# 50 Shades of Green Belt

How a new approach to 'green' can help solve the housing crisis.



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#### Introduction

Facing facts – to meet society's need for more homes, we need to re-think the role and extent of our Green Belt.

We have a housing crisis in England. Demand far outstrips supply and we are building new and replacement homes at a rate which is unsustainable.

House prices are rising rapidly to a level many cannot afford – shutting out first time buyers from the housing market and pushing low and middle earners out from urban centres.

Our inability to deliver new homes is more than a matter of where and how people live – it has deeper and cross-cutting economic and social consequences.

There is political consensus that something needs to be done to tackle the housing crisis and, ahead of May's General Election, all three major political parties have pledged to increase the supply of housing to meet this growing demand and to make home ownership accessible.

Increasing housing supply is the right solution to the problem, but it is by no means simple. Last year, 140,000 new homes were completed – a figure significantly below the commonly accepted annual level of around 230,000 new homes we need to achieve to meet demand.

Finding the means to accommodate the scale of housing required is where the challenge lies for our next Government.

The constraints of the planning system in England and the availability of land for development are central to the debate on how we should deliver the number of new homes we need at a sustainable rate.

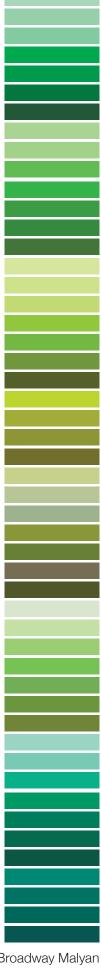
The UK's historic 'brownfield first' policy, under which previously developed sites are prioritised for development and for which it is generally easier to gain planning permission, has consistently underdelivered the level of housing required and in many places provided the wrong types of housing.

There are 1,639,090 hectares of classified 'Green Belt' land in England (according to the Department for Communities and Local Government) equivalent to 13% of the country's total land area.

One way we believe an increased supply of housing can be achieved is through rethinking the relationship between our cities and their surrounding sub-regions (city-region considerations) and within these areas, re-assess the value of selected areas of Green Belt.

To increase the supply of land for vital housing, we need to look beyond the conventional approaches to development in these areas, such as 'brownfield first', which have consistently failed to provide the required level of housing.

Only through a more intelligent approach to land which recognises different levels of 'value' can we achieve the sustainable growth of our cities, towns and villages, balanced with protecting our natural environment.



## What is the purpose of the Green Belt?

The term 'Green Belt' is widely used, but little understood. To understand it properly, we should look at its definition and original purpose.

According to the Government's National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), the purpose of the Green Belt is to prevent urban sprawl by keeping land permanently open'.

## The NPPF describes five purposes of the Green Belt as:

- To check the unrestricted sprawl of large built-up areas
- To prevent neighbouring towns merging into one another
- To assist in safeguarding the countryside from encroachment
- To preserve the setting and special character of historic towns
- To assist in urban regeneration, by encouraging the recycling of derelict and other urban land

While the NPPF suggests Green Belt land can be developed in special circumstances to meet housing need, it is widely discouraged in favour of brownfield development – bringing empty residential or commercial sites back into use.

While the purpose and principles of Green Belt protection are still relevant, there have been fundamental changes to the way our cities, suburbs, towns and regions work since Green Belt regulations were introduced in the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act.

These regulations allowed local authorities to include Green Belt proposals in their development plans and were reinforced in 1955 by the then Minister of Housing – encouraging local authorities to consider protecting the land around their towns and cities by formally designating Green Belts.

Fourteen Green Belts were subsequently established across England – stretching from London to Bristol and from Dorset to Tyne and Wear. Today there are 1,639,090 hectares of classified Green Belt land in England – equivalent to 13% of the country's total land area.

However, the common assumption that this Green Belt land is attractive, accessible or ecologically rich is simply not true.

Much of England's Green Belt land is privately owned and made up of a mix of relatively 'unremarkable' land uses, including intensive farming, golf courses, stables / paddocks and even redundant military sites.

