number of lessons, which we summarise in Table 4.2 and discuss further in Chapter 5. While the lessons from policy and practice are wide-ranging, we wish to highlight four points in particular. Our case studies and discussions with stakeholders demonstrate:

1. **The importance of councils using statutory powers and being active in land assembly.** (This was certainly the case in Glasgow where the Council demonstrated its willingness to enact its CPO powers to progress development at Anderston and the Commonwealth Games Village. Some CPO was also provided in relation to Bertha Park in Perth. While some of our stakeholders pointed to the complexities of CPOs, others suggested that the process is not as difficult as often assumed. It may be that we need to review the powers available to councils or provide more support to mainstream positive examples to enable councils to implement more active land policies because land assembly and PILD can shape markets and reduce risk for developers);

2. **The importance of early community engagement to creating better places and reducing conflict and delays.** (We saw a positive example of this in the case of Anderston. LPAs should meaningfully engage local communities in making the difficult decisions about where homes should be built, at the point where decisions of principle are made. This would also be to the benefit of the development industry);

3. **The importance for masterplanning sites for place quality and environmental outcomes.** (Major urban projects need to be led by the public sector starting with a wider master planning vision for the whole neighbourhood which is informed by social, economic and environmental determinants and infrastructure requirements to enable good place-making to function well. However, we find evidence from a number of cases to suggest that the agreed principles of masterplans are being diluted once planning permission has been granted); and,

4. **The benefits of developing brownfield and infill sites for public transport and active travel. (**Good **planning should** not always be about taking the easiest path to delivery. Meeting housing land supply requirements through large-scale site allocations not only reduces competition, the pace of housing supply delivery and consumer choice, it has also driven a relatively low density, detached housing typology. But, perhaps most importantly, in the context of the climate emergency, large-scale, out-of-town developments increase the likelihood of reliance on cars to drive to and from town and city centres. Instead, we should prioritise brownfield development so that housing is close to key employment hubs).

None of the "lessons" we have identified above or in previous chapters are new. Nearly twenty years ago, Sam Galbraith, the Minister responsible for Scottish planning, challenged planners by asking, "where are the conservation areas of tomorrow?" As a result, a whole raft of national planning design guidance was generated (see Section 2.5) and that continues today. Of the five case studies examined in this report, we suggest that the Glasgow Commonwealth Games Village comes closest to meeting the criteria for "successful places" that we outlined in Figure 2.2, as well as the four points listed above. However, the pursuit of good place-making in Scotland continues, with the jury still out as to whether responses to Galbraith's challenge have been successful. Ultimately, the public sector and government as a whole need to be more pro-active and confident in land assembly, land allocation and public interest led development if we are to be successful.

In summary, if Scotland is to get more homes in better places, it needs to be more radical and confident in its approach. It does not matter whether a person represents public or private interest; we are all united in saying "more homes are needed", but the evidence highlights that for many years we have failed to deliver. The Scottish Government's Housing to 2040 vision implies that we should be taking a 20-year view on our housing requirements. It is hoped that it is not just a 20-year vision but a 20-year investment commitment to more homes in better places backed by relevant infrastructure and services. Such an investment commitment within a co-operative environment of state, market and community involvement would bring clarity and confidence. By doing this, we will have a better chance of not only having more homes, but they will be the right type of well-designed homes in the right places, which will make a significant contribution to fixing our climate challenges, as well as allowing us all to live better, healthier, and more sustainable lives.

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Appendix

Table A.1: Key stages in the planning application process, Anderston (organised by Decision Issued Date)

Application Type & Ref. No.	Proposal	Decision	Application Received Date	Decision Issued Date
Outline Planning Permission 05/02184/DC	Erection of residential development in five phases, following demolition of existing housing	Refused	05/07/05	10/03/06
Planning Appeal 06/00077/PLGA	Erection of residential development in five phases, following demolition of existing housing	Allowed on Condition	15/06/06	11/01/07
Full Planning Permission 07/03618/DC	Erection of residential development with ground and first floor offices, associated residential parking and landscaping	Granted Subject to Condition(s) and S69	19/11/07	27/10/08
Matters Specified in Conditions 10/02090/DC	Erection of flatted development with associated landscaping, parking and vehicular access - Phase 2 Site	Granted Subject to Condition(s) and S69	26/08/10	21/06/11
Matters Specified in Conditions 12/02316/DC	Erection of residential development with associated landscaping, parking and vehicular access - Phase 5 Site.	Granted Subject to Condition(s) and S69	19/11/12	15/10/13