Such uses, though arguably important, cover much of the Green Belt landscape and demonstrate the difference in the quality of land covered by the policy. Despite being inaccessible and having minimal landscape or ecological value, this land is protected by the Green Belt policies set out in the NPPF.

Of course, certain parts of the Green Belt do have a special quality, whether high-quality landscape or areas rich in ecology.

For example, the London Metropolitan Green Belt contains Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, Sites of Special Scientific Interest, Areas of Ancient Woodland, Special Protection Areas, Special Areas for Conservation, Ramsar sites and nature reserves. These are clearly valuable and sensitive areas in need of protection and safeguarding. As such, these areas (and areas of parkland) are all rightly protected from development by the law because of their aesthetic and ecological value. The Green Belt simply adds another layer of protection over them, based on their geography.

Therefore, lower-grade Green Belt land, such as farmland, which is encroached and fragmented, could be sensitively developed without sacrificing large areas of our open, beautiful and ecologically-valuable natural landscape.

It could, therefore, be argued that a 'one size that fits all' Green Belt policy is outdated and out of sync with the pressures of the housing crisis.

There is a fundamental disconnect between the demand and supply of new homes in England – the system is not working and the role of our cities, their edges, their surroundings and the Green Belt itself, needs to be re-examined.

We need a more encompassing and intelligent understanding of the value of our urban areas and their surroundings. We need to recognise where there is potential for these settlements to grow sustainably and balance this with the need to protect our natural environment.

## The housing crisis - setting out the issues

The severe lack of affordable homes is widely referred to as a 'housing crisis'.

According to the housing charity Shelter, the main impacts of the crisis are that home ownership is slipping out of reach for many, housing costs are hugely expensive, more families are renting from private landlords and levels of homelessness are rising.

While the policy of Green Belt protection around certain cities has been logical in the past, it has proved to be impractical in a number of ways. The preferred brownfield first approach to housing in these locations is not providing enough.

The under-supply of housing was prevalent even before the recession. In the 'boom years' before the recession (2003-2007) on average 160,000 new homes were built every year in England (ONS). This figure was significantly below the commonly used DCLG projected requirement of around 230,000 new homes. Completions dropped after the 2008 financial crisis because of economic uncertainty and reduced investment, resulting in just 108,000 completions in 2010/11. Current completion rates are only around 140,000 per annum.

Of the DCLG's predicted annual requirement (230,000 new homes), around 110,000 of these homes (nearly half) need to be built in London, the South East and the East of England. Of these three regions, London is particularly in dire need of new housing. Last year only 20,000 new homes were built in the capital, compared to the DCLG's forecast that London should be building 36,000 homes a year and the London Plan's even greater requirement of 49,000 homes a year.

So, why exactly has the 'brownfield first' policy consistently failed to deliver the level of housing required?

#### There are a number of factors:

- Many brownfield sites are contaminated, costly to develop and in poor locations
- House builders are increasingly finding that the easier locations to develop have already been built out, leaving lower-quality and less desirable sites
- As well as an under-supply of land, there
  is a lack of incentive for development
  as available brownfield sites are often
  commercially unviable an essential
  factor if we are hoping the private sector
  will help to alleviate the housing crisis

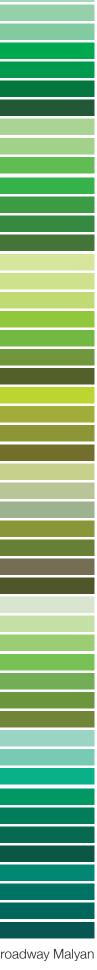
The under-supply of land has been one of the main drivers that has led to rapidly increasing house prices and homeownership for 25 – 34 years olds falling by 23% in just ten years (from 59% in 2005 to 36% in 2015).

As a consequence, there has been a significant increase in the number of people renting accommodation, which is now thought to be in the region of 9 million, including 1.3 million families with children as people struggle to afford housing.

Green Belt reappraisal can help to relieve the problem of affordability. There is a clear link between our least affordable towns and cities and areas with a Green Belt policy, particularly in the South East with cities such as London, Cambridge and Oxford prime examples.

Evidence is there which suggests that there is a clear case for a reassessment of current planning regulations and the re-appraisal of the value of our Green Belt around those cities that have one - especially London, where house prices are rising fastest.

While 'brownfield first' and Green Belt protection were logical policies which encouraged regeneration of urban centres, they are now no longer sustainable if we are to meet housing demand.



# The politics of Green Belt - a barrier to positive change

The normalising of Green Belt protection has reinforced public and political perceptions of it as a permanent and infallible feature of our landscape.

Many see the development of designated Green Belt land in absolute terms – some are keen to protect the countryside, others fear a slippery slope, whereby increased development on green spaces could open the doors to an influx of building on previously untouched land.

# The principle of 'Green Belt' has become an emotive issue which engenders a fervour of debate that was never intended.

The result of these attitudes, reinforced by the Green Belt's supposed permanence, has politicised the issue of Green Belt development.

While these attitudes are widespread, interestingly, many struggle to correctly define or understand what the Green Belt actually is.

# The perceived unpopularity of Green Belt development has made it an issue that has been avoided by local and national politicians.

Despite having the authority to carry out Green Belt reviews and to develop Green Belt land in 'very special circumstances' under this Government's NPPF, local authorities are often reluctant to tackle the issue due to its political sensitivities.

In larger areas, such as in London, it has led to unrealistic views which are not achievable in the long-term.

For example, Sir Edward Lister (Chief of Staff and Deputy Mayor for Policy and Planning at the GLA) has stated that London can cope with current housing demand within its existing urban area. Sir Edward has also said that the capital's housing needs can all be met on existing sites. This view conflicts with the recent Centre for Cities Report 'Delivering Change: Building homes where we need them', which reveals that there is only enough brownfield land for around 366,000 new homes in London. This would mean that there is just over seven years supply (assuming that we need to build just below 50,000 homes every year in London).

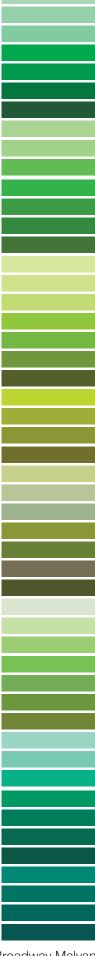
On a national level in the lead-up to the General Election, the three main political parties have pledged to significantly increase housing supply (the Conservatives recognise housing is needed but are happy for numbers and locations to be generated locally, the Labour and UKIP parties pledge 200,000 per year and the Liberal Democrats pledge 300,000 per year).

However, critically they have not necessarily specified how or where they will deliver this extra housing.

The parties have largely shied away from the Green Belt debate and have avoided the issue in their preelection pledges (or made noises about protecting it).

# Pledging additional housing is only half a policy, as parties must specify how they will achieve this in order to be credible.

In the context of an unprecedented housing crisis, we need to see stronger leadership from political parties and a resolution to face up to what is a vital if challenging question: if not on selected pieces of Green Belt, where are we to build the new homes our country's towns and cities so urgently need?



#### A measure of public sentiment

## One in Five Voters: 'Housing an Election Issue'

One in five (20%) English adults say that housing is one of the most important election issues – that is the headline of research commissioned by architecture, urbanism and design practice Broadway Malyan.

The fieldwork has been conducted by international market research firm YouGov. A total of 4,510 interviews were conducted with adults in England in April 2015.

## The '50 Shades of Green Belt' report reveals that –

## 1. Housing is one of the most important issues in the election for prospective voters:

One in five (20%) adults in England say that housing is one of the most important issues that will decide how they vote (ranging from 35% in London to 12% in the North East)

Of this group, two-thirds (66%) report that they are more likely to vote for a party which priorities house building (ranging from 74% in the East of England and 68% in London to 57% in Yorkshire and the Humber)

# 2. Opinion is balanced on which party has the best policies for delivering new housing in Britain:

Just over one in five (21%) believe that the Conservative party has the best policies, with the same percentage citing Labour (4% name the Liberal Democrats, 4% the Greens and 3% the UKIP)