Table A.2: Key stages in the planning application process, Bertha Park (organised by Decision Issued Date)

Application Type & Ref. No.	Proposal	Decision	Application Received Date	Decision Issued Date
Planning Permission Local 15/00036/FLL	Upgrading of roads infrastructure including the formation of new roads, roundabouts, bridges, car parking, landscaping and associated works	Granted	07/01/15	20/03/15
Planning Permission Local 15/02185/FLL	Modification of permission 15/00036/FLL (upgrading of roads infrastructure) to include alterations to roundabout	Granted	18/12/15	02/02/16
Planning Permission Major 15/01109/FLM	Erection of residential units, commercial units (Classes 1,2,3 and 10), formation of allotments/ open space, landscaping and associated infrastructure works i.e. Phase 1	Granted	26/06/15	12/12/16
Planning Permission in Principle Major 15/01112/IPM	Residential development with community facilities, employment land, open space, landscaping and associated infrastructure	Granted	26/06/15	12/12/16
Planning Permission Major 17/00198/FLM	Erection of school, biomass/ energy plant, formation of playground areas, sports pitches, landscaping, car parking, vehicular accesses and associated works	Granted	03/02/17	25/05/17
Planning Permission Major 19/01900/FLM	Erection of 82 dwelling houses and associated works (changes to house type/layout on plots 0024 - 0091 of permission 15/01109/FLM)	Withdrawn	16/11/19	26/06/20
Planning Permission Local 20/00299/FLL	Erection of 38 dwelling houses and associated works (phase 1)	Awaiting Decision	27/02/20	n/a
Planning Permission Local 20/00301/FLL	Erection of 33 dwelling houses and associated works (phase 2)	Awaiting Decision	27/02/20	n/a

Table A.3: Key stages in the planning application process, Castle Gardens (organised by Decision Issued Date)

Application Type & Ref. No.	Proposal	Decision	Application Received Date	Decision Issued Date
Planning Permission in Principle 14/00732/PPM	Residential development and associated works on land at Lempockwells Road Pencaitland	Refused	02/09/14	02/12/14
Planning Appeal 15/00003/P01	Residential development and associated works on land at Lempockwells Road Pencaitland	Allowed on Condition	19/02/15	16/09/15
Matters Specified in Conditions 17/00815/AMM	Erection of 96 houses, 24 flats and associated works	Granted	05/09/17	28/03/18

Table A.4: Key stages in the planning application process, Commonwealth Games Village (organised by Decision Issued Date)

Application Type & Ref. No.	Proposal	Decision	Application Received Date	Decision Issued Date
Full Planning Permission 09/01302/DC	Remediation works including excavation, infilling and regrading of land, formation of soil treatment and bioremediation compounds, stockpiling areas with associated access and fencing	Granted subject to conditions	10/06/09	04/08/09
Scoping Opinion 09/02758/DC	Scoping Request for Commonwealth Games Village and Legacy developments comprising a detailed planning application for residential development of houses and flats (up to 900 units) , residential care home, energy centre with associated roads, service and drainage infrastructure, landscaping and open space and planning application in principle for residential development (up to 350 units), retail and commercial floorspace with associated roads, service infrastructure and landscaping	No Objection	19/11/09	29/01/10

Full Planning Permission 10/01141/DC	Erection of residential development, residential care home, energy centre with associated roads, service and drainage infrastructure, landscaping and outdoor space	Granted subject to conditions	14/05/10	16/09/10
Full Planning Permission 16/01864/DC	Erection of primary school, associated all-weather floodlit pitch, play areas, cctv, landscaping, parking and access	Granted subject to conditions	01/08/16	25/01/17
Full Planning Permission 17/00668/DC	Erection of residential development (Phase 2) with associated works including amenity space and parking	Granted subject to conditions	20/03/17	20/02/18