#### 3. Regions are divided on which party has the best policies for delivering new housing in their local area:

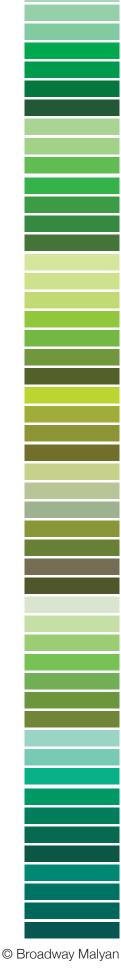
Over one in three (35%) in the North East say the Labour party has the best policies and almost a quarter (24%) of Londoners name the party but only one in ten (11%) in the South East cite Labour

Over one in five (22%) in the South East believe the Conservative party has the best policies and almost one in five (18%) of Londoners name the party but only one in ten (10%) in the North East cite the Tories

#### 4. It is difficult for local people and firsttime buyers to buy or rent homes in their local areas:

Over two-thirds (68%) say that it is difficult for firsttime buyers to find homes to buy or rent in their local areas (ranging from 80% in London to 59% in the North West)

Over half (51%) report that it is difficult for local people to find homes to buy or rent in their local areas (ranging from 67% in London to 39% in the East Midlands)



## 5. There is strong support for an increase in new house building in England:

Over two-thirds (67%) believe the number of new homes built should be increased (ranging from 73% in support of an increase in London to 61% in the West Midlands), with over two-fifths (41%) reporting that there should be a significant increase

## 6. The majority support the continued protection of Green Belt land:

Over two-thirds (67%) oppose house building on Green Belt (ranging from 72% in the West Midlands to 55% in London).

With Green Belt described as areas of countryside around some towns and cities, which are currently protected from most building to stop urban sprawl

## 7. The vast majority support house building on brownfield land:

Over four-fifths (83%) support house building on brownfield land (ranging from 85% in the East of England and East Midlands to 81% in London and 79% in the North East)

With brownfield land taken as meaning land that has previously been built on, such as derelict buildings and former industrial land

## 8. Opinion is more divided on house building on greenfield land:

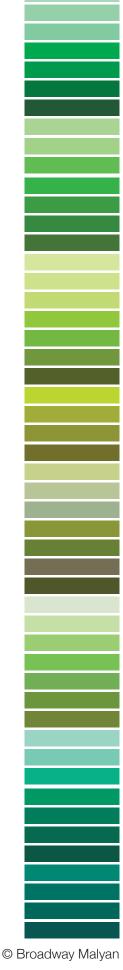
Nearly half (48%) oppose house building on greenfield land (ranging from 56% in the South West to 37% in London)

Over a quarter (27%) support house building on greenfield land (ranging from 36% in London to 22% in the South West)

With greenfield land defined as land that has not previously been built on, such as agricultural land outside Green Belt The research suggests that housing is one of

However, while there is strong support for

over Green Belt land when, on the ground,



## Opening the debate

Negative perceptions of Green Belt development have perpetuated a political taboo. This, coupled with a shift by the current Coalition Government towards 'localism', has stifled the Government's overall consideration of strategic planning, including looking at issues associated with cities, city regions and wider-vision policies.

City-region strategies have been integral to the success of many larger cities in Europe, North America and Asia and are likely to underpin the success of these cities in the future.

By not adopting similar successful strategies, London and our other key UK cities and regions, particularly those with Green Belt policies, are at risk of falling behind their international counterparts.

Without adopting city-region strategies and reappraising the Green Belt, it is likely that local authorities will continue to be given freedom to produce Local Plans to their own timescale and in their own way. Previously, in cases across England, this localised and piecemeal approach has not provided the required housing numbers in appropriate locations.

Local Plans is slow and Green Belt review is avoided or inadequate, 'planning by appeal' will inevitably end up shaping policy by default, with the emergence over time of case law and associated Government guidance on how to interpret Green Belt policy where housing need effectively requires adjustment to the Green Belt.

Under current policy constraints, the outcome for the foreseeable future is likely to be gradually increasing development within the Green Belt, whether planned for or accidental.

It is vital to open the debate on city-regions and related Green Belt development – we need to tackle perceptions to enact political change, if we are to address the housing crisis.

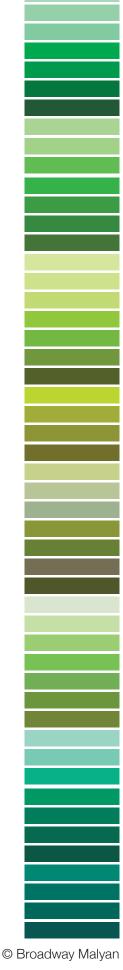
## Why we need to think at a bigger "city-region" scale

We believe that cities with Green Belts need to have a bigger city-region plan that extends beyond their administrative boundaries and into the surrounding area within the Green Belt – this is particularly the case in London.

London is one of the world's leading cities and could be an excellent example of how a new strategic approach to development could present opportunities for better housing, employment, facilities and services within its geographical area, while also protecting the valuable countryside currently within the Green Belt.

A new approach should take into account city-region considerations, looking beyond narrow policies relating to the geographical area of city districts, urban centres and surrounding towns, to bring sensible and meaningful regional spatial logic to growth strategies (elements that are currently missing).

To address the problems of housing supply and the constraints of the current planning system, we have outlined step-by-step recommendations to contribute toward a more strategic approach to planning and Green Belt review, with consideration made to city-region principles.



## Our recommendations use London as a case study:

## Step 1: Define a city-region and its "Area of Influence"

It is broadly understood and recognised that cities and groups of metropolitan areas have much bigger economic, social and cultural footprints than their physical size. Today, the influence of cities (particularly London) spread far beyond that of the 1940s and 1950s when Green Belt policy was introduced. These wider areas, which can be defined as 'super' or 'city' regions, have a significant influence on the wealth and economic success of the citizens within the city areas and the prosperity of the towns and hinterlands that are many miles from the physical centre of the city.

London's area of influence extends far beyond its 'London Plan' borders and into its surrounding regions.

Before 2010, there was a set of regional plans which were abolished largely due to the Coalition Government's move to localism. However, these plans dealt with separate regions south, west and north of London, and were not drawn together as one strategic 'big picture'. As a result, there has not been a complete framework for some time.

This lack of strategic overview has meant that issues ranging from housing growth to major infrastructure projects, such as London's airport expansion, are debated to some extent without reference to a bigger city-region framework.

To address this important issue, we must start by identifying a logical area covering the London city-region's sphere of influence. This could be measured based on a combination of factors, including:

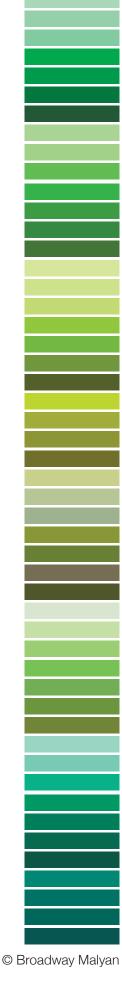
- Travel to work areas / patterns
- Centres of population
- Employment clusters
- Strategic infrastructure (e.g. airports, ports, roads and rail corridors)
- Environmentally sensitive / constrained areas

#### Step 2: Define "Super Hubs"

Within the identified 'Area of Influence', the next step would be to identify the city-region's 'Super Hubs'. These are urban centres within the city and settlements outside of the city that have strong economic and growth potential (effectively appropriate 'hot spots' for significant growth).

Super Hubs could have the following attributes:

- A strategic position on the main railway lines with fast links to London (and elsewhere)
- An existing employment base with significant future potential for expansion
- Good social and community infrastructure, including a critical mass of shops, education and cultural institutes and leisure facilities
- · Located close to additional major infrastructure (for example motorways and airports)



Strategically identifying such urban centres and towns is critical. These urban areas already have the infrastructure in place – transport, physical and social – as well as having an established identity that makes them logical places to accommodate development.

Examples could include existing urban centres within the M25, market towns within the Green Belt and commuter towns with potential for growth beyond. Examples include:

- Connected edge of London suburbs
- Established commuter towns with excellent transport links (such as Woking and Chelmsford)
- Other large and connected market towns with good infrastructure (for example Guildford)
- Towns in need of regeneration

These locations have the opportunity both to relieve the pressure on the city's population growth and housing demand, and to be a part of an integrated network of liveable centres that support the long-term success of the city-region.