Table A.5: Key stages in the planning application process, Dargavel Village (organised by Decision Issued Date)

Application Type & Ref. No.	Proposal	Decision	Application Received Date	Decision Issued Date
Planning Permission in Outline 06/0602/PP	Regeneration of the site to form a mixed use community growth area/new housing development	Granted subject to S75 Agreement	08/06/06	10/08/09
Planning Permission in Full 09/0527/PP	Engineering operations comprising remediation and bulk earthworks	Granted subject to conditions	29/07/09	24/03/10
Planning Permission in Full 11/0630/PP	Construction of an access road, including the formation of a railway bridge, and associated landscaping and SUDS pond	Granted subject to conditions	05/09/11	31/10/11
Planning Permission in Full 12/0126/PP	Construction of access road as extension to Northern Access Road	Granted subject to conditions	27/02/12	23/04/12
Matters Specified in Conditions 12/0343/PP	CALA (Site H6) - Erection of 89 dwelling houses with associated accesses, car parking and landscaping	Granted	03/05/12	30/11/12
Matters Specified in Conditions 12/0455/PP	Persimmon (Site H2) - Erection of 146 dwelling houses with associated accesses, car parking and landscaping	Granted	26/06/12	30/11/12
Matters Specified in Conditions 12/0506/PP	Taylor Wimpey (Site H3) - Erection of 147 dwelling houses with associated accesses, car parking and landscaping	Granted	13/07/12	30/11/12

Matters Specified in Conditions 13/0173/PP	Persimmon (Site H2) - Erection of 138 dwelling houses and 8 terraced houses with associated accesses, car parking and landscaping	Granted	08/03/13	22/04/13
Matters Specified in Conditions 13/0256/PP	Taylor Wimpey (Site H5) - Erection of 197 dwelling houses with associated accesses, car parking, landscaping and gas governor	Granted	05/04/13	21/06/13
Matters Specified in Conditions 13/0294/PP	Phase 1 Landscaping works around Plot H5 and construction of an electricity sub station	Granted	23/04/13	05/07/13
Planning Permission in Principle 13/0374/PP	Mixed use development comprising a food retail store of up to 4000sq meters gross floor area, individual retail/commercial units, community use/library/learning resource centre, residential, park and ride and open space	Granted subject to conditions	03/06/13	27/08/13
Planning Permission in Full 14/0218/PP	Persimmon (Site E4) - Erection of residential development comprising 102 dwelling houses and 30 flats with associated car parking and landscaping	Granted subject to conditions	28/03/14	26/08/14
Planning Permission in Full 14/0046/PP	Construction of a link road as an extension to the Southern Access Road	Granted subject to conditions	21/01/14	13/10/14
Planning Permission in Full 15/0188/PP	Persimmon (Site H7) - Erection of residential development comprising 49 dwelling houses with associated infrastructure	Granted subject to conditions	13/03/15	15/05/15
Matters Specified in Conditions 15/0502/PP	Taylor Wimpey (Site H10) - Erection of residential development comprising 176 dwelling houses with associated roads, footpaths and landscaping	Granted	01/07/15	25/01/16

Planning Permission in Full 15/0794/PP	Persimmon (Site H1 & H7) - Erection of residential development comprising 48 dwelling houses with associated infrastructure	Granted subject to conditions	22/10/15	29/03/16
Matters Specified in Conditions 15/0645/PP	Stewart Milne (Site H4B, H4C, M2 and part of H11, M4 and M1) - Erection of residential development comprising 144 dwelling houses with associated roads, footpaths and landscaping	Granted	01/09/15	06/05/16
Planning Permission in Full 16/0403/PP	Persimmon (H1 & H7) - Erection of residential development comprising 49 dwelling houses with associated infrastructure	Granted subject to conditions	13/05/16	21/11/16
Matters Specified in Conditions 17/0551/PP	Bellway Homes (Site H22) - Erection of residential development comprising 19 dwelling houses with associated roads, footpaths and landscaping	Granted	21/07/17	28/11/17
Matters Specified in Conditions 17/0552/PP	Bellway Homes (Site H9) - Erection of residential development comprising 158 dwelling houses with associated roads, footpaths and landscaping	Granted	21/07/17	28/11/17
Certificate of Lawful Use or Development 17/0819/CL	Renfrewshire Council (Site H11) - Erection of residential development comprising 37 dwelling houses and 4 flats with associated access, landscaping and parking.	Granted	16/11/17	12/01/18
Certificate of Lawful Use or Development 17/0820/CL	Renfrewshire Council (Site M5) - Erection of residential development comprising 8 dwelling houses and 31 flats with associated access, landscaping and parking.	Granted	20/11/17	12/01/18
Planning Permission in Full 17/0905/PP	Construction of park and ride car park, and installation of electricity substation and gas governor	Granted subject to conditions	20/12/17	20/02/18