#### **Step 3: "Grow the Super Hubs"**

A city-region review and a proper cross authority examination of where best to place housing to generate growth is, we believe, the right approach.

In addition to having good public transport accessibility, the Super Hubs have the basic infrastructure in place for new development: shopping centres, schools, employment, leisure and culture – all the established ingredients that are a good starting point for new growth. To accommodate additional housing developments, this infrastructure could be enhanced, rather than expensively started from scratch.

Once the Super Hubs have been identified the focus would then be on integrated strategies for their combined sustainable expansion and growth.

Such an approach could look to:

- Where possible increase the density of the areas around station (transit) hubs and town centres
- Develop suitable edge of town opportunities for additional development – in particular housing

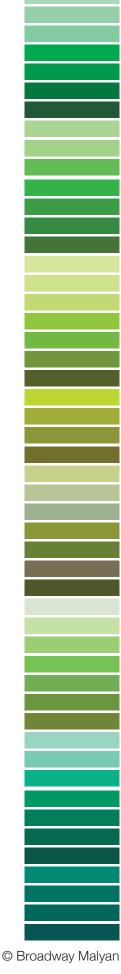
Focusing development on the larger, connected towns could also reduce the pressure on the smaller towns, historic villages and quiet hamlets that are scattered across the Green Belt and less able or suitable to take the pressure of new housing development.

#### **Step 4: Defining "Green Liveable Sites"**

Once established, development within the Super Hubs should be focused into areas that will deliver a meaningful level of new housing but also help improve the long-term liveability and prosperity of the area. Therefore, in addition to developing the centres of the Super Hubs, suitable and sustainable locations on the edge of the urban areas should be identified to accommodate new housing in an attractive environment (regardless of their existing Green Belt designation).

Our term for these sites is 'Green Liveable Sites'. Such sites would provide an opportunity to expand the Super Hubs in a sustainable way. Key criteria for such sites could be that they are:

- · Within two kilometres of, and have easy access to, an existing (or planned) railway station / transit hub
- Not protected areas (for example an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty)
- Unconstrained or, if constrained, have a realistic mitigation strategy to release land
- · Realistic, with a chance of being delivered (for example through suitable road connections or opportunities to create them)
- · Able to "give back" in a substantive way such as through new facilities and infrastructure for the community



The Centre for Cities report indicates that a similar approach to this (in an area outside London, but within the Green Belt) could deliver around three million additional homes.

Despite this being a sustainable and pragmatic approach to meet the future housing needs, politicians and local people will need to be convinced. Therefore, development within such locations needs to 'give back' to the local community, if the city-region plan is to be accepted. It is important that development must not be just about housing.

Areas for Community Transformation (ACT) could be identified as part of the 'Green Liveable Sites' assessment. ACTs could provide services and facilities that the area needs and retain the 'green' nature of these areas – providing an agreed element of publicly-accessible, useful open space that brings former Green Belt land back into community use.

Bringing forward 'Green Liveable Sites' would be the primary priority area for development within the Super Hubs. Beyond this and once the suitable land has been utilised, we should not be afraid of the city-region plan including additional locations.

These could include additional stations in unconstrained areas on the edges of towns to free up further 'Green Liveable Sites, or new stations supporting new settlements.

#### Step 5: Ensuring a Comprehensive Approach – Harnessing Public and Private Interest

Having a city-region perspective and focusing development on Super Hubs will not just be about spatial approaches. It will need to go hand in hand with fiscal and social levers that could be used to encourage (public / private) investment into strategic locations and alleviate housing price affordability.

## A starting point for a city region approach would be that:

The city-region vision and plan is championed at the national and city level, in order to establish its broad remit and initial priorities and requirements (this would be similar to how we are looking at major infrastructure projects such as HS2).

Cities should be responsible for establishing their sphere of influence and should define a way forward with the key authorities, communities and investors within it.

#### Conclusion

As we have assessed, despite the introduction of the NPPF, the Coalition Government's housebuilding policy has not delivered at the levels required to maintain a sustainable, accessible and successful housing market in the UK.

Central for an in-coming Government wanting to improve the UK housing market will be to re-think the Green Belt and the protection it affords areas of land which could contribute a greater value to society through sustainable development and by providing new homes.

To survive and prosper, our UK cities with Green Belt protection need an approach that is relevant to this century, not one conceived in a post World War Two environment.

Politicians' fear of raising the issue of land supply and Green Belt protection (as a potentially unpopular subject) has stifled the necessary debate on its value and function and has perpetuated a negative public perception towards Green Belt development.

There is a taboo against thinking at a bigger scale that is hindering a proper and reasoned debate about how to plan our cities and their sub-regions for current and future generations.

We believe that the function and value to society of a re-calibrated Green Belt, coupled with strategic growth of towns and centres will have a significant impact on resolving the housing crisis.

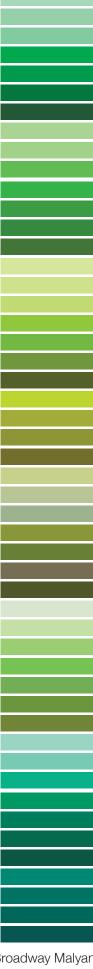
The city in most urgent need of an improved solution is London. Our research data affirms that our megacity capital is feeling the pressure more accurately than other UK cities with Green Belts. As things stand – and not surprising given the current supply and affordability problems in London – it is London which also has the largest area of Green Belt surrounding it.

We are, therefore, calling for our new Government (post the 7 May 2015 General Election) to:

1. Plan for development in a far more strategic manner. We ask that politicians and policy makers need to think more widely and plan more effectively – the relationship between London as a global megacity and other cities and towns across the South East necessitates a greater city-region vision, cooperation and a new strategy for the Green Belt

- 2. Prioritise a city-region strategy: firstly for London and then more widely for cities across the UK
- 3. As part of the above, implement a thorough review of Green Belt, what it is and what it does. We need an updated definition and function for Green Belt so that we can use land more purposefully and appropriately. This is vital to ensure the best value and use of precious land resources for society as a whole (whether that is the delivery of new homes, the protection of the environment and natural landscape, the provision of community and amenity space or through agriculture)

I would like to hear your views and opinions, so please continue the conversation by contacting me at: j.nottage@broadwaymalyan.com



#### More information

**About Broadway Malyan** 

Distinguished by its global reach with 16 studios across world centres, unrivalled diversity with 500+ design experts and distinctive client focus with over 75% income from repeat business, Broadway Malyan creates world-class and fully-integrated cities, places and buildings to unlock lasting value.

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Since joining Broadway Malyan in 2007, he has managed a number of large scale masterplanning projects for both public and private sector clients and has worked in both the UK and overseas.

His projects have included strategic urban extensions, new settlements, town wide strategies and new urban quarters. Jeff's experience is wide ranging and also includes projects covering urban regeneration, policy and research, integrated transport and land use studies and economic impact appraisals.

Jeff has spoken at the National Urban Design Conference, regularly contributes to journal and press articles and is a member of the Royal Town Planning Institute, Town and Country Planning Association and Urban Design Group.



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James heads Broadway Malyan's Urbanism Disciplines comprising over 70 masterplanning, urban design, urban planning, landscape architecture and public realm experts. James has over 20 years UK and International experience, and has led major city and large-scale planning projects globally.

His experience and expertise is in leading creative and appropriate development, urban planning and urban design strategies and concepts for Cities, Districts, Towns and Community developments and regeneration projects.

He is a skilled professional with proven experience in leading projects, dealing with all aspects of client management and stakeholders as well as managing and leading internal and external consultant teams. James's skills are focused on evolving the best possible planning and development solutions ensuring that balanced and sustainable objectives maximised. James has worked with many local and international developers and institutions as well as international engineers and design consultants.

James contributes to the Urbanism's teams research and regularly contributes to articles. Institute and UK Landscape Institute.

#### About the research

The fieldwork has been conducted by international market research firm YouGov. A total of 4,510 interviews were conducted with adults in England in April 2015.

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