Matters Specified in Conditions 17/0767/PP	Stewart Milne (Site H11 and H32) - Erection of residential development comprising 97 dwelling houses with associated roads, footpaths and landscaping	Granted	30/10/17	23/03/18
Matters Specified in Conditions 15/0704/PP	Taylor Wimpey (Site H10) - Erection of residential development comprising 176 dwelling houses with associated roads, footpaths and landscaping	Granted	22/09/15	14/05/18
Matters Specified in Conditions 17/0694/PP	Taylor Wimpey (Site H10) - Erection of 3 dwelling houses	Granted	21/09/17	23/05/18
Planning Permission in Full 18/0413/PP	McCarthy & Stone Retirement Lifestyles Ltd - Erection of residential development comprising 49 Sheltered Retirement Apartments with associated landscaping and parking	Granted subject to conditions	06/06/18	30/07/18
Planning Permission in Full 17/0768/PP	Stewart Milne (Site H29) - Erection of residential development comprising twelve flats, one coach house, refuse and cycle stores, associated landscaping, car parking and access	Granted subject to conditions	30/10/17	01/08/18
Planning Permission in Full 18/0417/PP	Cumbrae Property Ltd - Erection of retail development comprising one unit (8000 sqft) for use within Class 1 (Shops), and five units (each 1000 sqft) for use within Class 1 (Shops), Class 2 (Financial and Professional Services), Class 3 (Food and Drink) and hot food takeaway with associated road, access, parking and landscaping	Granted subject to conditions	07/06/18	03/08/18
Planning Permission in Principle 17/0393/PP	Use of land within the Core Development Area for residential development (as part of north west residential neighbourhood) with associated SUDS pond	Granted subject to conditions	26/05/17	02/10/18

Planning Permission in Principle 17/0394/PP	Use of land within the Core Development Area for residential development	Granted subject to conditions	26/05/17	02/10/18
Matters Specified in Conditions 18/0444/PP	Stewart Milne (Site H33) - Erection of residential development comprising 59 flats and 7 coach houses with associated infrastructure and landscaping	Granted subject to conditions	18/06/18	18/12/18
Planning Permission in Full 18/0666/PP	Erection of primary school with associated access, parking, landscaping, external play areas and fencing	Granted subject to conditions	20/09/18	06/02/19
Matters Specified in Conditions 19/0487/PP	Barratt Homes (Site H25) - Erection of residential development comprising 109 dwellinghouses with associated infrastructure and landscaping	Granted subject to conditions	12/07/19	08/10/19
Matters Specified in Conditions 19/0500/PP	Robertson Homes (Site H25) - Erection of residential development comprising 173 dwelling houses and 33 flats with associated infrastructure and landscaping	Granted subject to conditions	25/07/19	09/10/19
Matters Specified in Conditions 19/0142/PP	Taylor Wimpey (Site H13 and H14) - Erection of residential development comprising 224 dwelling houses with associated infrastructure and landscaping	Granted subject to conditions	08/03/19	22/10/19
Matters Specified in Conditions 19/0143/PP	Taylor Wimpey (Site H20) - Erection of residential development comprising 27 dwelling houses with associated infrastructure and landscaping	Granted subject to conditions	08/03/19	22/10/19
Planning Permission in Full 19/0519/PP	Erection of Early Learning and Childcare Centre with associated parking, servicing arrangements, playground and landscaping	Granted subject to conditions	02/08/19	28/11/19